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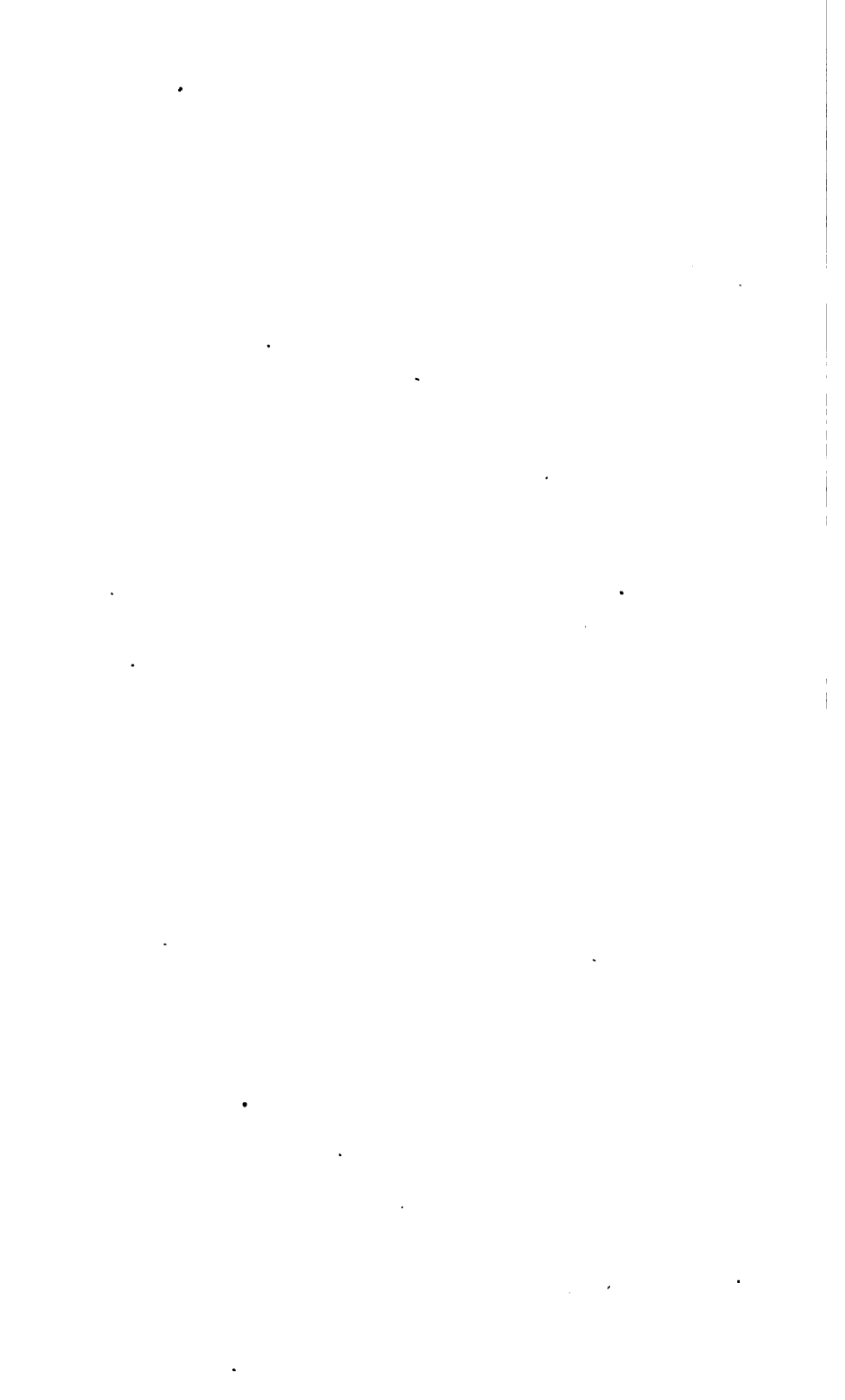












THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER

For the Year 1820.

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**GENERAL INDEX**  
**TO THE**  
**NEW ANNUAL REGISTER.**

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**PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION**

**By THOMAS M'LEAN, 26, HAYMARKET.**

**An INDEX to the New ANNUAL REGISTER, from its commencement in 1780 to the year 1820 inclusive.—This Index will be drawn up and arranged on such a Plan, as will afford an easy, complete and accurate reference to the almost infinite variety of valuable matter, connected with the History, Politics, and Literature of Great Britain, and of Europe in general, which is contained in the New Annual Register.**

NEW YORK  
218 N. 3RD ST.  
1821

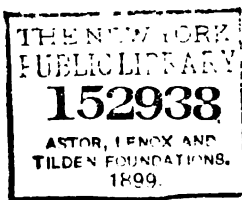
THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR  
GENERAL REPOSITORY  
OF  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
ARTS, SCIENCES,  
AND  
LITERATURE,

For the Year 1820.

LONDON:

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1821.



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## P R E F A C E.

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**AS** the literary portion of the New Annual Register is executed this year on a new and a more comprehensive plan than it has hitherto been, and as that plan will be pursued in the subsequent volumes, it may be proper to point out its nature and object before we proceed to a general view of the political and historical contents of the present volume.

From the commencement of the New Annual Register, a view of the literature of the year has always accompanied a view of its history and politics: but there are other subjects of interest and importance, which regularly present something novel, and enter into the character (if the expression may be allowed) of the age; and as an Annual Register ought to notice every thing that serves to form and complete that character, the consideration of these subjects ought to constitute a regular part of its contents.

We allude chiefly to the Fine Arts and the Drama:

to these therefore we have directed our attention in the present volume, and shall continue to do so in the subsequent volumes. Besides these two grand topics, there are others of less magnitude and importance, of a miscellaneous nature, which, as indicating or forming the character of the age, or marking the peculiarities or the distinguishing features of the year, very fairly claim some notice in an Annual Register. In the constant progress of the Arts and Sciences there are applications of them to the domestic or common uses of life, which are of great and general utility : these we have noticed, and mean to notice. The opinions, political and literary, of the age are formed or changed by no publications so much as by periodical works, especially Newspapers and Reviews. These also, therefore, it falls within our new plan to notice. In short, there will be constantly occurring topics to vary and increase the interest and utility of this portion of the New Annual Register, to which we shall not fail to attend.

In the volume for 1820, however, the extreme length and importance of the proceedings against the queen has unavoidably prevented us from allotting such a number of pages to the new subjects we have introduced, as we should otherwise have done, and shall in future do. These proceedings—the

death of George III.—the accession of George IV.—the new parliament—and the state of our agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and finances, constitute the principal political and historical topics of this volume, so far as Great Britain is concerned. With reference to foreign nations, the indications and commencement of the revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, are the most prominent and interesting topics. In narrating and discussing both the domestic and foreign events, we have endeavoured to free the exaggerations of party and prejudice from the real facts : this, in the case of the proceedings against the Queen, was no easy matter ; how far we have succeeded, it is for our readers to determine.

It only remains to add, that such arrangements have been made, as will enable us to bring out our subsequent volumes as early in the year as the present volume.

APRIL 18th, 1821.

## CABINET MINISTERS. 1820.

---

Lord Chancellor .....	Lord Eldon.
President of the Council.....	Earl of Harrowby.
First Lord of the Treasury ....	Earl of Liverpool.
Lord Privy Seal.....	Earl of Westmorland.
Secretary of State for the Home Department .....	Viscount Sidmouth.
Secretary of State for the Foreign Department .....	Viscount Castlereagh.
Secretary of State for the Colonial Department .....	Earl Bathurst.
Master General of the Ordnance	Duke of Wellington.
Chancellor of the Exchequer....	Rt. Hon. N. Vansittart.
First Lord of the Admiralty....	Viscount Melville.
Treasurer of the Navy.....	Rt. Hon. F. Robinson.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan- caster .....	Rt. Hon. C. B. Bathurst.
Master of the Mint.....	Rt. Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.
President of the Board of Control	Rt. Hon. G. Canning,—who re- signed in December, and was succeeded by the Right Hon. C. B. Bathurst.

## OTHER MINISTERS, NOT OF THE CABINET.

Commander in Chief.....	H. R. H. the Duke of York.
Secretary at War.....	Viscount Palmerston.
Paymaster of the Forces .....	Sir C. Long.
President of the Board of Trade	Rt. Hon. F. Robinson.
Auditor of the Exchequer .....	Lord Grenville.
First Commissioner of the Land Revenue .....	Rt. Hon. W. Huskisson.
Joint Post Master General .....	Earl of Chichester and Marquis of Salisbury.
Master of the Rolls.....	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Plumer.
Vice Chancellor .....	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Leach.
Lord Chief Justice.....	Rt. Hon. Sir C. Abbot.
—— of the Common Pleas	Rt. Hon. Sir R. Dallas.
Lord Chief Baron .....	Rt. Hon. Sir Rich. Richards.
Attorney General .....	Sir R. Gifford.
Solicitor General .....	Sir J. S. Copley.
Judge of the High Court of Ad- miralty.....	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Scott.
Speaker of the House of Commons	Rt. Hon. C. Manners Sutton.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ....	Earl Talbot.
Lord Chancellor of ditto .....	Lord Manners.
Vice-Treasurer ..	Sir G. F. Hill.
Chief Secretary to Lord Lieut..	Rt. Hon. C. Grant.

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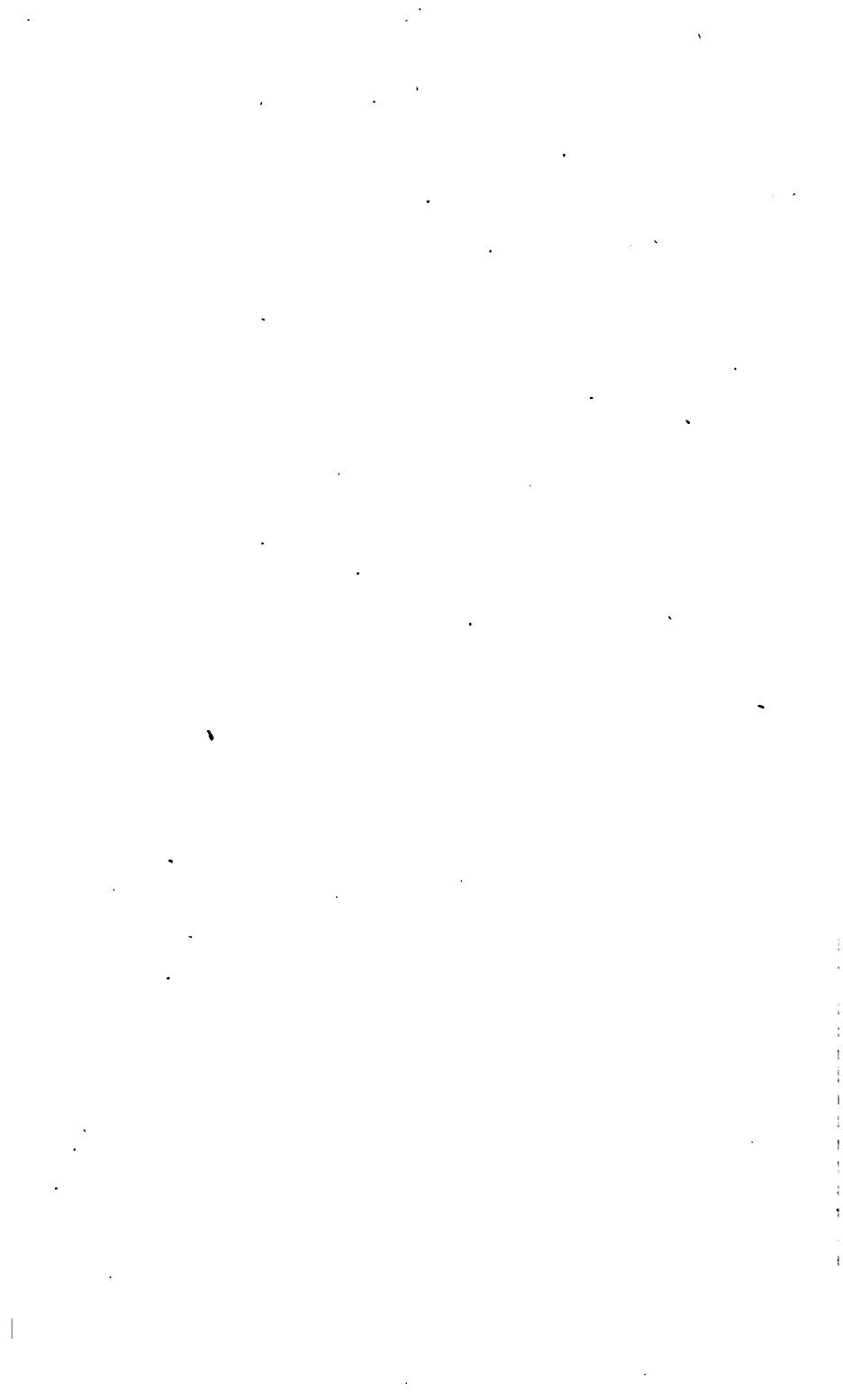
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BRITISH AND FOREIGN  
HISTORY

For the Year 1820.



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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1820.

## CHAPTER I.

*Meeting of Parliament in consequence of the Death of George III.—Addresses to George IV.—Debate respecting a Grant to the Queen—Supply—Appropriation Act—Writ Suspension Bill—Dissolution of Parliament.*

**B**Y a reference to the volume of the New Annual Register for the year 1819, it will be found that parliament, after passing several acts, which it deemed essentially necessary to prevent, repress and punish those whose disaffection to the government was disposed to break out into acts of open and dangerous violence, — adjourned to the 15th of February 1820.

It was, however, called together again rather before this time by the death of George III. It is the law and custom of the land, that if there be no parliament in being at the period of the death of the king, the last parliament is revived, and is to sit for the space of six months, unless sooner dissolved by his successor. If, however, a parliament is in existence at the death of the king, but not then sitting, it is with the least

possible delay to assemble. It is usual, indeed, to dissolve it, and call a new parliament as soon as the public business will admit. King George III. died on Saturday, January 29; and on Monday, January 31, both houses of parliament assembled.

House of lords, Jan. 31.—The house met at a little before three o'clock.

After prayers, the lord chancellor took the oaths at the table, and then his royal highness the duke of York.

The oaths were afterwards administered to their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence and Sussex, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Dorset, Wellington, Montrose, Atholl; the marquises of Hertford, Cholmondeley, Camden, Wellesley; the earls of Liverpool, Bathurst, Ailesbury, Westmorland; viscounts Sid-

mouth and Sydney; the bishops of London and Durham; and lords Lilford, Carleton, Carrington, &c.

House of commons.—Exactly at twelve o'clock the lord steward arrived. He wore his blue sash, and carried his wand of office. In the long gallery two tables, one at each end of the apartment, covered with green cloth, were set out. The clerks of the house of commons were in attendance, and the members, who had begun to make their appearance some time before, now assembled in the long gallery.

The lord steward having passed up the long gallery, took his station at the centre of the table furthest from the entrance. The speaker then presented himself to take the oaths of allegiance to his majesty king George the fourth. The oaths having been administered, the right honourable gentleman left the gallery, and proceeded to the speaker's apartments. The other members present were then immediately sworn.—Among them were noticed Mr. Brougham, Mr. Golbourn, Mr. Scarlett, Mr. Arbuthnot, sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Brogden, and Mr. Hutchinson. At ten minutes after twelve the lobby was ordered to be cleared.

At thirty-five minutes after twelve, the speaker proceeded in the usual form to the house.

Having sworn in a few of the members who first presented themselves, the lord steward retired.

After entering the house and taking the chair, the speaker again took the oaths of allegiance, and called on the members present to do the same at the table. This

was immediately done, and at one o'clock a sufficient number of members were sworn to make a house.

Among the members sworn at the table were—Mr. Canning, the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, the honourable F. J. Robinson, the attorney-general, lord Ebrington, the honourable H. G. Bennet, sir C. Robinson, Mr. Ricardo, lord A. Hamilton, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Manning, aldermen Wood and Heygate, the right honourable Robert Peel, the honourable Mr. Primrose, &c.

House of lords, Feb. 2.—The house met at three o'clock.

The oaths were administered to his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Harrowby, the marquises of Winchester, Anglesea, the earls of Macclesfield, Powis, the bishop of Exeter, and lord Napier.

On the motion of the earl of Liverpool, the house adjourned till Thursday the 17th.

House of commons.—The speaker took the chair at three o'clock, and several members proceeded to take the usual oaths. Among the members sworn were lord Castlereagh, the solicitor-general, Mr. Lushington, Mr. W. Pole, Mr. A. Baring, the honourable W. Lamb, Mr. G. Bankes, and Mr. N. Calvert.

Lord Castlereagh said he rose for the purpose of proposing that the house should adjourn to Thursday, the 17th instant. It was, he observed, the uniform practice of parliament, on the demise of the king, to suspend its operation until after the funeral. He did not deem it necessary to press upon the feelings of the house the neces-

necessity of adopting this measure at present ; for, if there ever was a calamity which called particularly for such a mark of their respect, it was that which was now so generally and so sincerely lamented by the house and the country. He proposed the adjournment to the 17th instant, as he expected that the funeral of his deceased majesty would be over by that period : if, however, this should not be the case, he would on that day move a further adjournment.—Adjourned to the 17th.

House of lords, Feb. 17.—The earl of Liverpool presented the following message from his majesty :

“ George R.—The king is persuaded that the house of lords deeply participates in the grief and affliction of his majesty, for the loss which his majesty and the nation have sustained by the lamented death of the king his father. This melancholy event imposing upon his majesty the necessity of summoning, within a limited period, a new parliament, the king has taken into consideration the present state of public business, and is of opinion that it will be, in all respects, most conducive to the public interest and convenience, to call the new parliament without delay. The king, therefore, recommends to the house of lords to concur in such measures as may be found indispensably necessary to provide for the exigencies of the public service during the interval which must elapse between the termination of the present session and the opening a new parliament.

“ G. R.”

After the message was read by

the lord chancellor, and next by the clerk, lord Liverpool said he should propose an address to-morrow on that point which recommended the concurrence of the house on the measures indispensably necessary for the public service. With respect to the first part, there could be no difference of opinion among their lordships, and he should therefore move an address of condolence to his majesty forthwith. His lordship then made a few observations, which were in substance comprised in the motion with which he concluded, viz.—

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express our deep and unfeigned sorrow at the death of the late king, whose virtues had so justly endeared him to all classes of his subjects. To assure his majesty, that the many blessings which we have enjoyed under his royal father’s mild and paternal government can never be effaced from our minds ; and that we most gratefully acknowledge the signal advantages which the country has derived during this long and eventful period, from the augmentation of all the great sources of our national prosperity, and from the splendid and unparalleled achievements of his majesty’s fleets and armies. That whilst we condole with his majesty on the loss which the nation, in common with his majesty, has sustained, we beg leave to offer to him our most sincere congratulations upon his accession to the throne. To testify to his majesty our loyal and affectionate attachment to his sacred person, and to assure him that the experience of the past, as well as our confidence in his cha-



acter and virtues, can leave us no doubt that his efforts will be invariably directed to promote the welfare of the country and the happiness of his subjects."

The address having been read by the lord chancellor—

The marquis of Lansdown expressed his entire concurrence in the object of the address, agreeing as he did most cordially, in all the eulogy bestowed upon the virtues of our late sovereign, and also agreeing that they ought to proceed to the foot of the throne, that their new sovereign might have the opportunity of declaring his intention to exercise his virtues for the benefit of his people. He had no doubt that their lordships would unanimously agree to the address proposed by the noble earl, whose conduct he applauded in separating this subject from the other part of his majesty's message, the consideration of which, it was highly probable, might give rise to some difference of opinion, as, whatever might be thought of the expediency of immediately calling a new parliament, the announcement of such an intention upon this occasion was certainly unprecedented. Judiciously separated, however, as the subject of this address had been from the question to which he had alluded, he had no hesitation whatever in giving his cordial concurrence to it, nor did he imagine there would be the least hesitation on the part of any one of their lordships.

The marquis of Buckingham said he was unwilling to intrude upon the patience of their lordships, when all were doubtless anxious at once to agree to the address which had been moved

by the noble earl; but honoured as those with whom he was nearly connected by relationship, had been by the particular kindness of our late most gracious sovereign, he felt it his duty to say a few words upon this occasion before the question was finally put. The virtues of our late gracious sovereign could not be more powerfully evinced, than by that continued affection of his people, which, notwithstanding the veil that had been drawn between him and them for so long a period, remained unabated; and, as the last melancholy catastrophe, was displayed in a manner that indicated the most vivid feelings of regret for their loss. Our late gracious sovereign, then, notwithstanding the estrangement from his people, caused by the inscrutable act of providence, continued to live in the hearts of his subjects, remembering, as they did, all those virtues by the exercise of which he had so adorned his throne. It was in this manner that our late gracious monarch had forestalled the applauses of posterity; for, in the long interval that had elapsed whilst the veil was interposed between him and his people, his virtues had become the theme of their veneration, and had received the final seal of their admiration and respect.

The earl of Darnley said it was the furthest from his wish to interrupt that unanimity which he had no doubt would prevail upon this occasion; but there appeared to him to be an omission, which if he was irregular in noticing, he should no doubt be told so. He alluded to the circumstance of there being no condolence included in the address, with regard to the

the death of an illustrious individual (the duke of Kent), whose virtues were of the first order, and whose loss could not fail to cause the deepest regret.

The earl of Liverpool said he felt obliged to the noble lord for affording him an opportunity of giving some explanation on the subject he had alluded to. It was undoubtedly his intention to move an address of condolence to his majesty on the lamented death of the duke of Kent, and an address of condolence also to the duchess of Kent; but he thought it better that the address he had already moved should stand as the single proceeding of the house this night.

The address was then agreed to *sem. diss.*, and was ordered to be presented to his majesty by the lords with white staves.

The earl of Liverpool observed, that his majesty's state of health not allowing him to receive the whole house, was the reason for adopting the above mode of presenting the address, and he wished that reason to be entered upon the journals.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh brought down a message from his majesty to the same effect with that presented this day in the upper house. On the motion of the noble lord, it was ordered to be taken into consideration tomorrow; his lordship thinking it right that a day, at least, should be afforded for considering one part of it; but he was convinced the house would feel the propriety of offering an immediate address of condolence on the death of the late sovereign, and of congratulation on the accession of the present. His lordship accordingly proceeded to

panegyricize the character and conduct of his late majesty, who had, by his mild and amiable qualities, secured the esteem of the nation, and during whose unusually long reign this country had grown up to rank, power, and commercial splendour, unequalled among the nations of the earth. He then eulogized his present majesty, from whose declaration, that he would make the example of his royal father the basis of his conduct, the country had to hope for a prosperous reign. He trusted that this expectation would be fully verified, and that his majesty, though he might not have to achieve any additional glories in war, would add the only remaining laurel to his brow, by looking in peace, to policy, justice, and moderation in the administration of his government. His lordship concluded with moving an address to the same effect as that proposed in the house of lords.

Mr. Tierney cordially concurred in the address, with the exception of what alluded to "the experience of the past," which, he thought, might better have been let alone. He wished to bury all the past in oblivion. He would turn his back upon it, and only look forward to a new reign. That, he trusted, would be such as to reflect credit on the sovereign, and be of advantage to his people. The address was then put, and carried unanimously; and it was, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, ordered, that in consideration of his majesty's illness, the address be presented by such members of the house as were of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Lord Castlereagh then moved

an address of condolence to his majesty on the death of the duke of Kent, which was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented in the same manner as the former. A resolution of condolence to the duchess of Kent was also agreed to.

House of lords, Feb. 18.—The marquis of Cholmondeley laid on the table his majesty's answer to the address of yesterday. It concluded with stating that his majesty was "impressed with the deep sense of the duty of following the great example which had been set him; and assured them of his endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of the nation."

On the motion of lord Liverpool, an address of condolence to his majesty on the death of the duke of Kent, and a message of condolence to the duchess of Kent, were agreed to. The noble lord highly panegyricized the conduct of the duchess.

In these praises lord Rolle sincerely concurred. So close, he said, was her attendance on the duke in his last illness, that for five days she never had put off her clothes: but she had her reward in the look which her royal consort gave her before he expired, and which proved his feeling of her conduct, and the consolation it had afforded him.

The earl of Liverpool said, if he had had any doubt on the preceding day as to the propriety of separating the question as to the calling a new parliament without delay, from the subject of addressing the king in condolence on the death of the late sovereign, that that doubt would have been entirely removed by the remark

made by the noble marquis (Lansdown), that such an intimation was entirely unprecedented. It was undoubtedly true that it was unprecedented; but it should at the same time be recollected, that the circumstances of the situation in which they were placed, were also in a great degree unprecedented. It was not the case of the transfer of the crown and all the administration of the government at once to a successor; but here the illustrious individual now on the throne had administered the government for a considerable time, and now, by the death of his sovereign, he was called upon to do that in his own name and behalf, which he had hitherto done in the name and on the behalf of the late king. This, therefore, rendered the present case different from those that had preceded it, and left it to the operation of those circumstances which specially attached to it. With regard to the question of dissolving the parliament, it should be recollected that, according to the common law of the land, the parliament ceased its functions on the demise of the crown, and the act which passed for enabling the parliament to sit for six months afterwards, might be called an exception to that law. With regard to the motive for passing that act, as far as he had been able to ascertain, it appeared to have been intended to provide against a disputed succession.—But undoubtedly the act did not fetter the monarch in the exercise of his prerogative, who might at once, if he pleased, exercise that prerogative by dissolving the parliament: it was merely a question as to the public interest

est or convenience. It was true, that with regard to the civil list, it had been usual in the parliament sitting at the demise of the crown, to pass a measure for arranging the civil list; but this, which was a proper compliment to the crown, there was no necessity to bring forward, when the crown itself, as in the present instance, waived the immediate consideration of it. This, therefore, being put aside for the present, at the instance of the crown itself, it must be obvious to every one, that there were circumstances connected with the knowledge that a new parliament must be called within a certain period, that rendered it inconvenient to proceed to any public business that was not absolutely necessary. These circumstances were matter of notoriety; and it was evident that it would be much more for the public interest and convenience, that the measures necessary to be brought forward should be presented to a parliament uninfluenced by such circumstances, and with their attention not distracted by considerations arising out of the contemplation of the near approach of the summoning a new parliament, and the preparations and arrangements necessarily consequent upon it. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, stating the disposition of the house to concur in disposing of the business that might be necessary for the public service in the interval between the dissolution of the present parliament and the meeting of the new one.

The marquis of Lansdown expressed his surprise at the general way in which the subject had

been treated by the noble earl, who had not afforded any explanation as to the reasons or the motives for the sudden dissolution of the parliament, which the noble earl himself admitted to be unprecedented.—He (the marquis of Lansdown) would be as little disposed as any one to abide by mere forms; but in this case it was undoubtedly not a mere question of form, but one involving the essential practice of the constitution. He believed it to be contrary to all precedent for the crown to put to the consideration of parliament the question as to its own dissolution; such had been ever held to be a most improper course, parliament being considered the most unfit to judge of the propriety of its own dissolution. It was undoubtedly true that the king, in the exercise of his prerogative, might dissolve the parliament at the moment of its meeting on his accession; but when the question of a dissolution was put to parliament itself, they might, with propriety, consider what had been the practice upon former similar occasions; and when it was urged as a reason for now dissolving the parliament, that it would be for the public interest and convenience, it might be fairly answered, and this too on the authority of the noble earl himself, that the present was the most convenient period for entering upon the consideration of public business. For this was the period to which the noble earl himself had moved to adjourn the house, as that which was the most convenient for entering upon that consideration. When, however, this plea of convenience was urged, it would be found, upon looking  
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back to the periods of the accession of our sovereigns, since the reign of William III., when the act was passed authorizing the parliament to continue sitting six months after the demise of the crown, that at periods much more inconvenient than the present, parliament had continued sitting, and had, before their separation, uniformly passed the civil list bill. Thus, on the accession of queen Anne, in March, on that of George I. in August, of George II. in June, and the late king in October, the parliament in each case continued sitting, and passed the civil list bill within a short period of their meeting. Why these precedents were in this instance to be departed from, and the civil list bill to be postponed to a new parliament, the noble earl had not explained. Neither had he explained, and which was certainly most essential, how the public service was to be provided for in the interval, or how the dignity of the crown was to be provided for, the civil list bill having now expired. There was another consideration also of great importance; he alluded to the increase of the military force of the country, to the amount of 10,000 men, to which he was certainly friendly, considering, as he did, that there was a spirit of disaffection in certain districts, operating upon the distress of a numerous class of the community, which required an addition to be made to the military force of the country. But agreeing, as he did, in the necessity for this addition to our military force, he considered it of the greatest importance, in a constitutional point of view, that the parliament should have an oppor-

tunity of taking into consideration such increase. Was it intended by the noble earl that no opportunity should be given to the present parliament to express an opinion upon so important a measure? Was it intended that only a short mutiny bill should be brought in, which would not afford any opportunity of considering the amount of the force? There were other considerations which called for attention when looking to this subject; and he could not but observe that the tone in which the noble earl spoke of measures intended to be proposed to a new parliament, which it was not thought expedient to introduce into a parliament so near its dissolution, was calculated to excite an anxiety, if not a suspicion, on the part of the public, as to the character of the measures so to be proposed. As he had been unable to discover any reason why the precedent in former cases should be in this instance departed from, and as he could not sanction an opinion that there were any circumstances existing that rendered the present parliament, in comparison with a new one, incompetent to enter upon the consideration of the requisite measures, he could not give his vote for the address now proposed.

The earl of Harrowby observed, that the argument of his noble friend who had just sat down, as to the present measure being unprecedented, had been completely answered by anticipation by his noble friend at the head of his majesty's councils. It must be, in his opinion, obvious, that with all the preparations and arrangements that were making, as appeared

appeared in all the public papers, with a view to a dissolution of the present parliament, which it was known must take place within a certain period, and that by no means a distant one, it was impossible for the members of the other house to pay that attention which was requisite to the measures to be proposed to them. This consideration applied equally to measures like the civil list, which perished of themselves, and to measures which formed part of a series, with a view to improvement in our system of laws. With regard to the civil list, the crown having waived its immediate consideration, there was, of course, an end of all impropriety in postponing it. With respect to other measures, forming part of a series of improvements in our laws, it must be evident that they could be much better carried into effect by those who had a chance of remaining to overlook their operation, and maintain the system which it was proposed to carry into operation, than by those who at all events could remain but a short time, and whose attention in the interval must be distracted by the arrangements rendered necessary to them by the expectation of a speedy dissolution of parliament. As to any difficulty in providing for the public service in the interim, the course to be pursued was intended to be the same as in 1807 and in 1784, when a dissolution took place about the same period; and with regard to providing for the dignity of the crown, though there might perhaps be some slight difficulty, yet it might be done by a vote of credit out of the remaining hereditary revenues of the

crown. As to the measures to be proposed when the new parliament met, their lordships would, when that period arrived, be enabled to judge of them; but certainly there was not the slightest reason to attach any character of suspicion to them, as was attempted by the noble marquis. He (lord Harrowby) could answer for himself, and he was confident he might answer for his colleagues, that nothing was intended to be proposed which was inconsistent with the utmost fairness and propriety."

Earl Grosvenor contended, that there was time enough to complete any measures that might be necessary, without dissolving parliament, and objected strongly to the continuance of so large a standing army in the time of peace. Why, he would ask, was such an army to be kept up? Was it to support the arbitrary government of Spain—was it to support any of the despotic powers of the continent, who, having promised free constitutions to their subjects while in adversity, violated those promises under circumstances more favourable—or was it to keep down the disaffected in our own country? They had heard it repeated, even to nausea, that the disaffection was put down long ago, by the wise and vigorous measures for which the ministry took credit to themselves; it therefore could not be for that purpose. Was it, then, for a purpose which they could not avow—was it to support themselves in administration, that this extraordinary burthen should be continued in the present distressed condition of the country? He, for one, could never give his vote for such measures.

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The earl of Lauderdale thought that great inconvenience would be found to attend the immediate dissolution of parliament. The noble earl (of Harrowby) had observed, that if parliament was not dissolved for six months, the members would have so much of their own business to attend to, that the business of the public would be neglected. But, if there was any thing in that argument, he would ask, did it not apply equally to all the other cases? Yet this was the very first case in which the argument was urged. The public business would be as well attended to in the present instance, as it was in other instances when the same apprehension might, with as much propriety, have been suggested—what then became of the noble lord's sole argument? With respect to the consideration of the civil list, he thought it would have been better that it should be arranged by parliament, instead of being submitted to the public—as it was, in effect, by being postponed until the general election had taken place. The house would recollect, that there were such things as instructions from constituents to their representatives, and that he thought should have suggested itself to the noble lords as one of the inconveniences attendant upon the course which they recommended. It had been said, that the civil list was to be provided for out of the hereditary revenues. But they should consider how the hereditary revenues were applied already, and they would find, by the 48th and some succeeding clauses of the consolidated fund act, that the hereditary revenues were appropriated to make up the defi-

ciencies of the consolidated fund, in the event of the king's demise. If those deficiencies could be made up in the mean time, he should have no objection to the plan, but until he was assured of that he could not say that he was satisfied.

The earl of Carnarvon said, he had waited with great anxiety, in the expectation that something more would be offered in favour of the course adopted by ministers, than the meagre information already before the house. The noble earl who spoke first, had alluded to some things that were notorious, and others that were less so, but he had not made out one strong ground of justification. The noble earl who followed him, had admitted that that was the first instance in which the propriety of dissolving parliament was submitted to the consideration of parliament itself; he had followed up the expression, however (as if conscious of some inconsistency), by stating that parliament was not called upon to advise his majesty to dissolve it, but to consider whether it would adopt those measures which were to carry the dissolution into effect. How then had they got rid of his noble friend's constitutional objection? His noble friend had shown, that if it was convenient at any time to continue the sitting of parliament, it was convenient now. But then it was objected, that members of parliament would have so much of their own business to attend to, they would neglect the business of their constituents. For his own part, he should have drawn the very contrary conclusion. If there was any period when members of parliament attended

attended more particularly to the business of their constituents than another, it was when they were about to be dissolved. The noble lords had not succeeded in assigning even a plausible reason for their departure from precedent, and resort to temporary expedients. It rested with them to show, that there was some difference in the circumstances of the present day, as compared with the circumstances of former days, that rendered a different mode of proceeding necessary; and if they neglected to do so, the inference was, that they had some reason or other which they were unwilling to state. In the present condition of the country, a strong ground should be made out to justify an immediate dissolution; and he had no hesitation in saying, that those who could give such advice without such a ground, had not done their duty either to the king or to the country. Inquiries had taken place in the other house respecting the conduct of certain boroughs, some of which were held to be unfit to exercise the elective franchise, until an arrangement could be made. In the case of one borough, leave was given to bring in a bill to transfer the right of election to some other place; but by dissolving parliament before those measures could be brought to a conclusion, the boroughs so convicted of abusing the right, would be sent again to exercise it contrary to the intention of at least one branch of the legislature. It was reported that ministers themselves admitted the necessity of a change in one of the boroughs; yet they now came forward to recommend a course,

which must defeat their own admission. The consequence of a dissolution now would be, that the most important business of the session would come on at a period of the year when it was almost impossible to keep a sufficient number of members in town.

Earl Bathurst observed, that the whole business of the session was yet to be done, and contended that it would be impossible to get through it in time to prepare for a dissolution at the end of six months. With regard to the precedents alluded to, he would have their lordships to consider in what state the public business was on those different occasions. The death of queen Anne took place in the month of August, when the business of the session was at an end; that of George the first took place in June, when the public business was considerably advanced; and that of George the second in October, when the business was concluded. In those cases, therefore, there was no necessity for adopting the course which under the present circumstances appeared expedient. Besides, since the death of his late majesty, there was more emotion throughout the country, on the prospect of the new elections, than probably existed at any former period. Perhaps there was not an instance known before, in which the same paper that communicated the death of the king contained an advertisement from a candidate for the representation of a county. The example was followed in other instances, and upon the whole there was a degree of ferment in the country which rendered the proceeding advisable.

—Know.



—Knowing this, and knowing that, if they entered into business now, it must occupy at least five or six months, they had taken the middle course, as the one most suitable to the circumstances in which they were placed at the moment.

Lord King said, that the immediate dissolution would bring them to May before the new parliament could meet; and he would leave it to the house to consider to what time the session must extend in that case. It was true that they had a balance of convenience and inconvenience to decide upon; but then there was uniform practice on one side, and that practice was, that after the demise of the king, parliament should proceed, with as little delay as possible, to the arrangement of the civil list. By dissolving now, they would leave the crown without a civil list. The hereditary revenues of the crown were divided into two branches:—one, by far the smaller branch, was strictly the hereditary revenue; but the other, which was considerably more extensive, depended on the vote of parliament. No man, he presumed, would attempt to apply that part of the fund to the purposes of the civil list, without the authority of parliament; nor was he sure whether there was not some portion of the hereditary revenues that expired with the late sovereign. Upon the whole, he was adverse to the immediate dissolution of parliament, without taking the civil list into consideration, as it was a mode of proceeding not respectful to the new sovereign.

The lord chancellor said, he would state in few words the grounds on which he gave his

vote, especially as some noble lords, whose opinions were entitled to respect, had intimated that those who supported the motion sanctioned the ministers in venturing unconstitutional advice to the crown. But that was not his view of the question; for, according to the law of parliament in former times, on the demise of the crown, the parliament was *ipso facto* dissolved. He did not mean to say that it was not right for parliament to have extended its own existence for six months after the demise of the king, as was done by the act of William the third. His notion was, that the enactment was properly made, with a view to the public interest; but by that act it was not determined that the parliament should necessarily exist for six months after the demise—it was still left open to consideration how far the public convenience required that it should continue so to exist, or not. If, on the other hand, they thwarted the purpose of dissolving parliament, by going on with business when the public convenience did not require it, they were the persons who took upon themselves to say that the crown should not dissolve the parliament. If they threw obstacles in the way of the dissolution, they took upon themselves the authority of deciding the question; and therefore he would vote with his noble friends, not with a view to break in upon the prerogative of the crown, but to prevent the prerogative from being interfered with.

The marquis of Lansdown asked, whether it was the intention of ministers to apply that part of the hereditary revenues which were strictly

strictly such, to make up the deficiencies of the consolidated fund, in the interval between this and the meeting of the new parliament?

The earl of Liverpool answered, that he would not take upon himself to say whether the other house would adopt any temporary measure of finance during that interval; but whether they did or not, no material inconvenience would follow, either to the public service or to the state of the consolidated fund. With respect to the army, he could also assure their lordships that no army should be continued in this country, even for so short an interval, without the authority of parliament. \*

The motion was then carried without a division, and the house adjourned.

House of commons.—The order of the day for taking into consideration his majesty's message of yesterday having been read,

On the motion of lord Castlereagh the message itself was read by the clerk.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that in rising to move an address in answer to his majesty's most gracious message, it might be for the convenience of the house to state what course it was the intention of ministers to propose, in consequence of the recent and important events. It was well known, that although before the late recess various bills had been agreed to applicable to the then state of the country, the great mass of the public business of the session had not been entered upon. Under those circumstances, it became indispensable for his majesty's ministers to consider what course it would be most expedient to advise. There were only two courses

which could be pursued—either to endeavour to go through the whole of the business, by extending the present session to the utmost length which the law would allow, or to call a new parliament. The house would see that many inconveniences would attend the former of those courses. It would in all probability be scarcely practicable to complete all the parliamentary business within the prescribed period; and to select those topics to which the especial attention of parliament should be directed, would be a difficult and an invidious task. Any measure not completed by the natural close of the session, would not stand so advantageously with reference to a new parliament as if absolutely commenced in that parliament. The house would also, he was persuaded, go along with his majesty's ministers in their conviction, that nothing could be less desirable with reference to the public morals, and, he would even add, to the public tranquillity, than to leave the country for many months subject to all the excitation and passions which the approach of a general election, and the conflict of interests involved in that event, tended to generate. Weighing the alternative presented to them, namely, whether the great business of the year should be brought forward in the present or in a new parliament, his majesty's ministers had decided in favour of a new parliament. It appeared to them, therefore, that the only sound proceeding was, to endeavour to confine the measures to be proposed in the present parliament as much as possible to those which were indispensable to the public service. He was perfectly aware that it

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had been the usage on similar occasions, on the first meeting of parliament after the demise of the crown, to make provision for a great proportion of the civil establishment of the country. It certainly was the wish of his majesty's government, that this subject should be satisfactorily arranged. But, on the other hand, it would require much time to prepare the proposition which it was their intention to submit to parliament on the subject; and it was also extremely desirable that that proposition should be adequately considered by the house, with calm minds and a full attendance; all which it was hopeless to expect during the existence of the present parliament. On all those grounds, therefore, ministers had decided on advising the crown to call a new parliament with as little delay as possible; and having come to that decision, they had also thought it becoming to advise the crown to communicate frankly to parliament the purpose in view.—He would now state to the house the particular business which his majesty's ministers meant to propose for the consideration of the present parliament. With respect to private business, the house was aware of the course that had been pursued on former dissolutions—namely, to make such an arrangement as would place private business in the new parliament in the same situation as that in which it had been left in the old, so that no inconvenience would accrue to private interests. As to public business, it was the wish of government that the new parliament should be placed in a situation the most calculated to be advantageous to the public service. It was

not proposed to vote any additional sum for army services during the present session. Enough had already been granted to cover the expenditure in the interval that would elapse before the meeting of the new parliament. It was intended to propose the continuance of the mutiny bill to the 25th of June, as well as of several other bills that would otherwise expire. It was probable that the house would arrive at the close of its labours by the end of the present month. If so, or if it should accomplish all that was necessary by the 3d or 4th of March, the new parliament might assemble by from the 20th to the 26th of April, when the business of the year would be immediately entered into. Having expressed his readiness to afford any explanation or information that might be required, the noble lord concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which was an echo of the message of yesterday.

Mr. Tierney declared that the whole of the proceeding was the most extraordinary of the kind that he had ever heard of. He did not believe that there had ever been an accession to the crown without some communication to parliament of a nature very different from that which had been made in the present instance. It had always been usual to say something of the feelings of the new monarch, and of the course of policy which it was his intention to pursue. In the present case, the house had only been drily told that his majesty's government found it convenient to send them about their business as soon as possible. Not the remotest reference had been made in the communication

cation from the crown, as to the ulterior course of policy which it was intended to pursue. It was true, that it might be said, that on former occasions of the demise of the crown, parliament was in a state of prorogation; and that there was, therefore, greater scope for observations of the nature to which he alluded, in the speech from the throne, on its assembling. But on such an occasion as the present, there would have been no irregularity in summoning the house of commons to attend in the other house of parliament, for the purpose of hearing the royal sentiments. He must observe, without meaning to say anything offensive, that the omission of all such communication was very indecorous. There was another point of great constitutional importance. In all former cases, on the accession of a new monarch to the throne, he expressed to the house his confidence that they would make good the hereditary revenues of the crown. This operated in two ways. It recognised the power of parliament to vote those revenues or not. It was highly important that it should not be taken for granted that those revenues were not under the controul of parliament. It was true that some of them were so. But what were generally called the hereditary revenues of the crown expired on the demise of the crown, and could not be legally collected without a new act of parliament. Could any man doubt that there was something at the bottom of all this extraordinary proceeding not hitherto explained? What it was he knew not. But he was sure that no administration would wantonly, and without cause, de-

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part from that which was the ordinary course on such occasions. He was sure that there was some reason why the civil list was not voted at once, as was usual. The noble lord, indeed, talked of the time which the proposed arrangements would require. That appeared very extraordinary, when it was recollected that the subject had been settled within the last four or five years. At that period a very able and voluminous report was presented with reference to it; it was arranged on the suggestion of ministers themselves; and now the house were told of the time requisite to make the future arrangements on the subject. He was utterly at a loss to discover where would be the difficulty of bringing in a bill at once to state the proposed amount of the civil list. Nor could he comprehend the object of immediately dissolving parliament. All that the noble lord had said was, that it would be inconvenient not to dissolve parliament immediately. The noble lord's notion of the convenient period for the laborious business of the year was that it should commence in May—a season not very long preceding that at which most honourable gentlemen were in the habit of going into the country, and thereby rendering the proceedings of parliament a dead letter. Formerly it had been thought, that the heavy business should not be deferred until after Easter; now it turned out, that it was convenient that it should not begin until long after that period! The occurrence of the assize was another circumstance which must render a dissolution at the present moment extremely inconvenient. With re-

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spect to the dissolution, he (Mr. Tierney) was as desirous as any man to get, as speedily as possible, through all the difficulties and annoyances which an election occasioned. But he had duties first to perform in that house, which he was bound not to neglect; and he could not, therefore, concur in the address proposed. From what had fallen from the noble lord, it did not appear that it was intended to ask the present parliament for any further grant [an expression of dissent from the treasury bench]. Was it? The noble lord and the right honourable gentleman did not seem quite agreed on that point. He wished they would settle it. Did the right honourable gentleman mean to propose a vote of credit, in the committee of supply?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he intended to propose a grant for the payment of the civil list up to the 5th April, at the present rate.

Mr. Tierney resumed.—According to the statement made by the noble lord, the new parliament would not be assembled by the 5th of April. It was certain, therefore, that there would be a period during which the crown would have no maintenance whatever, that the house knew of. All this appeared to him to be wholly unnecessary. Why not at once vote a specific sum for the civil list of George the fourth? The noble lord said, that his majesty's ministers had not made up their minds on the subject. What could occasion the necessity of any alteration? Why depart from the established usage? It was unaccountable, except something or other was at the bottom of the business hitherto

unexplained. He knew, however, that it was in vain for him to urge this argument; the heads of the members he knew were more in the country than in town. They were thinking of cockades, and hustings, and returning officers. It was in vain for him, therefore, to do any thing but protest against the present proceeding. As to the measures proposed by the noble lord, if the propriety of an immediate dissolution were once acquiesced in, to those particular measures he could have no objection. He must make one exception. In an early part of the present session, in consequence of the representations that had been made of the disturbed state of the country, parliament voted an additional military force of 11,000 men. All alarm, he apprehended, was now dissipated, and he imagined that there were no sounder sleepers than the mass of the subjects of this country. Why, therefore, was it requisite to keep up this additional military force of 11,000 men to the 25th of June? And what chance was there that at that time it would be reduced; it being notorious that the attendance in the house would at that period be very insufficient? Where was the necessity of deferring this and other important questions until a season when no reliance whatever could be placed on their being fully and fairly considered? He could not give his assent to the noble lord's motion, conceiving that the noble lord was first bound to show what objection there was to vote the civil list at once, as was usual in similar circumstances.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, assured the right honourable gentleman, that he had no other purpose

purpose in the propositions which he had submitted to the house, than that which he had distinctly avowed. It did not appear to his majesty's government that the various topics to which he had alluded could be so conveniently discussed by the present as by a new parliament. It must quiet any constitutional jealousy on the subject to observe, that the vote which his right honourable friend intended to propose was merely to prevent any arrear in the interval between the dissolution of the present and meeting of the next parliament. As to the hereditary revenues of the crown, those which were strictly hereditary were so inconsiderable, that no rational difficulty could be contemplated in making a parliamentary arrangement with respect to them. There could not be the smallest doubt that the house would be disposed to act with respect to those revenues as formerly. He could assure the right honourable gentleman, that he did his majesty's ministers great injustice, if he supposed that they entertained any distrust of the present parliament on that subject. For himself, he never knew a parliament to whom he was persuaded might be more safely confided the duty of making such an arrangement with respect to the revenue of the crown, as should evince at once a becoming economy, and a disposition to prevent placing the crown in such a situation as would endanger the incurring of debt. At the same time, his majesty's government claimed the opportunity of a full deliberation on the subject, before they submitted it in its details to the judgement of parliament; and it was therefore that it was pro-

posed to postpone it until the meeting of the new parliament. With reference to the period of that meeting, he denied that the year would be so far advanced as not to give time for the due consideration of the public business.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that what was generally called the hereditary revenue of the crown, went now to the consolidated fund; but the act which settled this point was now expired. He agreed with the right honourable member (Mr. Tierney), who said that the crown was at this moment without any other revenue than that portion of the hereditary revenue which belonged to the civil list, amounting to between 500,000*l.* and 600,000*l.* He would on Monday next bring forward some measures on this subject. It was his intention to move that one quarter's revenue of the civil list, at its present rate, which would become due on the 5th of April, should be paid; this would carry on the royal establishment up to the 5th of July, before which time the necessary steps would be taken by the new parliament. By this means all inconvenience would be avoided. Allusion had been made to former reigns; but it should be recollected, that the circumstances of the present case differed very materially from those of any previous one. He had the satisfaction of stating, that in the arrangements to be adopted, a considerable saving would be made to the public. The right honourable member had objected to the continuance of the increased number of troops; but it should be recollected, that a considerable number of the troops previously employed, had been subsequently

discharged, so that in fact the previous mutiny bill would cover the whole number of troops to be employed. He felt satisfaction in stating, that it would not be necessary to vote an additional sum for this part of the public service, there being at present a sufficiency in hand for the purpose. It would be necessary to continue the mutiny bill, and some other bills, which would otherwise expire with the dissolution of parliament.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Hume rose together; and there were repeated calls of "Mr. Brougham, Mr. Brougham." Mr. B., however, gave way.

Mr. Hume said, it was proposed that several bills now about to expire were to be renewed. It was known, that by the 54th Geo. III. cap. 16, a sum of 35,000*l.* was settled upon the late princess of Wales, now our queen. On the demise of his late majesty this grant ceased; he expected therefore that either the noble lord (Castlereagh) or the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer would have stated whether this provision was to be continued, or whether any and what other was to be substituted in its stead.

Lord Castlereagh was understood to say, that every pains would be taken to prevent any inconvenience arising in the quarter alluded to, from the dissolution of parliament.

Mr. Brougham said, his right honourable friend (Mr. Tierney) had so fully anticipated him in the view which he intended to take of the subject, that he had very little to offer upon it. He could not, however, help expressing his sur-

prise at the extraordinary nature of the proceedings adopted by his majesty's ministers. With respect to the subject alluded to by the honourable member who had just sat down, he assured the house that it was not then his intention to offer a word upon it. He intended to confine himself to that part of the royal message which referred to the dissolution of parliament. And here he must observe, that this was the first message which so precisely and so specifically pointed out the dissolution of parliament. Whenever parliament interfered with the prerogative of the crown, they were told by ministers that they were not competent to entertain the subject of the termination of their existence as a body—that the crown alone was to decide upon it. Without meaning to deny the right of the people to controul ministers in the advice which they gave the crown as to the exercise of its prerogative, he could not help noticing the strange position in which parliament was placed. They were called upon to give an opinion whether the proposed dissolution was a well advised measure or not. Thus called upon, it was no wonder that they should enter upon the discussion;—it was no wonder that they should consider whether they ought to give an aye or a no to the question put to them. For himself, he was as little averse to an immediate dissolution of parliament as the noble lord or any of his colleagues could be. He had, however, one remark to make upon this advice given to the crown: he presumed that they had maturely weighed the inconvenience to which the country would be put by having the

the election come on in the middle of the assizes; and also the inconvenience which would arise, particularly to professional men, from having the term commence so soon after the assizes. On the former dissolution of parliament the term was postponed, but it could not be done in the present instance. The next point to which he should refer, was more material. He could not help congratulating the house upon the admission which had been, though slowly, wrung from ministers. Not long since they were told, that so great was the alarm in the public mind—so inherent was vice in the country—so great was the number of discontented and designing persons, who were plotting the subversion of the constitution—so numerous were the plots which were hatching all over the kingdom, that it was found necessary to call upon parliament to pass the most harsh and restrictive measures, in order to put down the turbulence of the country. They were told that it was necessary to bridle the public mind, and to deprive the people of their hitherto constitutional right of meeting. But now the fact was, that one of these restrictive measures expired with the parliament; and as ministers did not exercise their discretion in proposing its renewal, it showed that the necessity for it had ceased, or else they were about to plunge the country into a situation which not many weeks since was said to be inconsistent with its safety. There was another point to which he wished to advert. Every one who heard the luminous speech of the noble lord (Castlereagh)—luminous, not because it enabled them to under-

stand the reasons contained in it, but because it was so transparent that every one could see through it—saw the real motive for postponing the discussion of the civil list at present; he would mention it in one short sentence, instead of following the prolix reasons of the noble lord—it was, because it was thought more handy, more convenient to bring it under the consideration of a new parliament, than before a parliament which was on its death-bed—before a parliament that could not sit more than six months, but which might be dissolved the day after it had voted the civil list. This was his decided conviction. For himself, he had no objection to the dissolution, as he thought frequent parliaments were beneficial and refreshing to the constitution; yet he felt it his duty to point out the motives by which those who advised the measure were actuated.

Mr. Canning said, the gentlemen who had spoken on the other side of the house seemed to entertain one opinion, that ministers had some concealed and lurking motive for advising the immediate dissolution of parliament. He knew not how such a charge was to be answered, unless by protestations to the contrary. Now he most distinctly denied that either himself or his colleagues had any such motive or object in view. The gentlemen who made this charge would, at a proper time, have an opportunity of comparing those protestations with the measures which would be introduced. He could assure the house, that the civil list would be arranged with every view to economy, and at the same time, what parliament would not pardon the



omission of a proper attention to the dignity of the crown? It was not in the power of his majesty's ministers to enter more fully into this subject at present. Any such proceeding would be inconsistent with the plan which they intended to follow. The honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham) had taken a constitutional objection to the discussion of the dissolution of parliament, observing, that nothing of the kind had been previously done.—That honourable member ought to recollect, that parliament had on a former occasion presented an address, praying that the crown might not interfere with its operations by dissolution.—What was to prevent the house from now entertaining such a question, he was yet to learn. It was argued also, that a prorogation was the old wholesome common law of the constitution. But the law was the other way. The old practice was, that parliament died immediately on the demise of the crown, and it was by recent enactments that a sort of period of grace, as it were, was extended, and parliament allowed to sit six months after such demise, the power still remaining in the king to dissolve at pleasure. This enactment was made in the reign of king William, and the specific ground for it was, that at that time there was a disputed succession, and it would have been inconvenient that parliament should be instantaneously separated. This act was made permanent in the reign of queen Anne, when a foreign succession was again contemplated. It was an act which was analogous to, and by no means opposed to, the spirit of the constitution. In the

reign of George I., and the two following reigns, the revenues of the crown were settled before parliament was dissolved; but the gentlemen on the other side themselves acknowledged that those cases were not analogous to the present. He did not mean to argue that because the case was different now they must therefore of necessity take a different course of proceeding, but to show that the case being different they were not bound to follow precedents, and that, on the contrary, [they had a very wide scope of discretion allowed them. Let them look at the state in which parliament was at the period when the late melancholy event took place. They had before them a variety of business which it was hopeless to expect could be dispatched within any reasonable time. The country, from whatever source, felt that a dissolution of parliament was about to take place. If he were to name the individual who had been "first in the field," who had been first to sound the alarm of the approaching dissolution of parliament, the house would perceive that the honourable and learned gentleman opposite (Mr. Brougham) ought to be the last man who would cast an imputation of precipitancy upon ministers—upon those who were supposed to hasten the arrival of the moment when that gentleman's most zealous and ardent expectations were to be realized.—It was too hard that he who had been first to challenge his adversary into the listed field, should cast blame upon those who gave him an opportunity of commencing the combat, while they contented themselves with being mere spectators. But did

did the honourable member really imagine that a sufficient attendance of members would be kept in town to transact business at present, and particularly such important business as that which was to be brought before parliament? He felt convinced that the house must be of a contrary opinion—that they must see ministers had given that advice which was calculated to advance the best interests of the country, and that they had, on the whole, acted with the utmost candour and disinterestedness.

Mr. Brougham, in explanation, observed, that the right honourable gentleman had, upon this as upon several other occasions (he spoke it with respect), come at his joke by a perversion of facts. The right honourable gentleman said, that he thought “the first in the field” complained of the speedy dissolution. Now he appealed to those who heard him, whether he had not twice said that he rejoiced in the speedy dissolution of parliament? So much for that joke. Next came the right honourable gentleman’s version of what he (Mr. Brougham) said relative to the interference of parliament on the dissolution of parliament. What he said was, that the house had not before been called upon to give its opinion on the propriety of dissolving parliament. He repeated, that when any such interference on the part of parliament was attempted, ministers uniformly replied, that that was exclusively the prerogative of the crown. Yet now the parliament was called upon to approve of the dissolution.

Mr. Macdonald expressed his

entire concurrence in what had fallen from his honourable friend. It was singular, that though ministers themselves had confessed that there was a series of precedents before them, they should think it necessary to deviate from them without assigning a single reason for their conduct. It was admitted that all the kings of England since the revolution had felt it necessary to throw themselves upon parliament for a suitable provision to support their dignity, nor was there any instance where the people did not ratify and approve of the conduct of their representatives on such occasions. The present was the first time that the civil list was not noticed in the message from the crown. Was it that the present parliament, which had gone so far, as the country now felt, with government, were not to be trusted? or was it that the loyal and generous people of this country would feel displeased at making a suitable provision for the crown? It was said that economy would be looked to in providing for the civil list; but it was known how much value was to be set upon such statements. The impression upon his mind was, that there was something in agitation, which, if brought forward now, would not bear the test of a general election. Let it be observed, that they were now at that period of the year when the public business was usually transacted, and that they had full time to sit longer than public business required. He did not dispute the right of the crown to dissolve parliament; but he found fault with his majesty’s ministers, whose advice made it imperative on parliament

liament to give its opinion on the propriety of the exercise of the royal prerogative.

The question was put and carried, and the address was ordered to be presented by such members of the house as are members of his majesty's privy council.

Lord John Russell said, that in bringing forward his motion with regard to those boroughs in which bribery had been proved to exist, he should not detain the house more than a few minutes. Provision was, he understood, to be made for the civil list, and also for the further continuance of those acts which would otherwise expire with the present parliament; he thought, therefore, it was necessary that parliament should also provide for the preservation of its own dignity and character.—They ought to look with a jealous eye at any attempt to invade their privileges. In furtherance of this, he intended to propose that the writs for the boroughs of Grampound, Penryn, and Camelford should be postponed to the meeting of the next parliament. For this there was a precedent in 15 Geo. III, cap. 20. The borough of Shaftesbury having been convicted of bribery and corruption, the writ had been postponed from time to time, and at length it was postponed to the meeting of parliament after a prorogation. He proposed that this principle should extend to the dissolution, which, in his opinion, was analogous to a prorogation. In the case of an impeachment, Mr. Fox was of opinion that a dissolution did not operate otherwise than a prorogation of parliament did; with this difference only, that the former

gave men a better opportunity of reviewing their opinions. Viewing the case in this light, he felt that there was no impropriety in bringing the present bill before the house. There was one borough (Barnstaple) which he wished to exclude, as proceedings had already been instituted with respect to it; but the prorogation prevented their going through the other house. He should feel sorry to do any thing which could displease the inhabitants of any borough, but they were called upon in justice to themselves to adopt this measure. He should, therefore, move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the issuing of writs for the boroughs of Grampound, Penryn, and Camelford, until the meeting of the next parliament.

Lord Castlereagh agreed with the noble lord in the principle of the bill, but he suggested that it was likely, in the event of the bill going to the lords, they would call for the information upon which they (the commons) had acted. This, he observed, would be a complicated and also an expensive proceeding. The noble lord made some other observations on the difficulties which he conceived the bill was likely to meet in its progress.

Mr. W. Wynn was of opinion that the borough of Barnstaple ought to be particularly included in this bill. Ample evidence had been given at the bar, of the existence of bribery in that borough, and the other house was proceeding upon a similar inquiry when their proceedings were put an end to by the prorogation of parliament. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had said, that the consideration

consideration of the question of the corruption in these boroughs might come before a new parliament as well as before the present parliament, if there had been no new elections. No one can deny the plenitude of the authority of parliament, on this as on other subjects. But it would certainly embarrass the proceedings if members were returned for these boroughs at the next elections. It might then be objected, that though they had once fallen into acts of corruption, they had, in this instance, elected members without having been guilty of similar practices, and that therefore it was no more rational for the house to recall the former offences of these boroughs than of any others. However corrupt in principle and practice these boroughs might be, it could not be doubted, that under the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, they would abstain from open corruption. It would also afford an instance of practical inconsistency, if, while they in a future parliament proceeded to disfranchise these boroughs as radically corrupt, they allowed the individuals who might have been elected for the boroughs to sit to the end of that parliament. He allowed that the case of the borough of Shaftesbury was different in form, but it was equally an interference with the common course of law with the bill which was now proposed. It was as imperative in any case of vacancy during a prorogation, on the speaker to issue his writ, as on the lord chancellor to issue his writ to the sheriff to direct his precept to the boroughs after a dissolution. If bribery had been

practised in these boroughs to the extent to which they had reason to believe it had, it was imperative on the house to take such measures that the dissolution of the present parliament would not prejudice its inquiries, and to refuse to concur in certain bills till they had a reasonable security on a matter so closely affecting its privileges. The noble lord (lord John Russell) had very properly alluded to the case of impeachment as a parallel case; and as a dissolution was held not to affect a measure of that kind, so it should not affect proceedings of equal constitutional importance. He should therefore give his hearty support to the bill of the noble lord. It was advisable to show by such a measure, that there was a power in the constitution to meet any emergency, and they would thus have proper means of defence against those who contended that all our institutions were corrupted and perverted from their proper use.

Lord John Russell, in reply, said, that he had no objection to comply with the wish of his honourable friend (Mr. Wynn) by introducing into the bill that clause which he recommended. He was happy to hear, that, notwithstanding the objections which the noble lord (lord Castlereagh) had stated, he had acknowledged that in the new parliament the inquiries should proceed as if the present had continued to sit. He did not see that it was necessary for the house of lords to inquire at length into all the evidence respecting these boroughs at the present moment, but merely to ascertain that the commons had examined evidence, on which they had

had thought it advisable to suspend the issuing of writs in the case of these boroughs.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, said, that what he had stated was merely adduced in exemplification of the difficulty of the course of proceeding suggested.

Leave was given.

Lord Jocelyn, from the king, read his majesty's answer to the address of the house. It briefly stated that his majesty had received with peculiar satisfaction the address of the house of commons, condoling with him on the death of his beloved father, and congratulating him on his accession to the throne. He assured them that the whole object of his reign should be to promote the happiness and confirm the liberty of the people.

His majesty also informed the house, that he had received with satisfaction the address of the house of commons on the death of his beloved brother, the duke of Kent.

House of lords, Feb. 21.—The marquis of Cholmondeley presented his majesty's answer to the address of Friday, thanking their lordships for their loyal address, in which they had anticipated his majesty's feelings, who received with satisfaction their lordships' assurance of their readiness to adopt such means for expediting the business of parliament as public exigency may require.

The noble marquis also presented his majesty's answer to the address of condolence on the death of the duke of Kent; and the duchess of Kent's answer to the message sent to her.

In the commons, the same day, lord Morpeth appeared at the bar

with the answer of the duchess of Kent to the address of condolence which had been voted to her royal highness.

After some observations from Mr. Vansittart, on the motion of Mr. Brougham, an address was ordered to be presented to his majesty, for "an account of the total produce of all funds at the disposal of the crown, and usually deemed not under the immediate controul of parliament, since the accession of his late majesty; distinguishing the money arising from droits of admiralty, droits of the crown, four and a half per cent. West India duties, Scotch revenue, and all other sources not hereinbefore specified."

Mr. Bennet presented a petition from the inhabitants of Cape Breton against the incorporation of that island with the government of Nova Scotia.

Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the mutiny act until the 24th of June. There would be no mention in the bill of the numbers of the army, nor would any grant of money be proposed. These questions would be left entire for the consideration of the new parliament.

Colonel Davies objected to continuing the large addition made last year to the standing army.

Mr. Calcraft censured the arrangements made by ministers, by which those months usually appropriated to parliamentary business would be lost, and the ensuing session extended into the autumn.

Lord Palmerston said, the increase of the army had met with general approbation.

Mr. Hume thought the milita-

ry establishment was much too great.

Mr. Croker said, the marine mutiny bill would be for the same limited period as that for the army. The motion was then put, and carried; and soon after the bill was brought in, and read the first and second time.

The bill for suspending the writs for Barnstaple, &c. was read a second time, after a discussion of some length, in the course of which Mr. Brougham expressed an opinion, that the house should interpose to procure some mitigation of the sentence on sir M. M. Lopes, now 68 years of age; and sir J. Yorke recommended Mr. Swann to the clemency of the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house should resolve into a committee of supply, and that his majesty's message, with the army estimates, and the civil contingencies, should be referred to the said committee.

On the motion that the speaker should leave the chair,

Mr. Hume rose and observed, that before the speaker left the chair, he was anxious to obtain some information upon a point, with regard to which he had on a former evening felt it his duty to put a question to the noble secretary of state, to which question he had received a very unsatisfactory answer. He meant with respect to the situation of the queen. If there were any subject which more than another interested the feelings of that house and the public, he believed it was the condition of this illustrious personage. For what was that condition? It was clear from recent occurrences, as well as from the language of the noble lord, that the queen was not only unacknowledged; but

that it was apparently determined that she was not to be acknowledged. Every loyal man must witness such a course of proceeding with great surprise and regret, and therefore he was astonished to see that many loyal and constitutional gentlemen in that house seemed disposed wholly to overlook the subject. He by no means intended to express any doubt of the disposition of his majesty to act with fairness and liberality upon this or any other occasion; but he must say that he was extremely surprised at the course which his ministers seemed inclined to take. Was it proposed, he would ask the noble lord, that the dissolution should take place without making any distinct provision for the queen? It was known, that the act by which thirty-five thousand pounds a year were granted to her majesty had expired upon the demise of the late king, and was it now intended to leave her unprovided for? In what situation was it meant that the queen of England should stand? Was she to be left as a beggar on the continent, or was she to depend for her subsistence upon the mere bounty of some person or persons in England? He maintained, that as queen she was peculiarly entitled to the attention of that house, and that something definite as to the means of her future provision should be immediately stated. The answer of the noble lord on a former evening, was so indefinite and unsatisfactory upon this subject, that he felt himself called upon, by a sense of public duty, again to bring the question under the consideration of that house. He was quite sorry to see the manner in which the queen was treated. Why was not

not an address of condolence and congratulation voted to her majesty upon the demise of the king, and upon the accession of her husband to the throne, as was the case with regard to the queen consort of George II.? Upon what ground was the queen passed by altogether upon this occasion, or why was her majesty's name omitted in the liturgy? He did, he must confess, expect a different course from ministers. But her majesty was so completely slighted, that it was quite unknown to the public in what manner she was hereafter to be treated. If the queen were to land at Portsmouth to-morrow, there was no arrangement or understanding how she was to be received, or whether she was to meet the marks of recognition and respect usually evinced towards the members of the royal family, or how the public functionaries were to behave towards her majesty. These were circumstances, with regard to which some explanation should be given to the house and the country, and he called upon the noble lord to give that explanation in definite terms. He asked the noble lord, how the wedded wife of the king was to be treated, or whether, as a husband in private life was bound by law to provide for the subsistence of his consort, the queen consort was to have any settled provision? It was, no doubt, discretionary on the part of the noble lord, to answer his question, but he expected an answer as a matter of courtesy, but still more in order to satisfy the public mind. He did not mean to say that the queen was likely to be altogether neglected, but he must observe, that it was due to the rank which her

majesty held in the constitution, as well as to the character of the country and the claims of public justice, that the means of providing for the maintenance of her dignity should be definitively fixed; that she should not be left dependent upon mere bounty; and that, as she lived separate from her husband, some distinct provision should be made for the adequate support of her exalted station.

Lord Castlereagh said, he thought the answer which he had given the honourable gentleman on a former evening would have been deemed quite satisfactory. If the honourable member had waited for the motion which his right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to submit, he would have seen that no distinct provision was to be voted for the king, any more than for the high personage to whom he had alluded; but that a sum was to be voted from the consolidated fund, out of which it was intended to make provision for that high personage, as well as for the general purposes of his majesty. Here the noble lord took occasion to express his regret that any attempt should be made at present to press into discussion in that house the very delicate question adverted to by the honourable gentleman, as such discussion was but too likely to create a ferment in the country, while it was calculated to give pain to the illustrious personages more immediately interested. He had only to add, that the honourable gentleman might be fully assured that the high personage to whom he referred was by no means likely to experience any thing like harshness or inattention.

Mr. Hume observed, that his wish

wish was to have a distinct provision for the queen, at least equal to that which she enjoyed under the late act of parliament.

Lord Castlereagh stated, that such provision was intended to be granted out of the sum for which his right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to move.

Mr. Tierney declared his unwillingness to vote any sum for the queen, until some explanation should be given or promised as to the rumours which had gone abroad with respect to her conduct and character upon the continent. He agreed with the noble lord in thinking this a very delicate question to be discussed in that house. But by whom was it brought into discussion? Why, by ministers themselves, who, although they deprecated this discussion at present, held out the prospect of some such discussion at a future—[here lord Castlereagh intimated his dissent.] "Then," said Mr. T., "I mistook the noble lord; and that mistake is an additional reason with me for resisting the proposed grant." So it seemed that there was to be no discussion at all upon the conduct of the queen, after all the world had heard about that conduct. Yet it would appear that her majesty was not to be recognised. He would ask the noble lord, whether any thing like recognition had taken place, or was meditated? Was the queen yet aware of the death of the king, or of the situation in which she stood in consequence of that event? Had any communication been made to her majesty upon the subject on the part of his majesty's ministers?—How came it

that the name of the queen was omitted in the liturgy; or what was the reason for such omission? These things required explanation. But from the whole of the circumstances connected with this transaction, as well with regard to his majesty as with regard to his consort, he had no hesitation in stating, that the king had been betrayed, or the queen had been insulted. As an honest member of parliament, he felt himself called upon to make this declaration. He was not actuated by any party motive or personal prejudice whatever, but he would repeat, that in this case, either the king was betrayed, or the queen was insulted. He had heard of rumours with regard to the behaviour of the queen, which, if true, could leave no doubt that she was totally unworthy to occupy the throne of England; and if so, the king was surely entitled to the same justice that the law granted to the lowest subject in relieving him from a degraded connexion. This was a discussion into which he entered with the utmost reluctance. He was fully aware of its delicacy, and he could not advert to it without pain, but he felt that he must do his duty. He had heard of a commission having been sent to the continent, in order to collect evidence as to the misconduct of the queen; and was it possible that the noble lord, with evidence in his pocket to show that misconduct, could attempt to apply to that house for any grant of public money to an unworthy person? This was really a case of such a nature, as that house was bound to sift to the bottom; and, if the rumours in circulation were true, justice should



should be promptly done to his majesty; while on the other hand, if these rumours were mere calumnies, no time should be lost in vindicating the character of the queen. One party or the other must have been grossly ill treated. But when, he would ask, were the rumoured discoveries made with regard to the misconduct of the queen? Upon the death of the queen, about 12 months ago, the liturgy was altered, and on that alteration it was directed that the princess of Wales should be distinctly prayed for. Yet, on the late alteration of the liturgy, the name of this illustrious personage is left out. The discovery, then, of the alleged misconduct must have been made within the last 12 months, or whence the difference between these two periods? Why was she to be publicly prayed for as princess of Wales, whose name was to be altogether suppressed when she became queen of England? Now the question was brought before the house and the country, it must not be blinked, and he for one had no hesitation in saying, that if the queen were really guilty of the rumoured misconduct, no quibbles of law, or quirks in evidence, should prevent justice from being immediately rendered to the king. But on the other hand, if the queen were calumniated, he would have her character completely vindicated, and all her rights asserted and maintained. But until her character were re-established, he could not consent to vote her a penny of the public money. While the noble lord called her merely that "high personage," instead of recognising her as the queen—while all Italy, nay, all

Europe, was filled with rumours of her guilt, and of official inquiries about it—while her name was omitted in the liturgy—while she was not acknowledged, he could not agree to vote her the means of maintaining herself, until the reasons for such extraordinary circumstances as he had recited should be satisfactorily explained. The thick cloud that covered this case must be removed—the deep mystery in which it was involved must be unravelled, before his mind could be satisfied as to the propriety of the proposed grant. He had every disposition to do justice to the queen; and no one would, perhaps, go further to support her right, when her innocence was established. He had no personal knowledge whatever of her majesty. He never received—he never expected any favour from her. His object was to have her case fully explained, from an anxiety for justice, and from a solicitude to maintain the moral dignity and high character of the monarchy of England.

Mr. Brougham observed, that if his right honourable friend, who had just sat down, felt so peculiarly the delicacy of discussing this question, he hoped the house would, for various reasons, give him credit for feeling that delicacy even more. He could not, indeed, enter into this discussion without pain; but he hoped the house would indulge him with its attention for a few moments, and the more so, as he differed very materially from the views of his right honourable friend upon the subject. He concurred fully with his right honourable friend as to the importance of the question alluded to; but he felt, he apprehended,

hended, still more than his right honourable friend, the difficulty and the delicacy which that question involved. There was no difficulty, however, in his view, in that part of the case upon which his right honourable friend had so much dwelt, because it did not appear to him a matter of any importance whether the queen were recognised or not by any of the means recited by his right honourable friend. For whether her name were inserted or omitted in the liturgy, or in any act of council, she was constitutionally and indisputably queen consort. Being indeed the wedded wife of the king, the moment he succeeded to the crown she was *eo ipso* queen of England. Upon the demise of his father she in fact became as lawfully and rightfully the queen as her husband became the king of this country. Her title, then, did not depend upon any words in the liturgy, or upon any act of council, or upon any expression which a minister of the crown thought proper to employ in that house. Such things, indeed, had no effect whatever upon the rights of the queen;—they were as “trifles light as air,” and could not operate in the slightest degree to impeach the title of her majesty. Nor was it in the power of that house, by any vote it thought proper to pronounce, to impeach that title. So much as to the title of the queen: and now as to the proposed vote of provision for the maintenance of her dignity. That provision was, it appeared, to be made out of the general sum for which the minister was about to move; and if that sum were sufficient to afford this provision in addition

to all the other objects of the grant, that must, he apprehended, serve to answer the purpose of those who were solicitous for the adequate supply of her majesty.—Out of the proposed grant, the proportion which would be requisite to make good to the queen the loss of her late revenue of 35 thousand pounds a year would be furnished, and that arrangement was at present to his mind quite satisfactory, for he could not rest upon mere technical objections.—Then as to the rumours to which his right honourable friend had alluded, and which were imagined to cast a cloud of suspicion upon the character of the queen, he totally disregarded such rumours. He would, indeed, refuse his ears to every thing like rumour, suspicion, or insinuation, so long as her majesty remained queen consort. He would listen to no tales about inquiry or commission, nor would he allow the rumoured result of any rumoured inquiry to have the slightest effect upon his judgement. But if any thing in the shape of a distinct charge against the queen should be brought before that house, he hoped he should be found to act as became an honest member of parliament, by pronouncing a fair decision, not only between the parties immediately concerned, but with regard to the public interest, which the consideration of such an important question must necessarily involve. He trusted he should be found, in such a case, ready to do equal justice to the queen, to the king, and to the public, with a due regard to all the national and constitutional points naturally belonging to such an investigation.

tion. But till some specific charge should be submitted to that house, he was determined that his lips should be sealed upon the subject: he must say, however, that, in justice to the high personage alluded to, he thought that no opinion should be expressed upon her conduct merely on the authority of rumour. If any charge should be preferred, he begged it to be recollected that this illustrious personage was not remarkable for any slowness to meet accusation, or for any difficulty to prove her innocence. Remembering, then, her alacrity on the subject of former charges, it was but candid to give her credit for equal alacrity to meet any charges that might hereafter be advanced, and for equal facility, too, in confounding her accusers. But the question which his right honourable friend had thought proper to discuss was of such an important character, that he hoped gentlemen would at all times feel the propriety of considering it with calmness and temper; that bound up as that question was with the feelings of all the royal family, he trusted no appeal upon the subject would ever be made to any turbulent passions out of doors. Such an appeal, indeed, upon such a subject could not be too forcibly deprecated at any time, because its only effect would be the radical subversion of the principles of justice. But especially under existing circumstances, an appeal of that nature must serve to raise a ferment in the country, and to have the names of illustrious personages dragged through the mire of every hustings throughout the empire. If any discussion of this important

question should ever arise in parliament, its character was ample guarantee for the examination of the subject with justice, moderation and candour; and deeply interested as he must be in the question, from professional considerations, as well as from his duties as a member of that house, he would enter into the discussion with a full confidence of an equitable result.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had not intended to address the house again upon a question of which the house must feel the extreme delicacy, and he rose only for the purpose of thanking the honourable and learned gentleman for a speech which did equal honour to his head and his heart, and which must have carried conviction to all who heard it. His majesty's ministers had not lost sight of the inconvenience which might arise from a lapse of the provision which had been made for an illustrious personage, and it was their intention to submit a suitable measure to the consideration of the house.

The house having gone into the committee, grants were voted of 600,000*l.* for army services in Great Britain, and 200,000*l.* for similar services in Ireland.

Mr. Vansittart then moved, that "there be granted a sum not exceeding 200,000*l.* towards satisfying such pensions, payments, and allowances, as would have become payable out of the consolidated fund of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or out of the civil list, in case the demise of his majesty had not occurred before the 5th of April."

Mr. Tierney could not conceive how, under a vote so worded,

ed, the queen was to be provided for. She could not receive one single farthing, except from the charity of ministers; for the annuity was granted to her majesty as princess of Wales, and princess of Wales there was none. He did not know, therefore, unless they introduced the word queen, how her claim could be recognised.

The motion was then agreed to. A sum was also granted for certain extraordinary expenses of the civil list, and 2,000,000*l.* for paying off outstanding Irish treasury bills.

In a committee of ways and means, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, that 7,000,000*l.* should be appropriated from the unapplied aids of 1819 to the service of the current year.

On the motion of Mr. Maberly, accounts were ordered relative to the revenue of last year, and to the deficiencies in the consolidated fund, which, he said, was in arrear to between 10 and 11 millions.

Mr. Vansittart contended, that the consolidated fund was only in arrears eight millions, and that had been partly made up.

Mr. Maberly reminded the chancellor of the exchequer that there were, besides, 3,000,000*l.* due to the bank.

Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a bill to continue such bills as would expire before the meeting of the next parliament. He did this on the precedent of an act of the 1st of Geo. II.

Feb. 22.—The bill for suspending the writs for Barnstaple, &c. went through a committee, and, after some opposition from sir C. Hawkins, was read the third time and passed.

On the resolution being put, 1820.

“That there be granted a sum not exceeding 200,000*l.* towards satisfying such pensions, payments, and allowances as would have become payable out of the consolidated fund of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or out of the civil list, in case the demise of the crown had not occurred before the 5th of April;”

Mr. Tierney said, he wished to know how it was possible, and from what fund, the money necessary for the support of the queen was to be paid? During the late reign, provision was made for the princess of Wales; but now that royal personage was queen of England.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, the money to be paid out of this grant would, were it not for the demise of the crown, have been paid in the usual way to the princess of Wales. All that was intended was, to pay the sums now due in the same manner as if that event had not taken place.

Mr. Tierney said, that first he denied the power of the right honourable gentleman to make any such payment. The grant to the princess of Wales was one of those grants which were subject to the life of the king, and not given to any particular individual. Besides, there was not now any such person as the princess of Wales. If it was intended to grant to her present majesty a similar provision to that made for the princess of Wales, words to that effect ought to be introduced. If the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer granted a single penny in any other manner, he would be guilty of an offence to the house of commons.

The chancellor of the exchequer  
C said,

said, the right honourable gentleman knew that this or any other payment, officially made, could not alter the state of the party receiving it.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the only provision he knew of was made for her royal highness the princess of Wales—but there was now no such personage in existence. How, then, could they vote a grant of this kind? He knew the right honourable gentleman dared not mention the name of the queen. But could they, he would ask, give to an individual not mentioned in the grant a sum of money voted to another person?—He should like to hear the chancellor of the exchequer mention the name of the queen, as he wished to have it recorded on the journals. What he said was shortly this—that if the right honourable gentleman voted the grant in this way, he would undertake a responsibility which no other minister would wish to incur. In a word, the late grant was to support the dignity of the princess of Wales, and had no reference to the queen.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the sum formerly granted to the princess of Wales was now payable to the queen, and to no other person.

Mr. Tierney repeated, that there being no such personage as the princess of Wales, any grant to the queen should be so stated to parliament. But they were now called upon to give to another what had been voted to the princess of Wales.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the individual to whom the grant had been made still remained, though her political character was changed. Her majesty

had a right to receive in her present situation what had been granted to her in another.

Mr. Hume asked, why such difficulty was made about mentioning at once that the grant was for the queen? By merely stating this, the objection of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) would at once be met.

Mr. Lushington said, that the grant moved for was stated to be for paying of annuities, &c. payable out of the civil list, and which would have been duly paid but for the demise of the crown. It would be improper to mention the name of her majesty as one of the persons receiving an annuity, unless all the other names were also mentioned, which it would at once be seen would be extremely inconvenient.

After a few words from Mr. Tierney, sir R. Wilson, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the resolution was agreed to.

The report of the committee of ways and means was received, and the resolutions agreed to.

Feb. 23.—Mr. Vansittart, with the leave of the house, brought in a bill “to indemnify such persons in the united kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for certain employments.” The bill passed through all its stages.

In a committee of supply a grant of 7,000,000*l.* was agreed to, for paying off exchequer bills.

House of lords, Feb. 24.—The earl of Lauderdale rose, in pursuance of notice, observing that the case he had to state was so plain and clear that there was no necessity for taking up much of their lordships’ time. It had been the uniform practice of parliament, for a great number of years, that all the votes of supply passed

passed by the house of commons, during the session, should be included in an appropriation bill, which came up to that house for its assent in the usual way, and it was the undoubted right of their lordships thus to exercise a legislative power with regard to the supplies voted by the other house. In the present instance that practice had, without any necessity, been departed from, and he thought that it was incumbent upon their lordships to assert their undoubted rights, and to pass some resolution disapproving of such a proceeding—a proceeding which was certainly contrary to the constitution, and which was so decided in 1784, when the house of commons passed a resolution, declaring it a high crime and misdemeanour for any officer of the crown to apply money in any branch of the public service without the authority of an act of parliament. But in this case there were not only the votes of sums of money for the public service, but the house of commons had actually voted a sum of money to pay annuities under the civil list act, which expired on the demise of his majesty; and they had thus assumed a power, of their own authority, to suspend the operation of the law which declared that these annuities should not be paid. This particularly applied to the case of the annual sum granted to the princess of Wales, about which, according to report, much had been said in the commons' house of parliament. Were ministers aware to what extent these votes went? Was it not the effect of them to continue to the king the income granted to his majesty as prince of Wales,

as well as the amount of the civil list, whilst a portion of the hereditary revenues also fell to the crown? Respecting the latter there was no account, and ministers themselves did not seem to be aware of the extent to which the votes went. It was in vain for the noble earl opposite to recur to the precedents of 1784 and 1807; in these cases parliament was dissolved by the act of the crown without any previous communication of its intentions; but in the present case there was a previous communication of the intention of the crown to dissolve the parliament, which rendered the present case perfectly unprecedented, and which undoubtedly rendered it incumbent upon the ministers of the crown to take care that no essential forms were departed from. If the house of commons could, then, in one instance, assume the power of voting the public money without the concurrence of their lordships, what was to prevent them from setting aside the privileges of their lordships' house? It surely was incumbent upon the noble lords opposite to take care that no such precedent was established; for, if the universal suffrage and annual parliament men could unhappily gain the ascendency, there could be no doubt that the first step of a house of commons so constituted would be to set aside the legislative privileges of that house, and here would be a precedent established to assist them. It was not his wish to impede the public business, or now to embarrass the course of proceeding which had been acted upon; but he thought it indispensable that the house should come to some reso-

lution expressive of their opinion upon the subject, in order that they might at least protest against the power thus assumed by the house of commons. His lordship concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

“Resolved—That it appears from the votes of the house of commons now on the table of this house, that the commons’ house of parliament have voted the following resolutions:—

“1. That a sum, not exceeding 2,000,000*l.*, be granted to his majesty to pay off and discharge Irish treasury bills, charged upon the aids or supplies of 1820, outstanding and unprovided for.

“2. That a sum, not exceeding 50,000*l.*, be granted to his majesty, upon account, to enable his majesty to provide for such expenses of a civil nature as do not form a part of the ordinary charges of the civil list for the year 1820.

“3. That there be granted to his majesty the sum of 200,000*l.* towards satisfying such annuities, pensions, or other payments, as would have been payable out of the consolidated fund of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or out of the civil list, in case the demise of his late majesty had not taken place before the 5th day of April, 1820.

“4. That a sum, upon account, not exceeding 200,000*l.* net, be granted to his majesty towards defraying the charge of army services in Ireland for the year 1820.

“5. That a sum, upon account, not exceeding 600,000*l.*, be granted to his majesty towards defraying the charge of army services at home and abroad, except in Ireland, for the year 1820.”

“Resolved—That the com-

mons’ house of parliament, informed by his majesty’s message of the intended dissolution of parliament, have, in these resolutions, attempted to appropriate money to be paid for services subsequent to the dissolution, which can only legally be effected by an act of parliament appropriating the supplies voted; and that they have further, in a most unprecedented manner, assumed the power of providing for and authorizing the payment of certain pensions and annuities, subsequent to the dissolution of parliament, which by law are declared to be at an end.

“Resolved—That under these circumstances we feel it our duty to declare, that though we regard these proceedings as derogatory to the privileges of this house and of parliament, yet we are induced, by a sense of the state in which public business is now placed, to forbear from any immediate proceedings, and to declare that we will concur in indemnifying those who may pay money, or otherwise act under these resolutions, which we must nevertheless deprecate, as threatening the subversion of the best and wisest principles of the constitution of our country.”

The earl of Liverpool observed, that it had been the invariable practice of parliament since the revolution, for no grant to be made nor any sum to be levied upon the people, without the authority of an act of parliament; and this was so strictly adhered to, that in the case of a loan, though the bargain was made between the first lord of the treasury and the chancellor of the exchequer and the contractors, and the first instalment actually paid, still it was paid into the bank, and not touched by any one till authorized

authorized to be drawn out for the public service by an act of parliament. But with respect to votes of supply, the practice had been different; it had been the constant practice for the house of commons to vote various sums for different branches of the public service, under the authority of which votes alone the money had been applied. It was true that all these votes were included in the appropriation bill, which at the end of the session came up to their lordships' house; but the fact was, that frequently, particularly if the session was long, half the money wanted for the different branches of the public service had been expended before the appropriation bill was brought up to that house. He could not see any difference of principle, therefore, between the case he had just stated and that of a dissolution happening in the middle of the usual period of a session, when, after the meeting of the new parliament, an appropriation bill, including all the sums voted, might still be passed. As to the resolution passed in 1784, it, in his mind, proved the direct contrary of what was urged by the noble earl, as it showed that the practice of the house of commons had been what he had just stated; and it was well known that the object of passing that resolution was to prevent a dissolution which was suspected to be intended by the crown. But the passing such a resolution proved that the practice had been different to what that resolution referred to. With regard to the civil list act, it was not correctly stated, that it had expired, as, though the sums named in it ceased to be payable, the regulations in the act were of

the nature of permanent regulations, and all that had been done was to vote a sum for current expenses for the quarter intervening between the dissolution of the present parliament and the calling of a new one. He did not see the necessity of coming to any resolution upon the subject; but at all events he could not agree to the resolutions of the noble lord, which conveyed a strong censure upon the house of commons, their lordships having in their address to the throne pledged themselves to concur in any measure for expediting the public business. He was, however, ready to meet the views of the noble lord in some respects by a resolution recognising the rights of that house, and he therefore moved as an amendment, to leave out the resolutions after the statement of the resolutions of the house of commons, and to insert, "that this house, from the state of the public business, acquiesce in these resolutions although no act may be passed to give them effect."

The marquis of Lansdown said, the question was one of the greatest importance, as affecting the constitutional rights of that house; and when it was asserted that their lordships had in their address to the throne agreed to expedite the public business as much as possible, he must tell the noble earl that they had not agreed to abandon their constitutional rights. The cases where the house of commons acted in the usual manner in their votes, without being informed of there being any intention on the part of the crown to dissolve them, were totally different from the present instance, where the information of the intention of the crown to dissolve the parliament had been



given, and where, consequently, every arrangement might have been made to ensure a regular course of proceeding. That it had been uniformly the case since the revolution, for the grants of public money made by the other house to pass under the review of their lordships, in order to their being incorporated in an act of the legislature, could not be denied; and the noble earl most erroneously described the resolution of the house of commons in 1784, when he said that it proved the practice of the house to be different. The fact was, that the resolution was merely declaratory of the law of the land; it appeared so upon the face of it, and was well known to be so from the history of it. It had been most truly observed by his noble friend, that for the house of commons to assume the power of voting the public money without the concurrence of their lordships, was a most injudicious precedent to set; for there could be no doubt, that if those persons who aimed at our institutions and establishments could unhappily obtain the ascendancy, the first step of a house of commons constituted by them, would be to take away the legislative privileges of their lordships. His noble friend had also observed upon the anomalous proceeding to which recourse had been had with regard to the civil list, it appearing that his majesty would not only, pending the dissolution, have his revenue as king of England, but also that which was granted to him as prince of Wales, and a portion of the hereditary revenues of the crown. It was highly proper that the noble earl should give some explanation upon this point, as it did not appear to have

been known to what extent the vote went.

The earl of Liverpool said, the vote on account of the civil list was for a specific sum, 200,000*l.*, and that it did not in the least interfere with the settlement of the civil list by the new parliament. As to the payment of the annuities under the civil list act, it was nothing more than would have been done as a matter of course for the current quarter, had parliament continued sitting.

The earl of Donoughmore expressed his approbation of the conduct of the noble earl with whom the motion originated, at the same time that he acquiesced in the amendment, by which he thought that quite enough was done to protect the privileges of the house.

The amendment was then carried without a division.

The earl of Lauderdale presented a petition from the mayor, aldermen and corporation of the borough of Barnstaple, praying to be heard by counsel against the writs bill. The petition was ordered to be laid on the table.

The earl of Carnarvon thought, that though the petitioners had a right to be heard by counsel against the measure, as far as their interests were concerned, they ought not to be heard on the second reading under the present circumstances. All that the mayor and corporation could presume to ask was, that the word Barnstaple should be omitted, for with the general principle that was to affect other boroughs they had nothing to do. Upon that ground, therefore, he should oppose the motion for the hearing of counsel on the second reading.—Great inconvenience

mence would necessarily follow, if they were to hear the arguments of counsel on that great constitutional question, in which the country felt so deep an interest, and in the disposal of which he hoped that their lordships felt how much they owed to the other house of parliament, and to the constitution in general. There were four boroughs enumerated in the writs bill, which, in the judgement of the other house, would, if permitted to exercise the elective franchise, be in all probability corruptly represented. As the measures which were considered necessary could not be completed before the meeting of the new parliament, it would be a waste of time to go on hearing counsel and evidence at their bar upon the principle of that measure, which the present parliament would not carry into effect. The committee was the proper place to inquire whether Barnstaple ought to be included or not; that, therefore, was the occasion upon which counsel ought to be heard, and not on the second reading.

The earl of Lauderdale contended that it was the uniform practice of parliament to hear petitions by counsel against the principle of any bill, as far as it affected their rights, and, therefore, that they were bound to hear the present petitioners on the second reading.

Earl Grosvenor maintained that it would be attended with great inconvenience, and was not required by the nature of the case.

The lord chancellor said, that they were entitled to be heard against the principle and enactments of the bill; it was, in fact, necessary to justice. The enactment declared in effect that the

sheriff of the county should not obey the king's writ, and he knew of boroughs which had fallen into the same state with that of Barnstaple and the others that were deprived of their rights, but were afterwards found to possess claims to those rights which ought not to have been invaded.

Earl Grosvenor thought it would be a bad compliment to the house of commons if their lordships were to refuse their concurrence in a measure of so much importance to them, especially as they only required a suspension of the rights till the final measure could be determined.

The lord chancellor conceived that the suspension was itself an evil of no small magnitude, and therefore should be left open to the proceedings of petitions according to established usage.

The marquis of Lansdown insisted that there was a wide distinction between the suspension and the privation of a right, though the arguments of the noble and learned lord went to confound them. The subject was not entitled to the same remedies in both cases. Besides, in the present instance, the other house was only anxious to retain that power which was necessary to the ends of justice and to protect the purity of election. The proceeding was liable to objection, but to less objection than the opposite course.

Lord Dacre said, that the other house of parliament, after a long and patient investigation, had resolved on the measure of suspending the writs. The facilities which that house possessed of preventing the returns, were taken away by a premature dissolution; so that their lordships were placed in this

situation—either to act upon the notoriety of the vicious practices of the boroughs, to depend on the statements of the other house, or to go into an investigation themselves, which they could not conduct to a close. He thought that, consistently with justice to all parties, they might consent to hear the petitioners in the committee, and so avoid the delay, which might enable them to continue the practices which tended to increase the dissatisfaction of the country.

After some further observations from the earls of Lauderdale and Carnarvon, in which each defended his former sentiments, their lordships divided on the question that counsel should be heard on the second reading of the bill. The division was—

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Feb. 25.—On the third reading of the mutiny bill,

The earl Grosvenor objected to the amount of the force with which the country was burthened, but he did not mean to oppose the bill in the present state of the public business, and looking to the understood near approach of a dissolution. He could not, however, look with any satisfaction at the termination of the present parliament, when he reflected upon the various measures that might have been taken into consideration with advantage to the public, but which would be interrupted by the dissolution; and when he considered also that there was in reality nothing, so far as he could understand, that need have prevented the session from being carried on to its usual termination.

Amongst the important questions which ought to have been taken into consideration and determined upon, was the civil list; instead of which, the dignity of the crown was actually left without any provision for its support. Connected with this subject there was also another important question relative to the situation of the queen; which, whenever it did come under consideration, he should discuss with the utmost freedom. He put it to the noble lords opposite, whether they ought not, before dissolving the present parliament, to have considered whether they could not have brought forward some measure for the amelioration of the condition of the people? It could not be denied that much discontent and irritated feeling prevailed amongst the people, not only here, but in foreign countries; and when they heard of the assassination of the duke de Berri in France, and of the atrocious conspiracy discovered here, said to have for its object the assassination of his majesty's ministers, by a band of desperadoes, there could be no doubt of the existence of a highly irritated state of feeling. It was, however, for his majesty's ministers seriously to consider whether the measures they had not long since carried through parliament, had not had an effect which was predicted from them by some of his noble friends—that of inducing men who were deprived of the privilege of openly meeting, to associate in secret cabals leading to the most mischievous consequences? It had been precisely so in France, where, whilst a liberal system prevailed in the government, there was a feeling of satis-

satisfaction on the part of the people; but when a disposition was evinced of resorting to harsh and arbitrary measures, then followed a highly irritated state of public feeling, and an atrocious assassination. And it was for his majesty's ministers to consider whether the harsh measures they had resorted to, unaccompanied by any manifestation of a desire to alleviate the discontents of the people, had not a tendency to excite to acts of assassination.

The earl of Lauderdale spoke to order, observing, that it was highly improper to charge any body of men, whether on the ministerial or opposition side of the house, with conduct that tended to excite to assassination.

The earl Grosvenor disclaimed the slightest intention of imputing to any persons conduct that tended to excite to assassination; he only meant to dwell upon the expediency of resorting to such measures as might tend to alleviate the discontent of the people; he did not mean that any effort should be made to satisfy wretches who conspired assassination, but that conduct should be pursued to conciliate a considerable portion of the people who were suffering under distress arising from the great pressure of taxation. The present period was one of very general irritation—great discontent prevailed in Spain, owing to the bad system of the government—in France—in Germany—and in the north of Italy; but it was surely incumbent upon all governments to adopt every practicable measure to conciliate the people, to soothe irritation, and as far as possible to allay discontent. After some further observations, his

lordship sat down, declining any opposition to the bill under present circumstances.

The earl of Lauderdale expressed his satisfaction that his noble friend had disclaimed all intention of imputing, in that house, conduct tending to excite to assassination, which interpretation some of his language seemed to bear.

The bill was read a third time and passed; as were also the expiring laws bill, and the local jurisdictions bill.

The earl of Carnarvon, previous to addressing the house respecting the bill for suspending writs for the election of members for four boroughs, wished to know if any steps had been taken in pursuance of the address of the house last July, for the prosecution of three witnesses examined in the Barnstaple case?

Lord viscount Sidmouth said, not being aware the question was to be put to him, he was unable to answer it; he had no doubt, however, that there had been no delay, but he would inquire, and give the the information required.

The earl of Carnarvon then addressed the house on the subject of the bill. It had been, he said, the practice of the house of commons for a long series of years to suspend the issue of new writs to boroughs charged with corruption, until the case of such boroughs could be thoroughly investigated. This was all that was asked by the present bill. The writs that had been suspended for many months, it was now only asked further to suspend, during the short interval between the dissolution of the present parliament and the calling of the new one. If they did not do this, there was little

little hope that any permanent measure would be agreed to, as by allowing these four boroughs to return eight members, their cases might become so complicated by new circumstances as to render it impossible to come to any decision respecting their original guilt. He was one of those who had always opposed general systems of parliamentary reform; but such a reform as was likely to arise from the proceedings recommended in the house of commons, with regard to those boroughs, was one to which their lordships ought to lend their active and zealous co-operation.—The house of commons at least had shown, that when questions of this kind came before them, they exercised the most indefatigable industry to sift corruption to the bottom, and were ready to take such measures as, with the assistance of that house, were calculated to bring about that species of parliamentary reform, which, in its consequences, could produce nothing but benefit to the country. He would ask them to consider what the feelings of the country would be, if, when they saw that a bill was brought into the other house, to annihilate altogether the rights of one of these boroughs on the ground of corruption, if, when they saw that the motion was made by a young nobleman, a descendant of that family who had made the name of Russell dear to the hearts of Englishmen, and that the leading minister in that house had declared his cordial assent to that species of reform, they found at the same time the ministers in their lordships' house prepared to interpose their chilling negative to the hopes and expectations of the people.

The revival of the same corruption, of the same immorality and perjury at the next general election, was an evil that ought to be avoided, and to be equally deprecated by loyalists and radical reformers. It had been stated on a former occasion, that it was a great hardship to take away the rights of these boroughs even for a day; but all they were asked to do, was that which the house of commons itself could have done by its own authority, if it had not been for the dissolution. The situation of the boroughs in the passing of this bill, would be precisely that of an individual who was committed for want of bail, and whose rights were therefore suspended until his case could be tried. All he contended for was, that while the question was at issue between the petitioners and the country, that house should not decide against the country; for, if the writs were issued, and members were again returned for these boroughs without any proof that they were elected by corrupt means, there was no way that he knew of to prevent such members from sitting in parliament. A case occurred in the year 1779, with respect to the borough of Shaftesbury, which appeared to him completely in point. Proceedings were adopted at that period against the borough of Shaftesbury. A bill was introduced shortly after into the house, empowering the speaker to issue writs in cases of death during the prorogation; and in that bill a clause was introduced, suspending the operation of the act with respect to the borough of Shaftesbury during the period of the next prorogation. In that measure the house of lords concurred, It could  
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not be contended that the bill alluded to was a boon, from which an exception might be made; for the moment a law was passed, it was as much the law of the land as if it had existed for ages. Another objection to the bill was, that it commanded the sheriffs not to obey the king's writs. But what was the meaning of this objection? Did they mean to say it was disrespectful to the king, to pass a measure which could not be carried into effect without his own sanction and assent? It was absurd to suppose it. The noble lord on the woolsack had contended, on the former night, if he understood him correctly, that when a public measure was passing, every body or individual, who felt themselves aggrieved, had a right to be heard by counsel, and their lordships had no discretion to refuse the exercise of that right. The present was not a private bill; it was a temporary measure, to prevent a great inquiry from being prejudiced; and the greatest mischief might arise from the adoption of the general principle, that public measures might be delayed by the arguments of counsel, and the examination of witnesses at the bar. But was this principle adhered to, in cases where the standing orders were suspended to pass bills in one day? and was it too much to request, in the present case, that a measure of such importance to the public interests should not be lost for ever? After some further observations, to the same effect, his lordship concluded by moving, that the order for the hearing of counsel at the bar on that day, should be discharged.

The earl of Liverpool said, he

had no wish that the present bill should be disposed of by any thing like a side wind; for though it was true that upon public measures it was not the practice to hear counsel, yet in that case the interests of parties were so directly affected, it would be hard to refuse to hear them by counsel at the bar. He stood in a different situation from some noble lords who opposed the bill. He was one of them who thought that if a case of corruption could be fairly made out, a bill to disfranchise the borough so offending was a measure fit to be entertained by parliament. But that was not the question now. It was one thing to say that the borough should be disfranchised when the case was made out, and another thing to say that before the case was made out the rights of such boroughs should be suspended until by evidence at the bar they were proved to have forfeited them. He did not hesitate to say, that the power exercised by the house of commons, of suspending the writs of boroughs not disfranchised, was a very strong power. If the possession of that power was at this moment a new question, he would be disposed to doubt much the propriety of investing it in either house of parliament.—The house of commons, however, had undoubtedly exercised the right, and it was not expedient to try it now. In the case of Shaftesbury the house of commons had exercised that right, and all that parliament did, by the clause alluded to in the new bill, was to leave the case of Shaftesbury in the same state as it would have been in if the bill had not passed. It bore no reference to the present measure, which amounted

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ed to this—whether, when parliament had no existence, they would say, without having any evidence before them, that the rights of the crown should not be exercised, nor those of the persons concerned, who were not yet proved to have been guilty. It was possible that their lordships might differ from the house of commons; they had done so upon other occasions, and the very act of hearing evidence was in itself a presumption that they might differ. The measure was in fact a serious innovation upon the principles of the constitution to which there was nothing analogous. It was said to be a serious inconvenience to proceed to elect members for the boroughs named in the bill; but the noble lord had seemed to forget, that four members out of the eight were now sitting.—Nor was it true that the question as to the corrupt practices must drop; for, if a sufficient case could be made out, they would go to the question as if nothing had since happened. The alternative for their lordships to consider was this—whether it would be better to run the risk of having eight members returned by undue influence, or to adopt the strong measure of depriving the people of their rights for a time upon a principle supported by no analogy, or, if by any analogy, by a remote one founded on a practice of a very doubtful nature?

The earl of Darnley declared his intention of voting for the bill.

The lord chancellor did not conceive that any arguments, which might be urged by counsel, could at all change the opinion which he entertained on the subject. A noble earl had talked of the ne-

cessity of consulting the feelings and interest of the public. It was the conviction of his (the lord chancellor's) mind, resulting from long experience, that the only effectual mode of consulting the feelings and interest of the public, was by doing justice. Let parliament invariably do justice, and justice would eventually be done to them. Now, in the present instance, he contended, it would be the height of injustice to agree to the bill under consideration, and thereby suspend the rights of a portion of the people, without any ground which would render such a proceeding warrantable. It was impossible that their lordships could be satisfied to take such a step without any evidence to show its expediency. Under existing circumstances, any attempt to obtain such evidence, at their own bar, would be futile; and, with all possible respect for the house of commons, no noble lord, he presumed, would argue that their lordships should proceed on the evidence taken before a committee of that house. Even if that evidence were admissible by their lordships, it did not at all go to the question of the expediency of disfranchising the boroughs in question, but merely established the corruption of a part of the electors. The fact, that the house of commons permitted four of the members for those boroughs to retain their seats, was a conclusive proof of this.

The marquis of Lansdown supported the bill. He was quite aware that a certain apparent inequality in the representation was desirable, as producing a greater real equality in the representation than any theoretical system proceeding

ceeding on a different principle. But he maintained, that when this was carried to excess, it ought to be corrected. He admitted to the noble and learned lord, that individuals and bodies of individuals ought to be protected in their rights; but it should never be forgotten that they possessed those rights, and ought to exercise them, not for selfish purposes, but for the general benefit. All that the bill tended to do was to suspend the exercise of the elective franchise in the boroughs in question during the interval which the expected dissolution would occasion, thereby leaving the question for the determination of the new parliament precisely in the state in which it was at present.

Earl Grosvenor further explained the misapprehension which had taken place with respect to what had fallen from him at an earlier period of the evening, and expressed his conviction that no noble lord could for a moment suppose him capable of palliating the dreadful atrocity recently contemplated. On the question immediately before their lordships, he entirely concurred in the opinion of his noble friend who had just sat down.

The earl of Lauderdale expressed his satisfaction that his noble friend had a fuller opportunity of explaining his observations. The noble earl then moved, that the further discussion of the question before their lordships be adjourned for a fortnight.

On this motion their lordships divided—

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In the commons, the same day, Mr. Hume detailed the cruel treatment of the master and crew of the brig *Charles*, of Aberdeen, by the governor of Teneriff; and concluded with moving for several papers relative to the transaction in question.

After some conversation, in which Mr. Brougham, Mr. C. Hutchinson, Mr. C. Forbes, and lord Castlereagh joined, Mr. Hume withdrew his motion.

In answer to a question from Mr. Knox, lord Castlereagh stated, that it was not intended to renew the Irish insurrection act, it being hoped that the measures taken by gentlemen of the country, supported by the troops and by the police, would have the effect of repressing the disturbances occasioned by the ribbon-men.

House of lords, Feb. 28.—The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the marquis Camden, and the earls of Liverpool and Westmorland, having taken their seats on the woolsack, as royal commissioners; and the commons, with the speaker, attending at the bar; the royal assent was given by the commissioners to the mutiny, the expiring laws, the annual indemnity, and the Irish elections bills.

The lord chancellor then delivered the following speech:

“My lords and gentlemen,

“We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that it is a great disappointment to his majesty, that on this first and solemn occasion he is prevented by indisposition from meeting you in person. It would have been a consolation to his majesty to give utterance in this place to those feelings with which his majesty and the



the nation alike deplore the loss of a sovereign, the common father of all his people. The king commands us to inform you, that in determining to call, without delay, the new parliament, his majesty has been influenced by the consideration of what is most expedient for public business, as well as most conducive to general convenience.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"We are directed by his majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the several branches of the public service from the commencement of the present year, and during the interval which must elapse before a new parliament can be assembled.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"We are commanded to inform you, that in taking leave of the present parliament, his majesty cannot refrain from conveying to you his warmest assurances of the sense which his majesty entertains of the important services which you have rendered the country. Deeply as his majesty lamented

that designs and practices such as those which you have been recently called upon to repress should have existed in this free and happy country, he cannot sufficiently commend the prudence and firmness with which you have directed your attention to the means of counteracting them. If any doubt had remained as to the nature of those principles by which the peace and happiness of the nation were so seriously menaced, or of the excesses to which they were likely to lead, the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected must open the eyes of the most incredulous, and must vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures to which you judged it necessary to resort, in defence of the laws and constitution of the kingdom."

The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to Monday the 13th day of March next. But on the 29th of February the late parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation, a new parliament to meet on the 23d of April.

## CHAPTER II.

*Meeting of the new Parliament—Choice of a Speaker—King's Speech—and Address—Debates on the Droits of Admiralty, 4½ per cent. Duties, &c.—on the Petition from the London Merchants—Civil List—Revenue—Court of Exchequer in Scotland—Grampound—Foreign Trade—Importation of Foreign Wool.*

THE new parliament assembled on the 23d of April: the first 40 members were, as usual, sworn in by the lord steward of the king's household, and they, under a commission from him, swore in

others. The former speaker, the right honourable Manners Sutton, was unanimously rechosen to that high and important office.

House of lords, April 27.—At ten minutes before two o'clock this

this day, his majesty arrived in state at the house of lords, and immediately afterwards took his seat on the throne. The imperial crown of the realm was not carried; and the principality of Wales having now merged in the crown, that distinct symbol of royalty no longer has place. His majesty wore his large military hat, with the lofty plume.

The usher of the black rod was then sent to command the attendance of the house of commons in the house of peers.

The speaker instantly obeyed the summons, and presented himself at the bar, attended by about 100 members.

At two o'clock precisely the king commenced the following speech:—

“My lords and gentlemen,

“I have taken the earliest occasion of assembling you here, after having recurred to the sense of my people. In meeting you personally for the first time since the death of my beloved father, I am anxious to assure you, that I shall always continue to imitate his great example in unceasing attention to the public interests, and in paternal solicitude for the welfare and happiness of all classes of my subjects. I have received from foreign powers renewed assurances of their friendly disposition, and of their earnest desire to cultivate with me the relations of peace and amity.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“The estimates of the present year will be laid before you. They have been framed upon principles of strict economy; but it is to me matter of the deepest regret that the state of the coun-

try has not allowed me to dispense with those additions to our military force which I announced at the commencement of the last session of parliament. The first object to which your attention will be directed is the provision to be made for the support of the civil government, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. I leave entirely at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues; and I cannot deny myself the gratification of declaring, that so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burthens upon my people, or even might diminish, on my account, the amount of the reductions incident to my accession to the throne, I can have no wish, under circumstances like the present, that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by parliament in the year 1816.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“Deeply as I regret that the machinations and designs of the disaffected should have led, in some parts of the country, to acts of open violence and insurrection, I cannot but express my satisfaction at the promptitude with which those attempts have been suppressed by the vigilance and activity of the magistrates, and by the zealous co-operation of all those of my subjects whose exertions have been called forth to support the authority of the laws. The wisdom and firmness manifested by the late parliament, and the due execution of the laws, have greatly contributed to restore confidence throughout the kingdom, and to discountenance those principles of sedition and irreligion which had been disseminated with  
such

such malignant perseverance, and had poisoned the minds of the ignorant and unwary. I rely upon the continued support of parliament in my determination to maintain, by all the means intrusted to my hands, the public safety and tranquillity. Deploring, as we all must, the distress which still unhappily prevails among many of the labouring classes of the community, and anxiously looking forward to its removal or mitigation, it is in the mean time our common duty, effectually to protect the loyal, the peaceable, and the industrious, against those practices of turbulence and intimidation by which the period of relief can only be deferred, and by which the pressure of the distress has been incalculably aggravated. I trust that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the arts which have been employed to seduce them, will bring back by far the greater part of those who have been unhappily led astray, and will revive in them that spirit of loyalty, that due submission to the laws, and that attachment to the constitution, which subsist unabated in the hearts of the great body of the people, and which, under the blessing of divine providence, have secured to the British nation the enjoyment of a larger share of practical freedom, as well as of prosperity and happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any nation in the world."

The speech occupied seven minutes in the delivery. The commons then returned to their house, and his majesty descended from the throne, and shortly after their lordships adjourned till five o'clock. The address to his majesty was

subsequently moved in the house of peers by viscount Granville, and seconded by lord Howard of Effingham. It was agreed to unanimously.

In the house of commons, the address to the throne was moved by sir Edward Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Wilmot, and agreed to without a dissenting voice.

House of commons, April 28.—The report of the address was brought up by sir E. Knatchbull, and unanimously agreed to.

Before the question was put, however, lord A. Hamilton addressed a few words to the house, respecting the late disturbances in Scotland; which produced an interesting statement from the chancellor of the exchequer upon the subject of emigration, which the noble lord recommended as the most effectual remedy for the distresses of the manufacturing population. The right honourable gentleman observed, that 50,000*l.* which was voted last year for the purpose of promoting voluntary emigration, had been considerably exceeded; and that the number of those who had availed themselves of this assistance, in order to proceed to the new colony at the Cape of Good Hope, amounted to upwards of 5,000 persons. When the last accounts were received from them, they had performed part of their voyage in good health, and had the prospect of terminating it prosperously. Government, he added, was fully disposed to extend every necessary aid to those who might wish to emigrate, but they could not venture to do so without mature consideration.

April 29.—Lord G. Beresford informed

informed the house, that he had it in command from his majesty to apprise them, that the king would be graciously pleased to receive their address in Carlton palace at four o'clock this day. At which hour the speaker proceeded in state to Carlton palace, accompanied by the members.

May 1.—The speaker read his majesty's answer to the address in consequence of his majesty's speech, and the same was ordered to be entered on the journals.

On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, pursuant to precedent at the commencement of a new reign, an address was agreed to in reply to his majesty's answer.

May 2.—On the motion of Mr. M. A. Taylor, a select committee was appointed to inquire how far it is practicable to compel persons using steam engines with furnaces to erect them in a manner less prejudicial to public health and public comfort.

The same member also obtained leave to bring in a bill to punish, with fine and imprisonment, the offence of furiously driving stage-coaches, to the imminent danger of life and limb.

Mr. alderman Wood said, he had been applied to by seven individuals for a warrant to apprehend a person named George Edwards. Four of the parties deposed to some material facts affecting the safety of that house; but others were of too horrible a description for him to repeat. They involved a plot, not merely to effect the destruction of that house, and the honourable members within it, but of one of the highest personages in this kingdom, and of his majesty's ministers also. At present, he should only move, that

George Edwards be brought to the bar for a breach of the privileges of that house.

Mr. Hume seconded the motion.

Mr. Brougham regretted that there appeared to be a disposition to treat the subject with levity. Spies, like executioners, were odious, but their services were, in some cases, necessary; only care should be taken that, whilst employed to give information, they did not become the active instigators of crime.

Mr. Canning denied that there had been any intention to treat this subject with levity. The contrary had been the fact; the only objection to the motion had been its form; and all he now rose to submit to the consideration of the house was, that as this discussion, in its present shape, could not be proceeded in with advantage, it should at present proceed no further. Motion withdrawn.

The house having gone into a committee on so much of his majesty's speech as relates to the civil list, Mr. Vansittart moved three resolutions, the 1st, granting to his majesty, towards defraying the expenses of the civil list, 850,000*l.* for Great Britain; the 2d, granting 270,000*l.* for England; and the 3d, for carrying the proceeds of the hereditary revenues to the consolidated fund.

The resolutions were, after some observations from sir H. Parnell, colonel Davies, Mr. Tierney, and others, agreed to, upon an understanding, that the discussion thereon should take place on the report.

May 4.—Further petitions were presented respecting the dangerous state of London bridge.

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Sir W. Curtis hoped the bridge was not in the state represented, but promised to consult the London magistracy on the subject.

Mr. T. Wilson presented a petition from the parties concerned in the woollen trade of the city of London, for the repeal of the duty of 6*d.* per lb. on foreign wool. The honourable member and Mr. A. Baring dwelt at some length on the injuries which had arisen from this tax. A petition was presented from the city of London for enlarging the powers of the new post office act. Mr. serjeant Onslow, Mr. Calvert, and Mr. R. Gordon, opposed it. Already 268,000*l.* had been expended before a brick was laid. The petition was referred to a committee.

Dr. Phillimore obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the marriage act. Mr. Hume addressed the house at some length on the affairs of Gibraltar, and he concluded with moving for several papers. Mr. Vansittart consented to the production of some of them, but opposed the motion for the others. He did not think that Mr. Hume pursued a candid course in the charges which he had brought forward.

May 5.—Mr. Brougham addressed the house at great length on the subjects of the droits of admiralty, the 4½ per cent. duties, &c. He contended, that down to the year 1799, the king of England could hold no property apart from that of the crown, and that whatever he possessed previous to his accession merged in his public capacity. It had been held by the greatest statesmen and lawyers of former times, that this restriction conduced to the dignity of the crown, and the security of the liber-

ties of the people. But in 1799 an act was passed, by which his late majesty and his successors might purchase lands and chattels, which he might sell again at a profit, give away in rewards to favourites, or bestow in such a way as, *pro tanto*, setting the votes of parliament at defiance, might defeat the whole system and policy of the constitution; nay, he might even hold copyhold lands, and thus become a tenant of his own subjects. It was not for those who had been a party to this degrading innovation to talk of the honour and dignity of the crown, and refuse to go into any inquiry as to the admiralty droits, &c. at the commencement of a new reign, as incompatible with the veneration which the nation owed to its rightful sovereign. He then showed that the droits of admiralty were vested in the crown for public purposes, towards which the crown now contributed nothing, though the droits amounted, during the last reign, to 13,700,000*l.* He would divest the crown of this source of emolument, and make it a compensation on fair and equitable principles. The present civil list system was so complicated, that none but a person deeply versed in the *minutiae* of finance could tell what was the real income of the crown. The ark itself did not contain a greater variety of beings than were jumbled into the same accounts with the king of England. In the report of 1815, they would find the vicar of the Tower set down for 1*l.* 13*s.*; the vicar of St. Botolph, 1*l.* 15*s.*; the churchwardens of St. John the Baptist, 1*l.* 18*s.* There were masters of hawks and field-sports, keepers of lions, the gentle-

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man usher of the black rod, and the exchequer watchman, all united in goodly fellowship. Was it derogatory to his majesty to take him out of this sort of company, and to give him for his own use, liberally and cheerfully, whatever sum might be deemed necessary to support his state and dignity? After going into some detail as to the new arrangements which he thought practicable on this subject, he adverted to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties, and the resources from Gibraltar and Scotland. To what purposes were these emoluments applied? They were bestowed on pensions for good services, bad services, or no services at all. Whenever a minister doubted whether he could obtain the sanction of parliament in rewarding a *protégé*, then he secured a pension out of some of those funds. The sum of 50,000*l.* had, out of the *droits* of admiralty, been paid to sir H. Popham, to compensate him for his supposed loss in a smuggling transaction, whilst Mr. Charnock, who had advanced him the means of engaging in it, lost every shilling of his property. These *droits* formed a temptation to ministers to commence hostilities before issuing a declaration of war, thus subjecting us to the reproach of foreign nations. On those funds ought to be written in indelible characters (he feared it was already written, in characters of blood, on the pages of our history)—“These funds are the purchase-money of the honour, the good faith, the pure and unsullied good name of England.” On this head he instanced the design upon the Smyrna fleet in the time of Charles II. and the capture of the Spanish frigates in

1804, by which 2,200,000*l.* were acquired by attacking men ignorant of any other ground of attack than that they had dollars on board. As to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties granted by the legislature of Barbadoes for the repairs of forts, the building of a sessions house and prison, and for other public purposes, in the year 1663, he could not trace when this fund came into the sole possession of the crown; but, in the reign of queen Anne, on a complaint from Barbadoes and the leeward islands, the house of commons addressed her majesty on the subject, and she agreed to give it up for the purposes to which it had been originally applied. It was somewhat curious that, after queen Anne's acknowledgement that it was not hers, that it belonged to the colonies, and that parliament had the controul of it, it should neither go to the use of the colonies, nor fall under the inspection of parliament, but make a dead stop, and become the absolute property of the crown. So it was, but the cause and history of the fact were buried in obscurity: all that was known was, that it was the fund for obscure pensioners of all descriptions. He concluded with moving, “That it is expedient that the house do take into its consideration the *droits* of admiralty, the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties, and other funds not usually deemed within the controul of parliament, in order to make such provision respecting the same as shall be consistent with the dignity of the crown, with the interests of the people, and with the maintenance of the constitution.”

Mr. Canning opposed the motion. There was no disposition on the part of his majesty's ministers

to accept the boon which had been offered as an inducement to sell the royal prerogatives. The crown asked nothing beyond an arrangement already in existence, and no new burthen was contemplated, and surely parliament would not say, "You are too well satisfied, and it is our duty to see whether we cannot take something from you as a punishment for being so easily contented." Though the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties were given for the consideration of repairs, &c. yet the origin of the fund was the giving of some quit rents and the settling of a disputed title. It was true that it had not formed part of the civil list since the time of queen Anne, but the power of granting pensions on it was co-existent with its origin. The observation as to the obscurity of pensioners, might be answered by saying, that among them were the illustrious William Pitt, earl of Chatham, and Edmund Burke. But to prevent any abuse from concealment, his colleagues and himself would consent that the amount of the fund and its application should be laid annually before parliament, as a matter of course, and without any previous motion. As to the droits of admiralty, after deducting what had been paid to captors, and for law expenses, there remained to be accounted a sum of little more than 4,000,000*l.* Out of that sum 2,600,000*l.* had been contributed for the public service; and two several sums had been given, one in aid of the civil list, and the other of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. fund; the first of these contributions was 1,300,000*l.*; the second 40,000*l.*; there remained, therefore, about 300,000*l.* to be accounted for. This sum had been paid partly in dona-

tions to different branches of the royal family, and partly in entertainments to foreign sovereigns. The expenditure, however, of the whole had been communicated to parliament, and ministers had no objection that in future every grant out of this fund should, as a matter of course, be so communicated; but they were not prepared to propose that a long and almost immemorial usage should be abolished, without the most striking proof that such usage, though co-existent with the practice, was incompatible with the spirit of the constitution. He thought it better that the patronage of the crown should reward public political services by property under its peculiar protection, than that a democratic assembly should dole out largesses and favours according to the impulse and force of passion, party, or canvass. So far as the droits supplied any motive for going to war, he could not conceive it possible that the vilest mind that ever meddled with public affairs, would plunge the country into hostilities for so paltry a consideration. There were claims connected with these droits, the adjustment of which, if they were taken from under the controul of the crown, would be attended with many difficulties. With regard to the system of the civil list, he advanced various arguments, to show that it was more adapted to a monarchical constitution, than that of the American government could be; and he would not be induced, by any pecuniary temptation to the sovereign, to strip off trappings which were neither costly to the people nor dangerous to the constitution.

Sir James Mackintosh said, that if he chose his station in debate otherwise

therwise than from a sense of right, most assuredly he should not have taken the station which brought him so nearly into contact with the great and powerful speech of the statesman and lawyer who introduced the subject, or that which called upon him to reply to the eloquence and talents of his right honourable friend who had just sat down. Considering the speech of his honourable and learned friend as consisting wholly of reason and knowledge, and entirely free from objections usually made in that house; considering that it discussed exclusively a great and grave question of state and policy, without turning it at all into a means of acquiring popularity, or an instrument of inflammation, he could not regard the observations which he was now to attempt to answer, but as ingenious fallacies. One of the topics used by his right honourable friend,—he could not call it argument, although it was a topic often used with effect, and its general effect he did not wish to lessen,—was the reverence for feudal monarchy and Gothic government, the charge of stripping the crown of its trappings, and the monarch of his dignity. This topic was inapplicable altogether on the present occasion; for the speech of his honourable and learned friend expressed as strong regard for the law, for the constitution, for the honour and dignity of the crown, as any speech that had ever been uttered in that house. His right honourable friend ought to view feudal monarchy as connected with all its evils, with the baneful and oppressive evils which were gradually removed during four centuries—from *Magna Charta* to the *Wards and Liveries*. This was the

olden time so warmly eulogized! This was an attempt at celebrating the golden age of old times, which he thought more suitable to a venerable major out of doors, than to his right honourable friend. The bold and presumptuous renovators, the barons at Runnymede, had not such veneration for the old times and the feudal monarchy. The feudal monarchy was continually attacked and stripped of some of its appendages, from William the conqueror down to William III. The bill of rights, and all the proud charters of our best rights, were so many attacks and encroachments on the feudal monarchy and the practices of olden times.

His honourable and learned friend had stated that since Charles II. the droits had not involved us in war. This he had ascribed, not to morality, but to policy. He had distinctly applied his objection, not to the droits causing war, because they could not reach that; but, to their influence in occasioning actual hostilities before a declaration of war. The point of objection was the manner of going to war. If even this abuse had never existed, he should still contend that it was sufficient objection that there was a peculiar liability to this abuse. Nay, it was a sufficient objection, that we were suspected and charged with this abuse in foreign countries. This suspicion excited much additional jealousy of what we could not surrender without danger:—he meant our important maritime rights. It was prudence, it was wisdom to reform what rendered us odious, without making us formidable; and at a time when the reform could not be imputed to fear or force. This reform we



owed, first, to a sense of justice and moderation ; and next, to a sacred regard to our own conduct and reputation, which we were bound to maintain. For illustration of this point he would take the liberty of stating the conduct of another nation.—In 1812, when we engaged in war with America, the American government allowed six months for all ships to leave their ports, after the war commenced. A representation was made of the hardships of not having longer time : longer time was granted. In courts of law in Massachusetts, the question was tried, whether the government had a right to grant such time ; or whether according to common law, which was the same in America as in England, the ships had not become droits of the commonwealth there, as of the crown in England. The courts found that the order of government was conformable to the law of nations, and the ships were enlarged. It was remarkable, that the courts held, not only that the enlargement was conformable to the law of nations, but also to *Magna Charta*. When the minister of the American government, at the congress of Ghent, asked for similar indulgence for his countrymen, he did not meet with reciprocal liberality. The answer given to him was indeed the only answer which could be given to him under existing circumstances ; for it informed him that restitution of the property seized could not be made, as it was not the property of the captors, but the property of the crown. After such a fact, he would ask them, in the first place, whether it was not natural for foreign courts to suspect, that wars were sometimes made by our court with

no other view than to support this fund ? and, in the second, whether the house, if it consented to the measures now proposed by his majesty's ministers, would not be creating another obstacle to the destruction of it ? The American government had certainly a right to expect, that the English government would adhere to *Magna Charta* ; and *Magna Charta* expressly declared that no foreign merchant should suffer, either in his person or in his chattels, upon a declaration of war, though he might be compelled to wait in England until it was ascertained how Englishmen were treated in the other country. This was, however, the law in the golden times of old, but not at the time of the seizure of the *Smyrna* fleet.

His right honourable friend, however, was so sensibly alive to the high character of his late majesty, that he had charged the learned gentleman who had brought forward this motion, with the commission of an inexpressible offence, in speaking of the *Smyrna* fleet and his late majesty in the same breath ; forgetting, however, that his (sir J. Mackintosh's) learned friend had expressly stated that he did not mean to accuse any king who had reigned in England since Charles II., of a similar act of folly and injustice. But his right honourable friend (Mr. Canning), in reply to the eloquent mover of the debate, had gone so far as to assert, that the fund in question was not so much calculated to prove an incitement to war, as a preventive of it ; and had backed his assertion by alluding to the case of the *Swedish* convoy, in which, as he said, restitution was made to the captured, from the droits of admi-

admiralty. He (sir James Macintosh) had been employed as counsel in that case, and might therefore be supposed to have some acquaintance with it; and yet it appeared to him to be totally irrelevant. The right honourable gentleman had alluded to it, under the idea that there were no other funds in existence, from which restitution could be made; and if such had really been the case, his argument would indeed have been unanswerable. But that was by no means the fact; it was nothing more than mere supposition; and yet upon that as a foundation, the eloquent speech of his right honourable friend entirely rested. He could not indeed hope to rival the eloquence of that speech, but he would not despair of conquering it in argument. He should assert, that there were other funds from which redress in case of injury might be obtained; and that the mode of arranging them was so clear, that if it were referred to a committee for half an hour, they would understand its purport and perceive its utility. Indeed he had at that time in his hand, a bill for that purpose, which he had prepared four years ago, whilst the subject was then under discussion: he had not submitted it to the notice of parliament at that period, for certain reasons which it was unnecessary for him then to explain:—the reasons might be good or they might be bad;—he had however acted upon them; and if he had been mistaken in doing so, he had been misled by the ministry of the day; who declared, that though the civil list, as then constituted, was founded upon an express bargain made between his majesty and the country, and

therefore could not be disturbed; a time would come when the whole subject would be open to free discussion and examination, and that then would be the period for introducing any such measure as he had contemplated. But now that the time for introducing some such measure was at last arrived, his right honourable friend came forward and informed them, that to enter into such an examination would be to make a very bad return to the gracious declarations of his majesty king George the fourth.

He (Mr. Canning) had told them, that his majesty had no wish to add to the burthens of the country, that he was most anxious to alleviate the distresses of the people, and that he had displayed all the sources of his revenue to his parliament; and that it was, therefore, the duty of parliament to behave as generously towards him as he had behaved graciously towards them. What was the real answer, then, which parliament ought to make to this appeal? Why, that, in compliance with his majesty's desire, they would take it into their most serious consideration, how far they could relieve the people from their burthens, without detracting from the honour and dignity of the crown. After he had arrived at this point, his right honourable friend had shown very great eagerness to transfer the discussion to the civil list; but into the discussion of that question it would be highly improper to enter, without first entering into the investigation which his honourable and learned friend had proposed to them to pursue. In the reasons which his right honourable friend had adduced for refusing an inquiry into the droits of ad-

miralty, there was one great and surprising fallacy: it was this, that he had spread them over 60 years, whereas, eight millions of them and more had been accumulated during the war which had raged during the last 20 years; the other 750,000*l.*, which was placed at the disposal of parliament, at the peace of 1763, proceeding from the capture of the French ships which were taken at the commencement of the war in 1756.

Hence it appeared, that in the 30 years intervening between the years 1763 and 1793, the droits of admiralty amounted to a very inconsiderable sum; whilst in the 20 years that afterwards ensued they increased to such an amount as to give his majesty a clear income of more than 400,000*l.* a year, not voted by parliament, not recognised by parliament, or not recognisable by parliament, but to be recognised and made recognisable by it at some future period. If such a circumstance could have been foreseen in the first year of the reign of George III., when the civil list was under discussion, and the sum of 800,000*l.* was proposed to be given to him as an annual revenue, would it have been looked upon as an indifferent circumstance? Certainly not: on the contrary, it would have formed so important a consideration, that it would have been impossible to have overlooked it. It would have occurred to the parliament then sitting, that a revenue arising from such a source, was a fluctuating revenue; and that, as it was a fluctuating revenue, it would be impossible to decide what was the amount of an income partly derived from such a source and partly from a parliamentary grant. This sug-

gestion occurred to him forcibly at present; and he therefore looked upon the motion now proposed to them as a preliminary measure, which they were bound to discuss, before they determined on assigning any fixed revenue to the crown.

Another question, in his opinion, was, whether the revenue derived from these sources was proper and decorous; and upon this point he was happy to say, that his right honourable friend had admitted that on which he (sir J. Mackintosh) contended the whole of the case to rest. He had admitted that the island of Barbadoes had petitioned against the assignment of its colonial funds to British purposes; he had admitted that the constitution of that colony gave them power to apply those funds to their own purposes; and, therefore, that any other application of them was unjust. He had therefore admitted all that was requisite to show the impropriety of attaching this revenue to the crown; though, indeed, his admission of it was not wanted. It was sufficient for his (sir James Mackintosh's) argument, that in the reign of queen Anne, both the queen and the parliament had acknowledged their error in the application which had been made of them: the fact that they had afterwards continued to be applied to the same purposes, was nothing to him: he was well aware that the application of them could not be set aside in a court of law:—but that was not the question at present. The question was, whether parliament would still continue to allow the funds belonging to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, who had no person to represent their interests in the house, to be misapplied in the manner which

which they had been? In the consideration of this question, his right honourable friend seemed totally to have forgotten, that they were not then debating whether a smaller or a larger sum should be granted to the king; but, whether the interest of the state and the honour of the crown would be best conserved by the continuance or the discontinuance of these sources of revenue.—To this question not one of his remarks was applicable. It was true, that a great part of the droits of the admiralty had been made over, voluntarily made over, by the king to the public service; and that another great part had also been applied to the recompensing the meritorious but irregular captors. He conceded that the rewards paid out of this fund had been for the most part judiciously bestowed: but he would ask, whether suspicions had not arisen, in consequence of some officers of great merit having been overlooked, that these grants were conferred, not so much as marks of merit, as marks of favour? To abolish, therefore, this method of reward, by abolishing the fund from which the reward was taken, would also tend to abolish the idea of abuse which had arisen out of it.

But then these droits of admiralty were defended as a privilege, a valuable and honourable privilege, of the sovereign. What! were they to hear the power by which the Spanish frigates were captured, denominated a valuable jewel in the crown? Were they to consider the proceeds arising from the sale of them honourable to the crown? Were those proceeds to be deemed a fit source from which a parent was to bestow his bounty on his children? Or, were they to

be accounted as proceeds equally disgraceful to the giver and receiver?—For his own part, he considered them in the latter point of view:—for a revenue was well derived, which was derived from the benevolence of the people; but ill derived, which was derived from such an act as the seizure of the Spanish fleet:—an act which had been compared as equal in atrocity to some of the worst examples of Turkish piracy. It would therefore be more honourable, for the sovereign to derive his means of gratifying his paternal affection, from the affection of his subjects, than from the spoils of his enemies,—his unarmed, his unoffending, and his defenceless enemies. But it was said, that if a compensation were to be afforded to the sovereign, it must be a liberal compensation. To this proposition he, for one, had no objection; and he would so arrange that compensation, as to take care that it was not productive to the sovereign of any extra-parliamentary revenue.

Indeed, he should consider the house dead to all sense of shame, if they were not most eager, on many accounts, to grant such a compensation to their sovereign. In the first place, they would, by such a compensation, abridge the means of corruption; in the second, they would prevent the crown from being held up to public view as deriving benefit from the exercise of the harshest laws of war:—rights which, though they might be properly exercised in those times of feudality which his right honourable friend had chosen as the subject of his panegyric, were now generally considered as cruel and inhuman; and, in the third place, they would protect the maritime rights

rights of the country, which in future times were likely to become more difficult to protect than they were at present. Of these rights, though he would maintain some as intimately connected with the honour and safety of the country, he would give up others, because they rendered us odious without rendering us formidable. With regard to prizes taken at sea, he held opinions not very different from the bulk of the country. Those opinions he held to be founded upon the law of nations; and he would have them maintained at every hazard, because they were connected with the national honour, which it was requisite to preserve untarnished, if the nation did not wish to sink into the condition of a secondary state. It was, however, these very opinions that rendered England unpopular amongst foreign nations; they were blended with our commercial wealth, and arose from the very causes which had cramped the pretensions of foreign powers; they were interwoven with our earliest history; and had existed from the treaty of Oleron, in the reign of Richard I., down to the present times. From a combination of causes like these, from the exertion of these harsh and disgusting rights, we had acquired the title of "The tyrants of the sea."

On the subject of prizes in general, he did not know that there was any subject on which his first thoughts had differed so much from his second. He had observed that on land private property was safe; but that at sea it was not safe. He thought this extraordinary at first, but he was now convinced that it was perfectly right, because ships were adapted

for purposes of invasion. The droits of admiralty had been defended on another ground, that they were applied to the relief of British subjects who suffered by seizure of their goods in a foreign country on a declaration of war. This had been the case after the seizure of the Spanish frigates; part of their proceeds had been applied to the relief of the British subjects whose goods had been confiscated at Cadiz. But in the case of those British merchants whose property was seized in Denmark, after the attack on Copenhagen, no such redress was afforded, though the Danish droits of the admiralty amounted to 2,000,000*l.*, and though the British property confiscated did not exceed a tenth part of that sum in value. The merchants had presented petitions, but in vain; they were told by a noble lord, that though such relief had been afforded in the case at Cadiz, that was a dangerous precedent, and could not be followed; so that the very point was negatived, on which the advocates for the droits of admiralty contended for their continuance. And yet, if there ever was a case where relief ought to have been granted, it was to the British merchants who lost their property in Denmark. The government of England had lulled them into security; till the very sailing of the British expedition Danish clearances were made in our ports. He did not blame government for this, because secrecy might form a part of the policy of the expedition; but he did blame them for this—that when no British subject could have expected such measures to have been pursued, from the security into which they were lulled, the droits of admiralty had not been granted;

granted ; and that refusal destroyed the argument which was founded on the application of them as an indemnity for confiscation. He was ashamed of having been so long ; but he had risen to make a few observations in reply to his right honourable friend, and the subject had carried him further than he originally intended.

Sir John Newport rose. As he considered that the power which the present system would give to the crown was open to great abuse, he should vote for the resolutions. First, with respect to the revenue of four-and-half per cent., it was said that it was intended for the service of the colonies, the erection of fortifications, and other purposes ; but he would ask whether, in any one instance, it had been so applied ? Why, then, should it be maintained nominally, for purposes to which it never was really applied ? With respect to the *droits*, he contended that they ought not to be applied for such uses and in such manner as they now were. He had witnessed the disastrous effects produced to several, by seizures similar to those from which those *droits* arose, and he had seen no redress afforded to any. They (the opposition) were told, on several occasions when this subject had been brought forward, that the period would arrive, when it might be more properly discussed ; and now, when that period had arrived, it was said that the subject ought not to be touched. He had always found it the practice of men in power, to refer to some distant period any important question of reform or inquiry ; but when the period arrived, men were not wanted to rise in their places, and lay it down as a rule, almost,

that such change or inquiry should not be made. He was certain, that all those connected with the commerce of the country would be anxious that some arrangement should be made so as to do away with those *droits* ; and that the purchase would be a cheap one, at even a great price : for they considered them as lowering us in the eyes of other nations ; and our merchants suffered for them in foreign countries. The right honourable baronet concluded, by again expressing his approbation of the motion.

Mr. J. Macdonald rose. He said that after all which had been heard from time to time on the subject of economy, after the promises which had been made, it might have been reasonably supposed that the present period would be one, when something should be done for the benefit of the people. If such a supposition had been made, was it not, he would ask, borne out by the promises of Mr. Perceval, at the commencement of the regency, and by the statements (he would not call them pledges) of the noble lord (Castlereagh) in 1816, that the demise of the crown would be the proper period for such a measure as was now proposed ? But, at the arrival of that period, it was little to be expected that the surveyor of woods and forests (Mr. Huskisson) and the paymaster of forces (Mr. Long) would be found to say, that it was a matter of delicacy now, and ought not to be entered into. But the fact seemed to be, that at the period when those promises were given and hopes held out, no revision or alteration was intended ; that all those statements were the *ad captandum* of the moment ; and that it was then intended,

tended, that the whole of the civil list should still continue involved in mystery and obscurity; and that certain anomalous and ambiguous rights were to continue a disgrace on the crown.

The present moment, he should have thought, was one when this subject might have been discussed and settled with signal advantage. The spirit of his majesty was said to be favourable to it; but without the assertion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), who could for a moment doubt that his majesty, when ascending the throne of his ancestors, and contemplating the condition of the people around—who could doubt that, while viewing the misery, the protracted misery of his people, he would not rather consider what might be for their advantage, than for his own aggrandizement? It appeared to him (Mr. Macdonald) that justice had not been done by ministers to the feelings of his majesty on this subject, and particularly in the speech from the throne. The king was there made to say, and that coldly too, that the civil list would be arranged on the basis of that of 1816—of a year when he might say that a sum of 230,000*l.* had been added to it. But who could answer for carrying a proposition of an increase to that amount at present? Who could answer for the tranquillity of the country, he might almost say, if such a proposition were now made? Why had not his majesty been made to say, "Take the whole of the civil revenues, and of the civil list; examine it, and probe it; and if there can be any saving made for the country, let it be made." Instead of this, however, his majesty was made to say, that the

civil list should rest upon the arrangement made in 1816—an arrangement made at a time when every attempt to rescue it from the darkness and obscurity in which it had long been involved, was met by the declaration, that it could only be done at the demise of the crown, and which, notwithstanding that circumstance, was suffered to remain unexamined.

It was said by a noble lord (Castlereagh) at that time, that the increase had reference to war and the prices of provisions; but upon the continuance of those prices an ill calculation had been made, which the noble lord might have found erroneous if he looked to the state of the currency and of agriculture. He (Mr. Macdonald) contended that the house was bound to go to the first principles of the civil list, and to inquire what revenue was fit to be given to the crown, and what applied for the benefit of the people; and when they had found what was best for both, the sooner they acted upon it the better. He should be glad to know what imaginary benefit was derived from the present system. Did it give an account of the whole expense of the civil government? or rather, did not every body know that it gave no such thing? The plan of his honourable and learned friend would give the full amount of what was given to the royal family. It was so once; but at present the amount was uncertain and unknown. Was it not a fact that 130,000*l.* had been charged on the consolidated fund for certain payments to some of the royal family? but was it known how much they received besides? When parliament granted 60,000*l.* a-year  
for

for his majesty's privy purse, was it known that 380,000*l.* and upwards would be given at different times and in different sums for the same purpose, without its control or sanction? This system of giving money to the sovereign held out a strong temptation to the minister to barter the public money for royal favour, and to the crown to depend not on parliament for support, but, to a certain extent, on the corrupt obsequiousness of the minister. He would therefore contend that no advantage to the people could be derived from this plan; and, to use the words of an honourable member, he would ask whether it worked well?

It was said that the proposed arrangement would be a bargain irrevocable, and that it should last for life; but it had been found that other bargains of a similar kind had been broken nine times, and always at the safe side. In 1782 Mr. Burke said, that the arrangement of the civil list was then so guarded as to preclude excess, but still it was found that an excess accrued. At each time that a deviation was made from the bargain, it was said that that would be the last, and a promise was given that no similar demand would be made in future; but it was somewhat whimsical (if such serious occurrences could be so called) to see how each succeeding minister threw overboard the promises of his predecessor, and in most cases the fault lay not with the minister, but with the system itself. The whole amount of what was demanded from time to time would be too great to be asked at once; and then the plan was, not that an additional sum should be given to the civil list, but that that

list should be relieved from some particular charges. It was in this manner that Mr. Pitt, in 1804, and a noble lord (Castlereagh) in 1816, had taken from that list charges to the amount of 400,000*l.*, which charges it had originally been given to cover. Thus there was no regular rule by which this department was to be governed; it was in some particular branches left to the disposition of individuals, and the whole was involved in darkness and mystery of the grossest kind. No possible advantage could accrue from the present plan; on the contrary, the whole was calculated to deceive the public and to excite irritation.

His object was to simplify at least, if not reduce; (and he did not see why reduction might not well be made;) but, at all events, to simplify that which at present was so complicated and intricate. He would reduce the whole to three or four classes; he said a fourth, because he thought pensions beyond a particular amount ought to come under one class. In this arrangement the miscellaneous services, which were most various, would come annually before parliament; while those parts which properly belonged to the support of the crown would not. If this plan were followed, the crown would not be placed in the humiliating situation (for he considered it as nothing less than humiliating) of coming frequently before parliament to make good deficiencies, which were only explained or known by their amount. If some such plan were not adopted, any settlement of a civil list would be of no avail, while such sums as 13,000,000*l.*, and for another purpose 380,000*l.*, might be appro-



appropriated without the sanction or controul of parliament. If the house were now prevailed upon to shut their eyes upon this, and suffer such sums to pass unaccounted for, they must expect it again : but he trusted they would not. He would not now go into any historical account of the droits which had been so applied, or of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. colonial duties ; but he would maintain that the crown had as little right to appropriate the latter without consent of parliament, as it had to the malt tax for the same purpose.

As to the droits of the admiralty, he would only say generally, that whatever right the crown possessed to them, there were correlative duties accompanying those rights : one of these was, that the lord high admiral (in virtue of whose office they were received by the crown) was bound to protect the narrow seas—a duty which was now performed by the navy, paid by taxes raised on the country. He wished to impress this on the house as one of many cases which might be adduced, and as showing the importance of the question they were about to decide. The constant principle which should actuate the house in regulating the civil list, should be to cut off contingency and to regulate salary ; but it seemed as if this principle was altogether lost sight of. He made these observations in the discharge of a conscientious duty ; for he looked upon the question before the house as involving the dignity of the crown. That dignity he thought would be best preserved, and the prosperity of the people best consulted, by placing the civil list within certain, regular, and fixed

rules. A limited monarchy and a free people were corresponding terms. Such a government was the best calculated to secure social happiness and public prosperity. He believed that it suited best the character and disposition of Englishmen. Their king was deeply in the minds of the people of this country, and they would willingly contribute to grant any revenue that was necessary for the due splendour of the crown. But that splendour, in the present state of the country, ought to be attended with due economy and displayed without ostentation. These were times when a diminution of splendour was an accession of dignity.

Sir Robert Wilson concurred with his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) that there was not an officer engaged in the capture of the Spanish vessels who did not think his professional character tarnished by the transaction. He might mention another evil arising out of these captures before a declaration of war. After the peace of Amiens an order was given to seize and detain French vessels, and the consequence was that the French government retaliated by detaining all the English who were at the time within the dominions of France. This measure of the French government was by many justified, on the ground that it was a proper return for such previous treatment. The honourable and gallant general concluded by saying that he should vote for the motion.

Mr. Tierney rose. He said he would make a few observations on the state of the question, and the engagement to which voting on one side or the other would pledge

pledge the members of the house. He could assure the house and the gentlemen opposite, who were so anxious to bring this debate to a conclusion, that he should not detain them long. After the able speech of his honourable and learned friend, in which the whole facts and law of the case had been stated and supported; after the speech of the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning), and the reply of his honourable and learned friend near him (sir James Mackintosh), the merits of the question required no further discussion. He rose therefore, not to add any thing to what had been already said on the question itself, but to set members right on the real purport of the motion. The house, then, was now called upon, at the beginning of a reign, to make a final arrangement of the civil list for the whole of the reign. On such an occasion it was necessary to make the most minute inquiry, and to exert the most scrupulous caution to make the arrangement as wise and proper as it would be lasting. When a new settlement was proposed, it was incumbent on the house to take into consideration all the funds at present at the disposal of the crown, in order to know what charges should be made before that settlement was effected. If they now neglected to do so, another opportunity would not again occur during the reign.

When a motion like this should be afterwards brought forward, it would be sufficient to say, that the matter had been already settled, and thus all further consideration of it would be shut out. The proposed resolution went no

further than this, that it was expedient to take into consideration the droits of the admiralty, the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. colonial duties, and other funds usually at the disposal of the crown, with the making of such an arrangement concerning them as would be consistent with the maintenance of the dignity of the crown and the interests of the country. Those, therefore, who should vote for his honourable and learned friend's motion would pledge themselves to no principle on the subject—they would merely express an opinion that the system formerly acted upon, now that a new arrangement was to be made, ought to be taken into consideration. Any gentleman who voted against it would say by his vote, that parliament ought to give the subject no consideration whatever. In supporting the proposed civil-list establishment, it was not asking too much, in times like these, to know how far it was necessary, by being informed of the state of the revenues in the power of the crown, independently of it. There was, indeed, a paper on the table stating the amount of the droits during the whole of the late reign; but his honourable and learned friend had shown that the greatest portion of them had accrued within the last 20 years. Of the state of them for the last four years, since the report was drawn up, the house knew nothing. Would it not be proper, therefore, to make inquiry, and to demand information as to whether there had been any increase, or what was the present state of those funds?

The crown, for the maintenance of whose splendour and dignity

dignity a new civil list was to be provided, might be in possession of revenues that would render a less liberal grant from parliament sufficient for all purposes of splendour and dignity. His honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) had suggested, that in case the crown could not dispense with them, and subsist on the parliamentary allowance of 850,000*l.*, now proposed, some compensation might be granted in lieu of them. He (Mr. Tierney) must say, that he was, in the present state of his information, against making any compensation whatever; but at any rate, the necessity of granting such compensation could only be made apparent by the proposed inquiry. After the committee had been granted, and an examination had taken place, his honourable and learned friend would be able to decide whether any and what compensation ought to be made. This was not a time to think about unnecessary expenditure or ostentatious splendour. Rapid as had been the progress of melancholy events in the royal family since 1816, the country had run as rapidly into decay. All classes were suffering privations, and obliged to make sacrifices. His majesty should have been advised to make likewise some sacrifice in consideration of the burdens and distresses of his people. He (Mr. Tierney) knew that his majesty's surrender of his hereditary revenues, and his acceptance of the arrangement of 1816, was called an act of grace. But it ought to be recollected that our revenue was every year declining, and that there had been a great falling off in the first quarter of this

year, as compared with the corresponding quarter of last year.

He did not wish to appear nigardly towards the crown—he did not wish to take any thing away from its proper splendour and dignity; but he would say, that, in the present burdened state of the country, and the depression of our finances, a single farthing ought not to be wasted unnecessarily. The amount of the funds at the disposal of his majesty, within the four last years, he (Mr. Tierney) did not know. He was anxious to know, with a view to the settlement of the civil list, on which the greatest anxiety existed in the public mind. Rumours had gone abroad at different times concerning the amount of the droits which had been applied to the purposes of the crown. While the subject was left in the dark, these rumours might again become current. What could be the evil of bringing these funds under the consideration of the house?

The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) had said that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the crown to allow such an examination. But how could that be proved, while a stronger interference in other cases was not thought to produce that effect? His honourable friend had truly stated that severe and ignorant comments had been made on the royal expenditure, and these comments could not have been made, if things had been managed in a different manner. The house ought not to grant the proposed 850,000*l.* without knowing the other sources of royal income. This would be voting away the public money in the dark, during a season

a season of great public pressure. No inconvenience could result from the course of inquiry recommended. His honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) had said, that he would agree to a compensation for these droits, if upon inquiry it should be thought proper, and the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), in answering him, said that the crown was satisfied with its present establishment, and that the course proposed by the honourable mover would add to the public burdens. Now the right honourable gentleman's argument was destroyed by the very terms used by his honourable friend; for a compensation meant an equivalent; and the nation could not be more burdened by receiving as much as it gave. If a man gives 10,000*l.* to receive 10,000*l.*, he is neither richer nor poorer. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) called upon those who wished to make an economical and rational settlement of the civil list, to vote for his honourable and learned friend's motion. It bound them to nothing but to consider the subject—it called for no opinion—it pledged to no principles—it merely called upon them to examine, and left them to determine what was proper to be done, after they had examined.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he had not intended to address the house on the question, had it not been for some observations of the right honourable gentleman opposite. The house would see, in the contrariety of the opinions of the honourable gentlemen opposite, what good a committee was likely to do. Three or four of these ho-

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nourable gentlemen had spoken on this question, and none of them could be brought to see it in the same light. They all disagreed, not only with this side of the house, but with themselves. Ministers proposed to continue a system which had been four years in operation, and which was better understood by experience than any of the new-fashioned, new-fangled plans of the gentlemen opposite. It possessed about it some of the venerable characters of antiquity. This system had been shown to be good, on a four years' trial. It was framed on a scale of reduction to the amount of 150,000*l.* below the expenditure of several years preceding 1816. The gentlemen who were members of the last parliament would recollect that the right honourable gentleman opposite was not so eager for inquiry at the conclusion of last session, as he proposed to discuss the civil list in the course of a fortnight before the dissolution. The plan now proposed would admit of a saving of 238,000*l.* over the civil list of 1816, in which there was a reduction of 150,000*l.* below the average of some preceding years. This large sum would be transferred to the consolidated fund.

Having said thus much on the civil list, he would make an observation or two on the proper object of the present motion. The honourable and learned gentleman's objections against the continuance of these droits to the crown were, that it afforded a motive for unnecessary wars, and a pretext to those who wished to calumniate our country. Both these appeared to him (the chancellor of the exchequer) quite unfounded. Cir-

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cumstances under which embargoes took place were subsequently examined, and, if no cause for declaring war occurred, the vessels were restored. This happened in 1801, and he might remind the house of what was the conduct of government at that time. When a coalition was formed amongst the northern powers, an embargo was laid on all Danish, Swedish, and Russian vessels in our ports. This government, meanwhile, sought to avoid a war; and, after a brilliant exploit of lord Nelson's at Copenhagen, and a happy change in Russia, that calamity was prevented, and the ships were restored. Had the crown wished to condemn those vessels, it had nothing to do but to issue a declaration of war, and thus prevent their restitution. It ought likewise to be recollected, when speaking of the Spanish prizes, that three-fourths of the proceeds of the captured vessels were given to our seamen. That the amount of this fund, however, might be made known to the public, and the uses to which it was applied, it was his intention to bring in a bill for the purpose of causing a return of its produce and application every year. A return would likewise be given of the state of all those funds since 1816.

Mr. Brougham replied. He could not retort on his opponents the sarcastic remark which the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer), in his very humorous speech, had made on those who had spoken on that (the opposition) side of the house; namely, that they all differed from each other, and some of them from themselves. The first part of the sarcasm at least

he could not retort, because there had, in fact, been only one speech made on the opposite side of the house; and therefore, unless that speaker had differed from himself, there was no chance of his making a successful retort. He could not help expressing his regret that the house on this occasion had not had the benefit of hearing the opinions of those law officers who were as great an ornament to the crown as the droits themselves, and who, if they would do their duty, as he wished to make these droits do theirs, would also be of great benefit to the country. He had likewise to regret the absence of a learned gentleman, he meant the king's advocate, who was in the habit of discussing such topics as those which had been that night under the consideration of the house. But perhaps he should consider it as some compensation for the absence of the learned gentleman, that he was not opposed by the weight of his arguments.

He had also reason to lament that another learned and right honourable gentleman (sir William Scott) had not come down to the house till the debate was ended; because, from his official situation, both temporal and spiritual—for it was well known that the office of the learned judge was not merely secular—his presence would have been a very desirable acquisition. The attendance of such individuals gave countenance and encouragement to those who endeavoured to discharge a public duty, even though their arguments should be opposed to the object which it was wished to attain. From the want of such learned hearers, and particularly in consequence of the absence of the learned

learned judge, he had actually been obliged to suppress a most learned quotation from Vattel; and who could tell what the effect of such a quotation might have been, if the learned judge by his attendance had given him an opportunity of introducing it? It was observable that the learned judge had now come down just in time to vote; but his inveterate judicial habits, which had rendered him an ornament to the bench, both at home and abroad, and which prevented him from deciding without first hearing, would, there was no doubt, deprive ministers of the accession of his vote on the present occasion. The right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) had remarked, that a war with Russia had been averted by the victory of lord Nelson at Copenhagen, and by the happy change which took place in Russia. Now, he was not disposed to press this argument against the right honourable gentleman; but he was sure that if he himself had said as much, he would instantly have been silenced with the exclamation, "What! you talk of a change of system, who call the assassination of monarchs a happy change!" He was sure, from the happy talent for ridicule which a right honourable gentleman opposite possessed, that if he had made such an application of the event alluded to, he would have been almost annihilated by this time.

The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), in reply to that part of his speech in which he alluded to the provisions made for the king of France, the stadtholder of Holland, and the president of the United States, had

displayed his usual dexterity in detaching just so much of the argument as he found it convenient to turn into ridicule; he had pounced upon the president of the United States, overlooking entirely the king of France and the stadtholder; and on this basis he had founded his joke, his sarcasm, or his argument—he might call it either, for it was as much the one as the other; and then followed a long tirade about stripping off the trappings of the monarch. It had been said that the inquiry would occupy a long time, and that they (the opposition) were guilty of inconsistency, because they had formerly wished to hurry over the settlement of the civil list in the course of a fortnight. The chancellor of the exchequer, however, must be a greater conjurer than he (Mr. Brougham) ever had reason to believe him, if he knew that they wished to settle that question in one fortnight. The fact was, that at the time they wished to enter into the inquiry parliament had six months before it, and not a fortnight as represented by the right honourable gentleman. They had never been desirous to hurry ministers; and all they now said was, that ministers were acting inconsistently, because they themselves wished to hurry the civil list through parliament in one week, without any previous inquiry, and because they had for several months delayed the consideration of the subject, though they had six months before them at the time that the settlement of the civil list became necessary.

It had been represented by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) that he (Mr. Brougham)

was desirous of making a stipendiary king, with only as much meat as he could devour—a monarch who should live on board wages, and dine every day at a chop-house. He denied that such an inference could fairly be drawn from any sentiments that he had uttered, and some of the expressions were too vulgar for him to have used. He had no wish to diminish either the dignity or the comfort of the crown; nay, he would grudge less 10,000*l.* applied in promoting the monarch's comfort, than half that sum to be spent in corruption by the minister—to be spent in getting members into that house, or in keeping them steady when placed there. But it was said by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), and echoed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that those who favoured this inquiry wished to strip the monarch of those venerable attributes by which the throne should be supported. "What!" exclaimed the right honourable gentleman, "strip him of the vicar of the Tower, with his salary of 25*l.* a-year, of the master of the hawks, of the keeper of the lions, and all those venerable appendages; and what kind of a monarch will you leave us?" There was one point on which he begged leave to offer a remark before he sat down. The right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) represented it as a great favour to make annual returns to parliament; but had it escaped the recollection of the right honourable gentleman, or did he think it had escaped the recollection of the house, that in 1812 Mr. Perceval had admitted that such accounts should be pro-

duced? Was it by this pretence of concession that their wits were to be bewildered, and they were to be cajoled out of their constitutional jealousy? In conclusion, he called on parliament to consult the honour and dignity of the people, and then they would most effectually promote the honour and dignity of the crown. The reign which had commenced would, he trusted, be long and honourable. Of this he was convinced, the more it was grounded on the affections of the people, the more permanent and dignified would it be.

Mr. Wynn and Mr. Brougham mutually explained.

The house then divided—

For the motion . . . 155

Against it . . . 273

Majority . . . 118

Mr. Baring said that he had been intrusted with a petition from a most respectable body of merchants of the city of London; and whether he considered the terms in which it was drawn up, the persons from whom it came, or the state of the country at the present moment, it was not saying too much to assert that a more important subject never was brought under the consideration of the house. He might appeal to the general interest which this matter had excited, and to the opinions expressed on all sides by gentlemen representing various trading interests, for proof, if it were wanting, that the kingdom was at this time in a state of great uneasiness, as respected concerns of the highest magnitude, and which demanded the attention of parliament, to ascertain whether any and what remedy could be applied.

applied. Of course he did not mean to give a decisive opinion either one way or the other; but he might state, that parliament was called upon at least to inquire so far as to learn whether its wisdom could afford any alleviation to existing evils. No doubt there was much in the existing condition of the country to which no parliamentary remedy could be afforded; but it also appeared to him, on the other hand, that a great deal might be done, if the house gave due attention to the present situation of trade. In favour of the petitioners, on the present occasion, he should say, that they came before the house with no view to affect the interests of any other class of society, because it was quite evident that, if commercial men knew their own interest, they could have no other object than general prosperity; if agriculture did not flourish, commerce must necessarily decay. A great deal had been said on the subject of a transition from war to peace; but, with whatever force that argument might have been urged some time since, it could have little weight now that we found the same state of things continue long after the war had ceased. We found, indeed, that the distress and embarrassment of the country, instead of gradually diminishing, were upon the increase. Whilst every other commercial country was in a state of progressive recovery, this alone had all the appearance of a deep decline. If the house turned its attention to the agricultural interests, it would be seen that complaint was equally loud, and distress as universally felt, as amongst the commercial and manufacturing classes.

In the opinion, he believed, of the best informed men, the situation of affairs was hopeless, unless some remedy was suggested by the deliberative wisdom of parliament. There was great reason to doubt whether, taken in the aggregate, the commerce of this country had yielded any profit during the last two or three years. The observation was, he believed, as applicable to manufacturers as to merchants, and he feared that the farming interest was in the same danger. It might be difficult to give a satisfactory solution of the causes; but, with regard to the actual result, he thought there could be little diversity of opinion. The present languor might certainly be regarded as comparative, as a natural consequence of the peculiar events and termination of the war. Whilst that war continued, we enjoyed a monopoly of trade; we took larger strides in commercial industry and enterprise than ever were before taken by any people. Having compassed these mighty objects, a sort of carelessness in our foreign policy grew up with the successes of the war, and had materially operated in bringing about the present situation of the country. It must at the same time be admitted, that under existing circumstances the question could only be looked at in connexion with the revenue. The trade, of which we had enjoyed a monopoly, was now divided with all Europe. Every country had its share, and we had to contend against rivals in every direction. In all parts of the world competition was alive and vigorous.

What the house, therefore, had to consider, was the propriety of recurring to those old and estab-



blished principles which had proved the most solid foundation of our commerce. Our situation was that of a greatly diminished commerce, and a debt of unparalleled amount. The burden of this debt had been greatly aggravated by an unfortunate deviation from the standard of our currency. He was somewhat apprehensive of saying all that he thought upon the subject, but must declare that it was with feelings of despondency that he contemplated its entire liquidation. The fluctuations in the value of our circulating medium had had the effect, he fully believed, of adding at least one-fourth to the real amount of the public debt. It was idle to suppose that that value could be correctly estimated in any other way than by a reference to the quantity of commodities in which it could be realized. The weight of every particular tax had been augmented by the same cause, and the evil effects arising from our system of legislation with regard to the trade in corn greatly extended.

Our situation, as compared with that of other countries, was clearly unfavourable; and, however sanguine might be the predictions of his majesty's ministers, there was ample ground for alarm. He did not wish to say much on what he deemed the unfortunate decision to which parliament had come with regard to the corn-trade, nor had he any intention of disturbing the present system: but when he found that a document was in circulation in the shape of a petition to both houses of parliament, calling on them to impose further restrictions on the import of foreign corn—a document exculpating

the most profound ignorance of all the principles of political economy—he felt assured that parliament would not for one moment listen to the prayer of such a petition. He was too anxious for the preservation of domestic peace and tranquillity to venture on any disturbance of the prevailing system, much as he doubted whether the agriculturists had not mistaken their own interests, strongly as he was convinced that the value of the produce of the soil could not be supported by artificial regulations.

In every point of view, however, the setting up of one interest in opposition to another must be deprecated at the present moment; and it was therefore a matter of astonishment that persons should now be found associating themselves together for the avowed purpose of screwing up the price of our own agricultural produce. It was as absurd to consider the agricultural interest by itself and without relation to other interests in the state, as it would be to attend exclusively to the health or soundness of the liver in the animal economy.

Greater nonsense, under the name of political economy, had never been promulgated to the world than was to be found in the petition to which he was alluding. To him it appeared quite obvious, that the prosperity of this country must now depend on the general prosperity of the world. The same extent of commerce which we had enjoyed was certainly not attainable, and without more subordination there could be neither confidence nor security. What we stood in need of was the utmost freedom of trade, united with individual security. It

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was most melancholy to find that this security was not felt in many parts of the country, and that even in Scotland, at Paisley and other places, capitalists were withdrawing themselves. Unless some change occurred in this respect, he was inclined to despair of the country. What was it that made Ireland, with cheap labour and a fertile soil, comparatively poor, but the want of due subordination in the different classes of society? If it had been necessary, during the war, to depart from our ancient policy, it was equally necessary to recur to it under the present circumstances. We had enjoyed a great flow of prosperity; but, now that we were surrounded with jealous rivals, and engaged in ardent competition, our only resource was in the principle of a free trade. Without a careful revision of our present system we had no chance of success. The merchants themselves traced their difficulties to a restricted trade—to a trade more encumbered with restrictions than that of any other country.

He had been resident for some time in France, and had the opportunity of observing that its commercial interests were an object of peculiar attention to the government. A representation had lately been made to him by a well-informed gentleman in Paris, which indicated a flourishing state of manufactures in that country. There was no branch of commerce in which the labouring classes might not find employment. His hopes of our own prosperity rested entirely on the good sense and moral feelings of the people. We were in that state, however, that freedom of

commerce was indispensable. The petitioners wished not for any derangement of existing interests, nor for any sacrifice of public revenue. They asked only for mature and calm deliberation—for an unprejudiced review of interests apparently opposite to each other. Something, he sincerely believed, must be done to enable us to go on at all. It was satisfactory to know that there was no person in the country more sensible of the truths contained in the petition than the right honourable gentleman at the head of the board of trade. He was not, he (Mr. Baring) believed, exceeded in zeal for the application of just principles of commercial policy by any of the advocates for a change in our present system. It was painful, however, to find that his majesty's ministers generally did not look at this question with the eyes of statesmen, and that the true interests of the country were overlooked in the anxiety to preserve place, to balance parties, and continue the machinery of government from year to year. They seemed to have no distinct idea of our actual situation, nor to calculate any thing but the degree of support which they were likely to receive. Never, at any former period, was a similar apathy manifested on the part of our rulers; never was there such an indisposition to look our difficulties fairly in the face.

To refer, however, to the petition itself, and to the principles which it set forth, he certainly did not anticipate much controversy on that subject. The first position combated was the fallacious idea, that no country acted wisely which did not endeavour to

produce all things for its own use. The arguments of the petitioners showed, that it was much more politic to buy from another, at half price, the same commodity which might be produced at home. Under the dispensations of providence, and the varieties of soil and climate, a free interchange of natural produce must be advantageous to all parties. There was a difference in the moral character as well as in the natural productions of different countries; and it would be absurd in a native of the north to scratch his barren rock, in order to obtain, with immense labour, what he might receive in a course of free exchange from an inhabitant of the south. He felt gratified in the consideration that a motion was about to be made by a noble lord (Milton), as to the duty on the importation of foreign wool, which must, as he conceived, exert from his majesty's ministers a declaration of their views of commercial policy. He alluded to the manufacture of wool, the oldest, and one of the most extensive, this country ever knew. It was astonishing that a heavy impost should have been laid on it, an impost which tended directly to check its growth. It was not always possible to point out what particular burden any particular branch of trade could bear; but when they meddled with this branch, they ought to proceed with the utmost caution; they ought to recollect that they were tampering with a trade which was of the utmost importance to the country, and where, if they did make a mistake, it was likely to be attended with the most fatal consequences.

He implored the house (and in doing so he was rejoiced to see the question placed in good hands) not to consider in a light and superficial manner this grave subject. When he saw the agricultural interest in different parts supporting this burden, and when he looked to the effect it had in raising the price of wool, he conceived that they acted on a wrong principle. If it should turn out, as it clearly would, that the taxing the raw material reduced or put down the consumption of the manufacture, it must ultimately have the effect of reducing the demand for the raw material itself in a proportionate ratio. They had experienced the truth of this statement since the tax had been imposed. The retail business had failed in proportion as the home price of wool had been increased. Now, if it happened that the woollen manufacturer could not stand under this additional burden, it was quite evident that, in the end, it must bear on the agricultural interest. Many individuals falsely conceived that the home-market was every thing, and that exportation amounted to nothing. But how stood the case according to their own calculation—according to the calculation of lord Sheffield, who, he was sorry to say, argued the point erroneously? Suppose the woollen manufacture to be cultivated through all parts of the continent—a speculation encouraged by taxing the raw material here—must not the effect be to throw us out of the foreign markets—to prevent us from supplying those places, where the raw material was so cheap, with the manufactured article? and in what situation would  
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such a change place the proprietors, the farmers, or growers of wool, in this country? This was, in proportion, the greatest country for the growth of wool in the world. No nation possessed one-third so many sheep as were bred in this country. If, therefore, the foreign trade were cut off, there would evidently be a great quantity of wool that would find its way abroad (as it did many years ago, when this was a great exporting country), and would not, perhaps, produce more than 6*d.*, 8*d.*, or 1*s.* per lb. If, therefore, any set of men were, more than another, particularly interested in this question, that set of men were the farmers themselves; because, if the manufacturers were right in their position, the tax affected as much the demand for the raw material (and, consequently, its price,) from the growers, as it did the article manufactured. He, therefore, pressed this subject on the serious attention of the house; and he felt its importance so strongly, that he was exceedingly surprised when the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) declared that his majesty's ministers, without hearing one word on the question, had determined that no alteration should be made in the tax.

The same observations applied to all raw materials generally; and the house should consider that the manufacturers of this country were already subjected to disadvantages sufficiently great in paying the high price of labour, which was twice as high as it was elsewhere, without imposing heavy burdens on the raw material. To enhance the price of the raw

material was contrary to the doctrines laid down by every writer on political economy, and contrary to the long-established practice of this country. That practice was not departed from until the extraordinary fortune of Great Britain in the last war induced a change of system. It was then thought proper to lose sight of every principle that had previously been acted upon; and all the old-established maxims by which commerce had been regulated were borne down in the contemplation of the great advantages which the country enjoyed. Being the only nation that carried on extensive manufactures, and having the sole command of the seas from one end of the world to the other, they had gone on without any regard to those great principles which, circumstances being changed, they must now revert to. The object to which, mainly, this petition was directed, was the adoption of a general principle, having for its basis as great and extensive a freedom of commercial regulation as was possible. A revision of the revenue laws should take place with a view to their simplification; and, where any deviation appeared to have been made from the general principle to which he had alluded, it should be strictly examined into, in order to discover from what motives it had arisen. If the motive were not found to be a cogent one, the law should be restored to its original bearing.

The petitioners also prayed, that the legislature would contract as much as possible those general or positive restrictions on the importation of certain articles which weighed heavily on the commerce of

of the country. For that purpose they ought to give up the principle of endeavouring to grow every thing within the country. In the article, for instance, of timber, they made a great mistake. Why should we be restrained from procuring timber from Riga, and other ports of Russia, Poland, and the various northern states? That trade formerly employed British shipping to a great extent, and was very useful in rearing and supporting seamen. But the restrictive system had driven Great Britain out of that trade, and given to her a character of severity, with respect to her commercial restrictions, which was highly prejudicial to her interests. He was quite sure that restrictions of this kind, and particularly those on the importation of timber, had created greater jealousy among the northern powers, and induced them to seek out the means of annoying this country, more than any other measure. On this point, the regulations of the timber-trade, he would not dwell longer, because he understood that the gentlemen opposite had made up their minds to adopt new measures respecting it. His idea on this part of the subject was, to do away total prohibitions altogether, and, when protection was meant to be extended to any branch of trade, to let it be done by formal duty. Actual prohibition was most unwise and impolitic. Under the existing system, the customs duty, as he could show, would, in the course of the next year, be deficient in the sum of 1,500,000*l.*; and he was well convinced that sum might be covered, and a great saving made, by substituting duties for actual prohibitions.

There were many light articles that were totally prohibited, from which a large revenue might be raised. An individual anxious to have those articles would not scruple to pay 20 or 25 per cent. when they were delivered at his door. The desire of possessing many of them was prevalent in each sex (he would not say in which it was most predominant), and that desire might be made to contribute largely to the revenue. A duty of 25 per cent. on French lace and gloves would, at once, check the trade of the smuggler, and increase the revenue.

The same principle might also be applied to larger objects of trade, and with commensurate advantage to the revenue of the country. He did not wish to do away the great and general scope of the navigation laws. Those who brought forward the petitions relative to the agricultural interest ought to have seen that the navigation laws were as useful in supporting agriculture as commerce. Both would suffer if they were abrogated. If it were not for those laws, articles—coals, for instance, from Newcastle—might be carried in Dutch or German vessels for half the price which was demanded for transporting them in our own ships. It was not fit that this should be allowed. There were, however, some details in those laws which many persons thought it would be wise to alter. For instance, the produce of certain places was not permitted to be imported except in British vessels. He wished to see this altered, and the right of bringing produce into this country directly from the place of its growth admitted. This would not interfere with

with British shipping, and would add greatly to the facilities of trade. The only object of the petitioners was a freedom of the transit trade—that was, the establishment of the principle that every thing might be directly imported for the purpose of exportation. He did not think this was a principle which there was any fair reason for opposing, since in his opinion it did not interfere with any British interest. If any individuals stated that they had an interest which would be injured by such a proceeding, a committee of the house, if one were appointed, would doubtless attend to their representations. His desire was, that the committee should go into an inquiry of the whole subject, with a serious conviction that the commerce of the country wanted protection in every possible way, and that they should not yield to any particular interest, or to the statements of any parties or persons, without convincing themselves of the justice and prudence of their views.

He here alluded more particularly to the housing of German linens for exportation, with which, it was argued, the linen-trade of Ireland was nearly connected. A sort of vague notion existed, that if the transit-duty on German linens were repealed, it would injure the Irish manufacturer; and, acting on the opinion of a noble lord who had great weight in that country, it was decided that the duty should not be taken off. This occurred at a time when it was of little moment whether the advantage to be derived from a different course was thrown to the right or to the left; but now the situation of the country was such, that they

must look minutely to every thing that respected its interest. This very question relative to foreign linens explained in a considerable degree the particular principle of the export trade. If these linens were merely warehoused for exportation, the home-manufacturer could not be injured; unless, indeed, he could show that the commodity so introduced altered the consumption in the country. If the contrary could be shown, then let the old system continue; because he felt that the linen-trade of Ireland was one, above all others, that ought to be protected. But what was the consequence of refusing to allow foreign articles to be brought to this country for exportation? It had this effect—that the merchant frequently could not make up a cargo. If a merchant of London was called on to make up a cargo for the Spanish colonies, it must be formed of various articles—it must be an assorted cargo, comprising goods of different descriptions. But, though he might procure much in this country, still, if he had it not in his power to procure all the requisite articles here, he could not make up the cargo, except by application elsewhere.

A very great object was to remove the restrictions that had been imposed by foreign nations. With respect to France, no attempt had been made to put an end to those restrictions. The existing feelings of that country, and the circumstances that now prevailed, operated against any mercantile connexion or arrangement with England; and it would be difficult for some time to form one. He did not, therefore, blame the noble lord

lord (Castlereagh) for not having demanded concessions, when the French treaty was entered into, which, probably, would not have lasted very long. The first step towards putting an end to restrictions of this description, was by removing them at home. To require foreign countries, by treaty, to open their ports to us, and, in return, to shut our ports against all communication with them, was manifestly unjust. He, therefore, perfectly coincided in the sentiment contained in this petition, which might be said to speak the feelings of the ablest and most enlightened merchants in the country, "That the restrictive system had not made this country grow great; but that it had operated against its greatness." He thought that, if the principles laid down in this petition were approved of, the house would remove a notion which had long existed abroad,—namely, that this being the greatest commercial country in the world, the principles of commerce were best understood here; and therefore, because a restrictive system was adopted in England, it was right that foreign countries should pursue the same line of policy. This was the feeling which prevailed on the continent; and this declaration, on the part of the merchants of London, would tend to remove it.

There were many other important considerations connected with this question. One of these was the further extension of the India trade—a point by no means uninteresting to the manufacturers of the country. It was, however, a very delicate subject. They were not, in discussing it, dealing with a foreign power, but with a great

power at home. If the East India company saw that a fair case was made out; if it were fairly and unequivocally proved to that body, that an extension of the trade to India might be granted, without any detriment to their interest; he should look for their concurrence in a measure of that description, after they had come down and openly argued the matter with the legislature. If, on the other hand, they could show that any danger was likely to arise to their interests in India and China, in consequence of such an extension, he was the last man that would propose it. But how did the question stand? What did the merchant and the manufacturer want?—An opening of the trade to the China seas. The objection to that was, that it would allow a great facility for smuggling tea; and also, that it would derange the company's connexion with the Chinese government, with which it was extremely difficult to deal. These objections were easily answered. There was nothing, now, to prevent a vessel from clearing out from the Thames for China, and arriving thence at Amsterdam. There was no law against this; it was constantly done. American vessels frequently cleared out for China. Where, then, was the danger? The foreigner might commit an act of smuggling;—he got off;—they could not punish him. But if English ships went out, securities were given; the owners were answerable; and, one time or other, they would be found. He was, therefore, convinced, that it was impossible to establish the fact, that any serious danger was to be apprehended from an extension of the China trade. If, however, it could

could be fairly made out, he would be the last person to persist in the suggestion. He now came to the other objection:—the difficulties which would be created in the company's intercourse with the government of China. This argument he thought equally bad. All the other merchants of the world traded to China, and yet no such objection had arisen. He never understood that they got embroiled in difficulties with the Chinese government; and he could see no reason why this country should not more generally participate in the China trade, which was enjoyed by every other country in the world.

The situation of the Spanish colonies was very much altered; and, of course, they would assert their right to proceed to India, to China, or any where else. The trade in the eastern seas was undoubtedly one that promised to repay the merchant. The Americans felt this, and had embarked largely in it. They did not act under any restraint; but proceeded from port to port as they liked. When *they* had done so much, he could not see why the industry of the London, Liverpool, or Bristol merchant should be cramped. He conceived enough had been stated to induce the house to consider the subject, and to state to the government what ought to be done. He should be extremely sorry to do any thing that could have the effect of breaking up the understanding between the East India company and government. He should feel much regret if it were supposed that the legislature would not listen attentively to what the company might advance; and yield to their arguments and objections

if they were good. Unless the company themselves were consenting, he did not wish any alteration to be made; but he thought, that on a grave question of this sort, so interesting to the country, the company would only deal fairly by discussing the whole subject coolly and deliberately. All he wished was to come to the discussion with them; to examine where the difficulties were, and devise the means of surmounting them.

He had now stated, he believed, pretty generally the practical points which the petitioners wished to bring in contact with the wisdom of that house. Certain he was, that the circumstances of the times were such as to call on them imperatively to go into this examination; that they might convince themselves whether nothing could be done for the country; whether no encouragement could be given to its industry; and whether they must continue to bear, without hope of relief, the manifold privations which they must all feel. When the country was suffering under such evils, it was natural for those who were distressed to come to that house and pray for relief; but, undoubtedly, amongst the numerous evils of life, there were very many to which that house could apply no remedy.

“How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!”

Of course, a great part of the evil by which the country was afflicted, time only could remove: but they should take care not to neglect that which it was in their power to effect: and, with that feeling, they ought to turn their minds seriously to the consideration of the subject.



subject. Strict economy in every department of the government; abstaining from taxes as much as possible; showing to the country at large, a disposition in that house to examine the remedies proposed to them; and doing that which could fairly be done, to ameliorate the situation of the people; by pursuing such a course, all parties would be satisfied. The leading interests of the country would, (as he believed they did,) when they saw the example set by that house, feel the propriety of abstaining from the proposition of measures hurtful to each other, with the view merely of protecting themselves. They would take a fair, liberal, and honourable view of the subject; and they would see that the interest of all depended on the union of all. Influenced by that feeling, they would ask for concessions, not merely for themselves, but for the mutual service and benefit of each other. The honourable gentleman then brought up the petition, which was read.

Mr. Grenfell said, that after the very able speech of his honourable friend, it would be improper for him to occupy the attention of the house for any length; but as the subject was not altogether foreign to his attention and consideration, he begged leave to say, that in all the principles which the petition expressed he gave his humble and hearty concurrence; and in that house, and out of that house, he would use every means in his power to give them practical operation.

Mr. F. Robinson said, he hoped he should be pardoned if he offered a few observations on this subject. He hoped the honourable gentleman who introduced the petition,

and the house, would allow that he was extremely sensible of the importance of the subject. On several occasions he had expressed himself favourable to an improvement in our present system. He had always stated it as his clear opinion, that positive restriction was founded in error, and calculated to defeat the object it was intended to promote. The same statement he had no objection to repeat now. The honourable gentleman had done him the honour to pay him a compliment which he was not conscious of deserving; but neither was he conscious of deserving the qualification with which it was connected. Neither he nor any of his majesty's ministers had any apathetic feelings on this question. The honourable gentleman seemed to think that the object of ministers was to make arrangements with a particular view to preserving their own places, rather than with a view to the circumstances of the country. But on many occasions, when questions of this kind were introduced into the house, the opposition to them arose from gentlemen who were by no means connected with ministers, when politically considered. With respect to the transit duty on linen, for instance, any change was as much opposed by speeches and votes on the opposite side of the house, as on his side. The fact was, that habits connected with certain systems became so deeply rooted, that it was difficult to get gentlemen to consent to any alteration. He stated this as a reason why he had not endeavoured to bring his own principles more decidedly into practice. The honourable gentleman and he did not essentially differ on the subject.

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They both agreed, that it was not possible at once, if it were possible at all, to alter our system entirely ; but it certainly was very possible to make many improvements and alterations.

With regard to protecting duties, and absolute preventions, he was not at all prepared to say, that, upon further consideration of that question, and a review of all the objections and arguments respecting it, no alteration should take place. Within a few years, great alterations of this nature had been made. Two or three years ago, acts were passed which removed several restrictions. Here he would say, that the restrictive system was not an innovation : it was coeval with commerce itself. Restrictions enacted in the reigns of Elizabeth and Edward VI., not very important in themselves, but extremely inconvenient, were lately repealed. The lords' report on the bank-restriction question, enumerated 300 articles that had not been imported on account of the restrictions imposed on them. But the restrictive system ought to be amended ; and it was his intention to bring in a bill this session to effect some amendment. Objections might be made, but he had always told those interested in the continuance of certain restrictions, that their claim was not well founded ; and he always told them his intention, when the question was brought forward, to propose an alteration. The imposts in favour of timber from Canada, in preference to timber from the coasts of the Baltic, were not made for the purpose of protection, but of revenue. One was always a war tax ; another was imposed with the same view in 1813. It was quite con-

sistent with fair dealing and good faith, to make an alteration with respect to the two latter. He would now advert to the observations of the honourable gentleman upon the navigation laws. Those laws were necessary and advantageous to commerce.

With respect to some difficulty occasioned by them, that was nothing to the security which the nation derived from them. But he did not say that there was no room for alteration. There were alterations which he could not trouble the house with, because they were scattered through many acts, but they were well known to merchants. The navigation laws were, however, still quite capable of improvement, and ought to be improved to a great extent. He had no objection to what the honourable gentleman had stated on the transit duty on linen, and he had endeavoured to give effect to his view of that subject ; but whether it was owing to the noble lord to whom the honourable gentleman had alluded, or to some other person, he had not had the means of inducing others, whom it was necessary to induce, to accede. He had not a doubt that he could convince its advocates that they were in error. Those duties had effected the purpose desired to be effected by them, and in the altered state of things all rational grounds for maintaining them were removed.

As to commercial treaties with foreign countries, it was evidently the object of every country to enter into such treaties as would most favour their own interests. One point he had heard from the honourable gentleman with particular pleasure, as it confirmed what

what he had stated before, and what some of the friends of the honourable gentleman had not admitted; the honourable gentleman had justified his noble friend and the government for not, at the peace, obtaining commercial advantages as favours from friends, or punishments on enemies. Justice, peace, and policy, were equally opposed to such an acquisition of commerce. With France it was not easy to manage a commercial arrangement. Great prejudices existed on both sides, and very foolish prejudices they certainly were. Nothing was so preposterous as for any persons in either nation to repine, if any did repine, at the prosperity of the other. The prosperity of each nation contributed to promote commerce; the interests of commerce made peace necessary; and peace and commerce would thus go hand in hand. Much better was this rivalry, than such animosity and narrow-minded contentions for military distinction, which led to so many evils.

The extent of protection or encouragement that ought to be given to agriculture was a question of infinite importance. It was a subject that excited great feeling throughout the country, and many individuals in that house would feel it their duty to bring the subject distinctly under consideration. When it came before the house, government would give it their best consideration; but he had never been able to persuade himself that there was any thing so radically wrong, or so essentially prejudicial, in the nature of the present law, as to make an alteration necessary. When the corn law was at a former period

proposed to be introduced, he considered that it was doing service to those whose feelings were interested to represent the impolicy of interfering again with it. That might have led to prevent some from bringing it forward. He would now only say, that it was quite open for consideration.

There was not a doubt, as to the India trade, that its extension would benefit the interests of this country. But this, it would be recollected, was not a question of policy, but a question of compact. The eagerness of interest ought not to lead them to interfere with engagements. What the directors might think or intend, he knew not; but they had no right to compel them to renounce what they held by express engagement.

Mr. George Phillips argued, that the right honourable gentleman had made liberal admissions, but had at the same time intimated that his principles were counteracted by divisions in the government. If the same means had been used for removing restrictions as had been used for continuing the droits of the admiralty, the same result would have been obtained. If political economy were an object for which ministers chose to use their influence in that house, there was no doubt that the result would be the success of the right honourable gentleman's liberal and just views. But the objection was, that it was necessary to yield to the errors of others. This only showed, that on this, as on all other subjects, there was a division of sentiment in the government. But if this argument was good so far as to prevent us at once from retracing our steps, at least we ought not to advance  
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one step further with the restrictive system. Yet last year a tax was imposed, of the worst kind of restriction, against the feelings of the country, and against common policy. The duty on foreign wool was in every view unjust and impolitic.

Lord Milton had heard the petition, and the speech of his honourable friend who introduced it, with great satisfaction. If any thing could give us consolation in the present circumstances, it was to hear such sound political principles, and principles of commerce, advocated by so great and so respectable a body as the merchants of the city of London. Besides, the speech of the right honourable gentleman must have given every gentleman who heard him much satisfaction. But he did not think he had been quite so successful in rebutting the accusation brought against government, that ministers were more disposed to attend to particular interests than to the general interests of the country. The members of that house did not vote according to the peculiar views or interests of the places they represented. He did not consider a general question as member for Yorkshire, nor his honourable friend (Mr. Beaumont) as member for Northumberland. All must be considered as equally interested. If each looked to particular interests, they could look for no general good. One party were for the agricultural interest, and scrambling, if the expression was not improper, for a rise of rents and lands. Another party, perhaps not more enlightened, regarded only the state of the manufactures. While difficulties and distresses pressed down all, they

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must feel that it was not agriculture or commerce that suffered, but the country at large, in which agriculture and commerce must suffer as parts. He did not think so ill of the patriotism of either party, as to doubt that they would not sacrifice their particular interests, and consult the general interest.

Certain it was, we could not go on long in the situation in which we were. Last year the chancellor of the exchequer came forward, and stated with a great deal of fairness and frankness, that 5,000,000*l.* of a surplus were necessary. He (lord Milton) did not know whether to blame the right honourable gentleman's want of sincerity, or to discredit his prophetic powers in the declarations he had made respecting the produce of the new taxes; but blame or discredit must fall somewhere. Either he saw that he could not raise the revenue which he announced, as all the country but himself saw it, and then he was guilty of misleading the house and the country; or he did not see, but expected, the realization of his predictions, and then he was the worst prophet that ever opened his mouth in parliament. If the opinions or sayings of so insignificant an individual as himself (lord Milton) were worthy of being remembered, he might appeal to the recollection of the house, whether he had not then said that government would never succeed in their attempt to raise additional supplies by fresh burdens—that on the present system the sources of taxation were exhausted, and that ministers began at the wrong end when they endeavoured to raise taxes without first

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adopting some measures to enable the people to pay them. Now, with regard to the petition before the house, he was glad to say that in all its principles he concurred. It stated the restrictive system as one of the causes of the national distress; and though it was not the sole cause of this distress, it was certainly one of them. The pressure under which the country at present laboured had been ascribed to various causes by various persons. Some said that it was mainly attributable to the system of poor laws, and the immense increase of the poor rates.

Now, as regarded this growing evil, it ought to be considered whether the system which we had been pursuing for many years had not a tendency to absorb capital from the general body of the people, and to accumulate property in a few hands. While, therefore, during the war, our population increased, owing to the augmented demand for labour, this increased population extended the system of dependence, and multiplied the number of those who required relief when the extraordinary resources of war were withdrawn. The pressure of the times had consequently not fallen in due proportion on the higher classes of society. It was felt with great severity by the labourer, the manufacturer, and the artisan, while it scarcely affected the rich capitalist, or the great landed proprietor. The present commercial system was another cause of the general distress. The restrictions by which it was distinguished were of a nature not only to injure ourselves, but to provoke retaliations of a similar injurious tendency from other nations.

Accordingly, instead of an interchange of commodities, founded on the reciprocal capacities and wants of different nations, every nation seemed to consider that it ought to receive nothing from its neighbours, and to wish to realize the prediction of the poet—

— nec nautica pinus  
Mutabit merces; omnis feret omnia  
tellus.

If we were to obtain the articles which other countries could supply, we should obtain them with as few restrictions as possible. This principle would not go the length of inducing us to abolish the regulations with regard to the importation of grain and the navigation laws.

If the independence of a country was of more consequence than an increase of its wealth or an addition to its commerce, the laws which protected that independence should be maintained at the expense of these advantages. But, though this principle might lead us to support the corn laws and the navigation laws, it should be carried no further; and we ought to be allowed to procure the luxuries and commodities of other countries, where our security and independence were not affected, as cheaply as we could. Another cause of the present distresses of the country was the change lately effected in our currency. He rejoiced at the measures taken to enforce and prepare a return to cash payments; but he could not conceal from himself that the transition had occasioned a considerable degree of embarrassment and pressure. The house was unwilling to alarm the country concerning the temporary results of a measure which they

they conceived so necessary to its permanent security, and there honourable members had not placed the anticipated evils in so strong a light as they might have done.

He believed that even his honourable friend near him (Mr. Ricardo) had formed too low an estimate of the pressure which a change in our currency would create; nor had the evil yet, he was afraid, reached its point of greatest severity. He (lord Milton) rather wished than dared to hope that we had now passed the extremity of the evil, and that we had not still to suffer more than we had yet suffered. At any rate, ministers ought to have considered this point with more care, before they added the burden of additional taxes to the pressure arising from a contraction of our circulation. He could not bring himself to believe that they could now realize the five millions which they predicted would accrue from the new taxes. He had to express his obligations to the petitioners for bringing the state of the country before the house; and when he saw merchants of so great respectability, and so well acquainted with the condition of the commercial and manufacturing interests, complaining of the public pressure, and proposing measures of relief, he thought there could no longer be any doubt of its severity.

Mr. Ricardo begged the noble lord (Milton) to recollect, that at the time when he spoke on the bullion question the price of gold was at 4*l.* 3*s.* per oz. and that now it was at 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; there could not, therefore, be such a pressure arising from this measure as the

noble lord described. At the time when that discussion took place, he (Mr. Ricardo) would rather have been inclined to have altered the standard than to have recurred to the old standard. But while the committee was sitting a reduction took place in the price of gold, which fell to 4*l.* 2*s.*, and it then became a question whether we should sacrifice a great principle in establishing a new standard, or incur a small degree of embarrassment and difficulty in recurring to the old.

With regard to the petition before the house, he had heard it with great pleasure; and he was particularly pleased with the liberal sentiments delivered by the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Robinson). The petition itself contained the justest principles of political economy: and it only appeared surprising to him, that, considering the great length of time the work of Adam Smith, who had so firmly established those principles, had been in the hands of the public, the subject had never been explicitly brought forward by the mercantile interest till now. The establishment of the system of free trade, which the petitioners recommended, was surrounded with great difficulties: these difficulties were of two kinds, as the change would affect the revenue, and different opposing interests.

The question of revenue was of great importance; but it did not necessarily stand in the way of some alteration. The sources whence the taxes were derived might be changed, and a great service might be done to the people without an injury to the revenue. They might even be brought to

pay other taxes to a greater amount with less inconvenience than the present; and the substitution might be highly beneficial. The other question, regarding vested interests, was likewise one of great delicacy. Gentlemen who had invested large capitals in a particular branch of trade on the faith of the continuance of the present laws, could not, with any degree of justice, be subjected to a change in those laws which would seriously injure their interests. This was a good argument against any immediate, or rapid, or precipitate alteration; but it was no reason against gradual improvement.

The argument, that because we were in a wrong course we ought to continue in it without an effort to change it, was as absurd when applied to the present restrictions as to any thing else. If a gradual change were attempted, he had no doubt it might succeed in the same way as the restoration of our currency. The bullion committee had recommended that four years should be allowed for a complete recurrence to cash payments, and the pressure was thus lessened by being spread over a great space. In like manner, a committee might be appointed to consider the restrictions on commerce, and to find out the means of a gradual change. After they had done so they might say to the capitalists, "The present system will continue only so long as you can accommodate yourselves without any sacrifice of your interests to the new one which we propose." Some restrictions might thus be removed immediately, without any inconvenience; others might be gradually relaxed, and others might be left till our situation had so greatly im-

proved as to render their removal no inconvenience.

He was surprised that the right honourable gentleman, who had expressed such liberal principles of political economy, and had so freely declared himself against the policy of our commercial restrictions, had yet made a reservation in favour of the corn laws. They were necessary, he said, to protect the agricultural interests; and he (Mr. Ricardo) would admit the validity of the argument, provided it could be made to appear that the agriculturists suffered more burdens than other classes of the community. But what were their peculiar burdens? They did not suffer more from the malt tax, or from the leather tax, or from any other tax with which he was acquainted, than any other class of men. These taxes were common to all, and all felt their pressure alike.

But the poor rates, it was said, operated on them as a peculiar burden. Well; if the poor rates were really more oppressive to them than to other classes, and tended to raise the price of grain, he would recommend a counter-vailing duty on the importation of foreign corn, to the amount of the operation of that cause. He allowed that the poor rates actually raised the price of corn, because they fell upon the land, and operated as a burden solely upon agriculturists. But if, while this burden was felt by them, other classes of the community felt equal burdens, they were put to no disadvantage, and ought to receive no protection. He was fully prepared to admit that the necessity for supporting the poor constituted the only or the best apology

logy for the corn laws. Tithes likewise were another burden to the landed interest, and tended, he would allow, to a certain extent, to raise the price of grain; and for these he would have no objection to a countervailing duty. There was this difference between poor rates and tithes—that while we must support the poor, whatever was the produce, the church could only claim a tenth of what was raised; for, whatever was the deficiency of produce, the clergy must conform to their proportion, and find it sufficient for their support.

Mr. Ellice said, that when his honourable friend (Mr. Ricardo) had stated that the price of gold was so low at the time of the bullion committee, he had forgotten the effect which was produced by the great issues of the previous year. Every article, he might say, had fallen 30 or even 50 per cent., as compared with the prices previous to the peace. The only article which had not fallen was agricultural produce, and that was kept up by the protection of the corn laws. Adverting to the petition, the honourable gentleman said that he entirely concurred in its principles, and was highly pleased with the liberal sentiments expressed by the right honourable president of the board of trade. But he was afraid that the state of our debt and taxes would prevent any great effect being given to the prayer of the petitioners; while that debt remained, and those taxes must be paid, he was afraid it would be holding out a delusion to the country and to the petitioners to express much hope of any favourable change of our commercial

system. His honourable friend (Mr. Baring) had stated that manufacturing capital was leaving Glasgow and other parts of Scotland; but he had not given the true cause: that cause was the want of poor rates; for in Lancashire, where the same manufactures were carried on, we heard of no such transfer of capital. Though no great good could be done towards effecting the object of the petition without a reduction of taxation, still he thought many vexatious regulations might be removed. The warehousing system, for instance, might be extended, and the evils of the bonding system mitigated. While the bonding system remained as at present, warehousing must necessarily be limited, because many were not in a situation to be able to give the security required in case the articles were re-exported. He knew that many respectable individuals complained of the vexations which they suffered from the present mode of transacting the bonding business. But he should be told, "Do away the bonds now required, and you do away the duty on stamps. This led directly to revenue." He would advise the right honourable gentleman who had expressed such liberal ideas to reconsider the whole system, and he would predict that, at no distant day, he would come forward with some improvement.

Mr. Marryat, after complimenting the petitioners and different members of the house for the liberal ideas which they had expressed, entered into some statements on the commercial advantages which this country enjoyed from its colonies. By the restrictions



imposed on them, and the manner in which the intercourse was carried on with them, they were made to contribute most largely towards the prosperity of the mother country: they were limited to an intercourse with us alone: their produce was imported in British ships, and paid for in British manufactures.

Mr. T. Wilson said, he could not but concur with the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Ellice) that in the present state of the country little could be done towards furthering the object of the petitioners: the restrictions of which they complained could not be entirely removed while the taxes remained the same. It was impossible now to discuss the question to any useful result. He was glad to find that all the honourable gentlemen who had addressed the house upon it had spoken with the greatest temper and moderation; but, to effect any practical purpose, the question must be brought before them in a very different shape. The different parties affected should lay their interests before the legislature, and then the whole subject might be fairly discussed.

Mr. Baring, in reply, observed, that although there had not been any great fall in the price of gold, from the appointment of the bullion committee till now, as had been stated by his honourable friend (Mr. Ricardo), yet, taking a long course of previous years, and comparing it with present times, there had been a fall of 25 per cent. There were great fluctuations at different periods, and a long average must be taken in order to judge the question properly. Value did not immediately

follow price; it took some time to adjust itself. If his honourable friend went upon the principle of altering the value of a 1*l*. note, and thence to alter the revenue and the system of commercial relations to that extent, he took, in his (Mr. Baring's) opinion, quite a wrong view of the subject. This was a question of vital importance, and one on which the minds of members ought to be made up. If the proceedings respecting the return to cash payments were to come over again, he would vote as he had done before. In returning to them he thought the country had done that which was for its honour; but whether it did that which it was able to perform, was a question which from present circumstances he was unable to solve. In our present declining state of commerce and revenue, it was a question whether we should be able to perform the engagements we had made in this respect. On this subject he was not certain whether he should not have a motion to submit to the house. In the present session, he believed, it would be now too late to introduce any measure on the subject, but he thought he should submit one in the course of the ensuing session. What he wished to ascertain was, whether we were not paying the creditor of the state—for all our difficulties lay in our immense debt—at a higher rate than what we had received. He did not wish to carry the law further than the strict contract obliged. It was then to be considered, whether, if paying to the full in gold, we did not, in the present altered state of the silver currency, pay more than we were strictly bound to do. What he wished then

then was, to make the system of payment perpetual, but to give the bank the option of paying in gold or silver—not the present depreciated coin—but in gold or silver at its actual value. Unless he altered his mind, he would submit a motion to this effect to the house.

Mr. Ricardo said he would take that opportunity of making an observation as to the two standards of gold and silver. He fully agreed with his honourable friend (Mr. Baring) that a payment in both would facilitate the payment of the public creditor ; but then there was a question whether two standards would not be more liable to fluctuation than one invariable standard. If payment were made in one metal, it would be liable to less fluctuation than if made in two, and in two it would be less than if made in three ; therefore he considered the payment in one metal as preferable, being liable to less fluctuation.

Mr. Baring considered the difference in this respect as more theoretical than it would be found in practice. He had never found the variation to be so great as was apprehended ; and as, upon his honourable friend's own admission, the payments in both metals would afford a facility which could not be otherwise acquired, he thought that plan preferable.

Mr. W. Smith thought that the price of one would act as a corrective on the other. He therefore preferred the plan of payments in both.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

May 8.—On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the

report on the civil list was read, and the resolutions were read the first time. On the motion that the resolutions be read a second time, lord John Russell urged the necessity of inquiry, and the abrogation of many offices, which might be spared without derogating in any respect from the dignity of the crown. That such an office as that of master of hawks belonged to olden times, and had once contributed to the splendour and dignity of the crown, was surely no reason for continuing it at the present day, when it was entirely useless. If such situations were to be held from respect to ancient usage, and without any regard to their utility, the king ought still, on the same principle, to have his fool, and be allowed straw for his beds and litter for his chambers. After some further discussion, in which Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Brougham participated, the house divided, when the amendment was negatived by 256 to 157. The resolutions were read a second time.

May 9.—Sir J. Mackintosh said that the committee, of whose sentiments he was the humble organ, were persuaded that some alteration might safely be ventured upon with regard to that large class of crimes which ranged themselves under the head of forgery. They were of opinion that the offence of simply uttering what was forged might be expiated by a less punishment than that of death. Transportation, or hard labour for life, seemed to them an equally wise alternative in such cases. They thought also, that the act making it capital to

steal to the amount of 40*s.* in a dwelling house, might be repealed without any danger to society. Sir James concluded by moving for the appointment of a select committee to consider the state of our laws with regard to the punishment of crimes.

Mr. Bennet would recommend the abolition of the present mode of punishment of high treason. There never was an execution which left behind it feelings of a more painful nature than the late melancholy executions at the Old Bailey. The last act of that dreadful ceremony,—the appearance of a disguised individual as an assistant,—had not a little increased the universal horror. He hoped this barbarous ceremony would be repealed.

Mr. Canning said that no resistance would be offered to the motions of which notice had been given; but this remark must be understood as applying only to the introduction of the subject, and that government should not stand committed to any fixed opinions until an opportunity was offered of further and mature deliberation.

Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in a bill for disfranchising the borough of Gram-pound from sending members to parliament, and for extending the right of suffrage to the borough of Leeds: the bill to operate at the conclusion of the present parliament, or in case any vacancy occurred in the borough of Gram-pound before that period. The right of suffrage, which he proposed for the borough of Leeds, would extend to persons renting houses of the value of five pounds per annum. The bill

was brought in, and read the first time.

May 10. — Alderman Wood moved the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the conduct of Edwards and his associates for the last two years.

The motion gave rise to an animated debate, and was supported by Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Denman, and sir Robert Wilson; and opposed by Mr. Bankes, Mr. Wynn, the attorney-general, and Mr. Canning. In the course of the debate some warm expressions fell from the latter gentleman and sir F. Burdett, who supported the motion; but at the instance of sir R. Wilson, the house called upon them to come to an explanation previous to parting, which they did in a manner satisfactory to the house. The motion was negatived without a division.

May 11.—Mr. Maberly, in moving for an account of the amount of exchequer bills, censured the recent large issues of this species of paper money. The expectations held out by Mr. Vansittart of attaining an efficient sinking fund of 500,000*l.* from his new taxes had completely failed. Our income last year was only 53,388,248*l.* whilst the expenditure exceeded 63,000,000*l.* leaving a sinking fund of not more than 395,000*l.* Though 10,400,000*l.* had been voted towards the reduction of the unfunded debt, no reduction had yet taken place. The effect of the last corn act had been to impose on the country a tax of 15,000,000*l.* a year in favour of the landed proprietors. On real property, therefore, should chiefly rest the burdens that might be requisite to extricate the country from

from its present difficulties. He would not meddle with monies arising from trade or professions, but he thought a tax of ten per cent. on real property a most eligible measure. It would produce 10,000,000*l.* and admit of a total repeal of the assessed taxes, which amounted to 6,000,000*l.*

Mr. Vansittart said, the accounts on the table proved that the taxes of last year had not failed. In three quarters, in England alone, they had produced 2,190,000*l.* which, on an average of the whole year, was only 100,000*l.* short of the sum expected. The deficiency actually experienced took place only in the customs: but, even in that department, he now entertained a confident hope that the improvement would be as progressive as it was in the excise.

After some observations from Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Baring, and others, the motion was agreed to.

House of lords, May 12.—Lord Holland presented a petition from a clergyman named Jones, who complained that the bishop of Exeter, his diocesan, had refused to countersign his testimonials, by which he was deprived of two livings, to which he had been presented in the dioceses of Lincoln and Peterborough. The cause of this refusal he alleged to be, that he had said, at a meeting at Exeter to petition against catholic emancipation, that nine-tenths of the clergymen of the church of England did not believe in the Athanasian creed.

The bishop of Exeter defended himself on the score of his possessing a discretionary power of withholding his countersign from

any testimonial that he could not conscientiously grant.

The motion for a select committee to inquire into the allegations contained in the petition was lost on a division of 18 to 35.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Hobhouse presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Oldham. The petitioners complained of a series of military outrages which had taken place at Oldham. Unfortunately, such was the state of society at Oldham and the neighbourhood, that the persons injured rather chose to apply to the commanding officer than to the magistracy sitting at the Old Bailey in Manchester; and they had done so, and by the commanding officer the troops were checked in their outrageous conduct, and ordered back to their quarters. The petitioners now prayed the house to take the case into its consideration. It was signed by upwards of 3,000 persons, and he trusted would be attended to by the house. He concluded by moving that the petition should be received. At first the house appeared inclined to reject it; but the chancellor of the exchequer having declared himself favourable to the inquiry, it effected an immediate change of sentiment, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Dugdale rose to present a petition from the manufacturers and traders of the town of Birmingham, stating the distress which prevailed in that town in consequence of the stagnation of trade.

Mr. Brougham said he could not entirely concur with the prayer of the petition, convinced as he was that a parliamentary inquiry was  
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not the one most likely to prove beneficial, either as regarded trade or agriculture. The only inquiry which could be useful must be one originating with ministers, into which the government would bring all its information and influence. The present ministers did not however appear disposed to go into such inquiry; nor were they, as he believed, equal to it. Indeed, not any party in the house possessed sufficient talent to form an administration equal to those great objects.

Mr. Spooner strongly urged the house to immediate inquiry; and in the course of his speech read a letter, stating that the nail-makers in the neighbourhood were in a state of insubordination, driven to it by distress; and that the colliers and iron-workers had threatened to join them. He also stated that in the first four months of 1818, 5147 head of cattle were slaughtered in Birmingham; whereas in the first four months of 1820 only 2783 were slaughtered. In the same town 11,479 sheep were killed in the first four months of 1818, and only 8268 in the first four months of 1820.

May 15.—Lord A. Hamilton addressed the house on the appointment of a fourth puisne baron in the court of exchequer in Scotland, in direct opposition to the report of the commission of inquiry respecting the courts of justice. Not a single suggestion of that commission had yet been acted on, and in this case their recommendation for reducing the number of barons on a vacancy to four, including the chief baron, had been treated with complete contempt. His lordship contrasted the duties of the Scotch court of

exchequer with that of England, and showed that a baron in the former, compared with one in the latter, enjoyed the next thing to a sinecure. Altogether it sat only 60 days in the year; the average number of causes did not exceed 100 per year; and all its treasury business was done by the remembrancer. The late lord chief baron (Dundas) had not sat in the court for three years preceding his death, and no inconvenience had been sustained by the public or his colleagues from his absence; and when sir S. Shepherd was appointed his successor, it was considered, both by himself and his friends, that the situation was all but nominally a sinecure. The lord high commissioner of the jury court had been appointed a baron, in order to add 2000*l.* a year to his emoluments, with scarcely any addition to his labours. The paper produced by the lord advocate, containing the opinions of the heads of the Scotch courts, with the exception of one, in favour of continuing five barons, was undeserving of any consideration. If the fear of an equal division without a casting vote was to determine the question, then the English courts, instead of four judges, should be reduced to three, or increased to five. There were other reforms to be executed in the Scotch court of exchequer; but after the example that had been just given, he despaired of seeing them effected. He earnestly entreated the house to consider what would be the effect of confirming the appointment of which he complained. He concluded by moving that the house concur with the commissioners, that five barons of the exchequer

exchequer of Scotland were unnecessary, and that four were sufficient for all the business of that court.

The lord advocate justified the proceedings. The business in the jury court had so increased as to require the whole attention of the lord commissioner, more particularly as the lords of the session could give very little aid to him. There could not have been a better selection made than that of sir P. Murray, who had been remembrancer since 1799. It ought also to be observed, that, on his appointment as baron, the office of remembrancer ceased, pursuant to an act some time since passed, by which half the salary of a baron was saved to the public. There had been five barons at and since the union, and he saw no reason why they should be reduced to four, merely because there were only four in the English court of exchequer. The Scotch court, in addition to its other business, had to pass gifts and tutories, and to grant charters of property holding of the crown. The commission, in recommending the suppression of one of the judgeships, had exceeded their powers, which extended only to perquisites, fees, and emoluments. The late lord chief baron had never been absent at one time more than a year. He chiefly resided at Bath, but he generally went to Edinburgh to attend his duty during term.

In the sequel of the discussion, the motion was supported by sir J. Newport and Mr. Tierney, and opposed by lord Castlereagh (who moved the previous question) and by Mr. W. Dundas.

After some further discussion,

the house divided on lord A. Hamilton's motion, when it was negatived by only 12—the numbers being : for the motion, 177 ; against it, 189.

Subsequently, lord A. Hamilton proposed the following motion, and on which lord Castlereagh moved the previous question—namely, "That it is the opinion of this house, that the vacancy occasioned in the Scotch exchequer court by the resignation of Mr. baron Adams should not have been filled up until the report of the commissioners had been laid before the house and examined." The previous question was carried without a division, and, of course, lord A. Hamilton's motion was lost.

House of lords, May 16.—*Earl Stanhope*, in an able and lengthened speech, called their lordships' attention to the distress of the working classes. Much had been said of late (his lordship remarked) on the necessity of removing the matter of sedition : the matter of sedition at present was public distress ; and it seemed admitted on all hands that the machinations of late employed in various districts to promote disaffection, could never have been successful but for the existence and co-operation of that distress. His lordship then took a review of the various causes of this distress, attributing it, among others, to excessive taxation and the too great use of machinery, and concluded by moving the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the best means of giving employment to the poor, especially in the manufacturing districts.

The earl of Liverpool declared he would not enter into the discussion

cussion of the topics introduced by the noble lord, because another opportunity would shortly present itself, when it could be carried on with greater practical advantage than at the present moment. There was not a single position, in the speech of the noble lord, to which he was not prepared to give his most direct and unqualified disapprobation. After some further conversation the motion was negatived without a division.

In the commons, the same day, colonel Davies, after bespeaking the indulgence of the house for the motion with which he should conclude, alluded to the appointment to the government of Gibraltar. In the whole list of sinecures there was not one more decidedly useless than the governorship of that place. It stood almost alone amongst sinecures; so much so, that a committee of that house some years since recommended that it should be abolished as soon as ever it fell in. Yet scarcely was the illustrious person who recently held that office deceased, when with most extraordinary haste the vacancy was filled up. And to whom was the situation given? The same messenger who carried to the country the account of the decease of the late governor (the late duke of Kent) took with him the appointment of the earl of Chatham, whose military glories might be summed up in the single fact, that he was commander of the memorable expedition to Walcheren. This was of itself a sufficient reason to induce the house to agree to an inquiry. His object was to move for the appointment of a select committee to examine into the

whole military establishment of the country.

Lord Palmerston and Mr. C. Long replied. Mr. Calcraft, sir H. Parnell, col. Grant, and Mr. Ellice made a few remarks. The motion was ultimately negatived by 125 to 45. Majority, 80.

May 17. — Lord Althorpe brought in a bill for altering and amending the insolvent debtors' act. It was read a first time.

The house, in a committee of supply, voted 500,000*l.* on account of the navy.

Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the civil list bill; and after some opposition from Mr. Bennet, the speaker left the chair. The blank for the English civil list was filled up with the sum of 850,000*l.* without any opposition.

When the question was put, that the blank left for the amount of the Irish civil list should be filled up with 207,000*l.*, sir J. Newport objected to the new mode of dividing the establishment into thirteen classes, several of which comprised very incongruous departments. He further objected to the continuance of the additional 10,000*l.* a-year to the lord lieutenants, beyond the expiration of the present lord lieutenant's period of office; thinking the old allowance of 20,000*l.* a-year fully sufficient.

This was denied by lord Castlereagh, who said the late duke of Richmond had crippled his fortune considerably whilst lord lieutenant; and even with the increase since that period, the salary did not meet the charges.

After some observations from Mr. C. Grant, Mr. Tierney, sir W. Par-

W. Parnell, Mr. Baring, and others, the motion was agreed to.

May 18.—Lord Castlereagh, in reply to a question from Mr. Western, said, it was in contemplation of his majesty's government to introduce a measure for altering the present mode of gaol delivery, and to introduce a delivery between the spring and autumn assizes, by which the long period of eight intervening months, during which there was at present no gaol delivery, would be broken. It was the intention of the attorney-general to bring in a bill immediately after the holidays to effect this object.

On the question for reading the report of the civil list bill, Mr. Curwen said, at the present moment the greatest ornament of the crown would have been economy and retrenchment. The people had looked for a considerable diminution of the civil list.

Mr. Monk thought the salaries to our ambassadors were enormous, being double that of the French ambassadors.

Lord Castlereagh was of a contrary opinion. The salaries had been raised in order to do away with the large demands formerly made under the head of extraordinaries.

Mr. D. W. Harvey and Mr. Phillips concurred in the opinion of Mr. Monk.

Sir R. Wilson thought it right to state, in justice to the British ambassadors, that the calls on their hospitality were more extensive than those which were made on the ambassadors of any other country. The report was then agreed to.

May 19.—Sir J. Mackintosh brought in bills for repealing so

much of the 39th of Elizabeth, the 21st of James I., the 4th and 9th of George I., the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th of George II.; also the 1st of William and Mary, and an act of the 12th George II. so far as they regarded capital inflictions.

A petition from John London M'Adam, praying a compensation for his services during the last twenty-five years, in pointing out the most efficient means for improving the roads throughout the united kingdom, was, with the consent of the crown, referred to the committee on the highways.

Lord John Russell moved the second reading of the Grampound disfranchisement bill. The reported evidence laid before the house last year of the corrupt state of the borough, referred to the cases of New Shoreham, Cricklade, and Aylesbury, as precedents, to a certain extent, for the measure now proposed, and adduced various arguments for deviating from those precedents, so far as respected the throwing the boroughs into the adjacent hundreds, and for transferring the elective franchise to the town of Leeds, as was proposed in the bill, or, as others had suggested, to the east and west ridings of Yorkshire.

Lord Castlereagh approved of the measure, so far as it went to provide a remedy against the corruption proved to have existed at Grampound. But he did not think a sufficient reason had been assigned for deviating from the precedents of New Shoreham, &c. by following which there would have been a greater chance of success, as the other house had already approved of that particular mode of remedying the evil complained



plained of. He could not agree to the transfer to Leeds on the principle stated in the bill, as to its trade, population, wealth, &c. as that went to admit all that had been urged on the subject of parliamentary reform, and many other places would justly put in similar claims. He should have less objection to transfer the franchise to the two ridings of Yorkshire, but he thought the passing of the bill would be risked by travelling out of the cases already recognised.

Mr. Tierney argued in favour of transferring the elective franchise to Leeds.

Mr. C. W. Wynn and Mr. H. Sumner proposed transferring it to the county of York.

Mr. Beaumont explained the plan which he had suggested. It was, that Yorkshire should be divided into two counties, of which the north and east ridings should form one, and the west riding the other. By this alteration there was no reason to apprehend that the interests of the manufacturers would be promoted at the expense of the agriculturists of the county; as the west riding would return members attached to the manufacturing, and the north and east ridings members attached to the agricultural interests.

Mr. Canning concurred in what had fallen from lord Castlereagh.

After some observations from Mr. Grenfell, sir J. Newport, Mr. H. Smith, Mr. Hobhouse, and others, the bill was read a second time.

The attorney-general presented a petition from the warden of the Fleet prison, praying indemnity for having given up R. C. Burton, esq. who was a member for

Beverly in the last parliament. Mr. B. was a prisoner in the Fleet at the time of his election, and he was discharged by an order of the house. An action was now brought against the petitioner for an escape, by the creditors of Mr. Burton. The petition was referred to the committee of privileges.

House of lords, May 25.—A number of petitions from agriculturists were presented.

Lord Lauderdale observed, much had been said about economical reform, with which he did not agree; but if a motion for suppressing this board were to be brought forward, that was a question of economical reform which he should be very much inclined to support.

The marquis of Lansdown said, when the subject came under discussion, he should feel it his duty to take a different view of it from the petitioners. The legislature had not the power of preventing the agricultural interest from sharing in the general distress which affected the country.

The earl of Liverpool moved the second reading of the civil list bill, and explained and defended its several provisions.

Lords King and Darnley objected to several parts of the arrangement. The second reading was then agreed to without a division.

In the commons, the same day, a conversation took place on the presentation of petitions from Scotland for an extension of the bounties on linen exported, in the course of which the president of the board of trade said it was intended to place the Scotch linens

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on the same footing, as to bounty, with the Irish.

Lord A. Hamilton called the attention of the house to an abuse of long standing, as to county elections in Scotland, by which the right of voting had been detached from the possession of the soil; so that it was possible for the whole representation of Scotland to be in the hands of those who did not possess an inch of land in the country, whilst the whole landed property of the country might be in the hands of those who had not a single vote. The remedy which he would propose on a future day, would not interfere with any existing rights. He would continue their votes to those who now had them, but would, at the same time, grant the right of voting to those who now had it not though possessed of considerable property. He then moved, that there be laid upon the table of the house a copy of the roll of freeholders in every county in Scotland, as last made out, and as certified by the sheriff clerk.

After some observations from lord Castlereagh, sir G. Clerk, and others, the motion was agreed to.

House of lords, May 26.—Lord Kenyon presented a petition from certain news-venders against the publication of Sunday newspapers. His lordship said the sale of such papers amounted to about 43,000, and that the matter they contained was in general most pernicious. He hoped parliament would adopt some measure to prevent this evil.

Lord Holland said he would oppose any such measure in all its stages.

Lord Grovesnor had still the

same opinion as to the injurious tendency of Sunday publications which he entertained many years ago, when, in concert with Mr. Wilberforce and others, he in vain exerted himself to nip the evil in the bud.

The marquis of Lansdown rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given of a motion for a committee to inquire into the means of extending the foreign trade of the country. After explaining at some length his reasons for thus limiting his inquiry to foreign trade, his lordship proceeded. He stated it as his opinion that they should not proceed rashly, and that the investigation into which he trusted they would enter, required the greatest deliberation, for there were many difficulties to be overcome. He remembered to have heard an anecdote relative to an interview between Dr. Adam Smith and Mr. Burke, which was very applicable to the present subject. Dr. Smith reproached Mr. Burke for not at once proposing the abolition of the laws against forestalling, and asked what prevented parliament from passing an act to declare forestalling free? Mr. Burke, in reply, remarked, that the doctor, in a professor's chair, might go to work with a question in political economy as he would with a proposition of pure mathematics, but that the case was very different with statesmen. They must look to the conflicting interests which required to be reconciled, and the prejudices which must be removed before any improvement could be adopted. The most obvious remedy for the existing distress then was, to create a demand for our labour and our manu-

manufactures, and the most obvious mode of creating that demand was to encourage and to extend our foreign trade by removing some of those restrictions by which it was shackled. But two things ought to be taken into consideration by their lordships; first, the necessity of raising our revenue; and secondly, the justice and expediency of consulting those interests which were vested in our existing trade, our faith of the continuance of the regulations under which it was now carried on. They ought, too, to recollect that liberty of trade should be the rule, and restraint only the exception. The name of strict prohibition might in commerce be got rid of altogether; but he did not see the same objection to protecting duties, which, while they admitted of the introduction of commodities from abroad similar to those which we ourselves manufactured, placed them so much on a level as to allow a competition between them. The next point to which he would advert was the principle of the navigation laws. All the relaxation he would suggest would be to allow produce from all parts of Europe to be imported, without making it necessary that it should be altogether in English built ships, or in ships belonging to the nation whence the produce comes. He would make one exception to this relaxation of the navigation laws—he would not allow the importation of colonial produce in this manner. The third point to which he would advert was one of no inconsiderable importance in itself, and of still greater consequence from the principle which it involved—he

meant an entire freedom of the transit trade. Whatever brought the foreign merchant to this country, and made it a general mart—a depôt for the merchandise of the world, which might be done consistently with the levying of a small duty, was valuable to our trade, and enriched the industrious population of our ports. Such freedom of transit allowed of assortment of cargoes for foreign markets, and thus extended our trade in general. He wished to see the linen trade of Ireland protected, but he was sure that a transit duty could not afford it that protection. He now came to a fourth point, which involved important interests—he meant the state of the trade with the north of Europe, and the duties imposed on the importation of timber from that quarter.—It would easily be allowed that the shipping interest did feel, and were justified in feeling, a strong reluctance to the removal of a tax, which, by allowing the country to obtain timber nearer home, would throw many vessels out of employment. They represent that, from the length and difficulty of the voyage to North America, the largest part of the value of the timber thence imported consists of freight; and that the mere circumstance of the proximity of the northern ports of Europe, by enabling ships to repeat their voyages frequently in the course of a year, would reduce the number of British vessels employed in the timber trade to one-third. They therefore say, that, whereas it is expedient that they should be employed—and whereas they cannot be so employed if they procure timber where it is cheapest and best—they therefore should

should import it of the worst quality, and from the greatest distance. This was the proposition they propounded when the question was, whether we should import our timber from our own colonies or from the Baltic. And let their lordships consider what the article was that was thus to be raised in price, while it was deteriorated in quality. It was the raw material of our houses, of our bridges, of our canals, and of our shipping itself; and so inconsistent were the petitioners, that they asked to continue duties which increased the expense of their own trade. But let the house observe to what consequences the principle laid down by the petitioners would go, if carried to its extreme length, and applied to other branches of trade. Suppose it were proposed, on the same plea, to bring our cotton from the East Indies instead of importing it from America, he did not see on what grounds those could resist such a proposition who argued that we ought to import our timber from Canada rather than from Norway. It deserved serious consideration, how much more we paid for our timber from Canada than we should pay for that from the north of Europe. By a calculation which he had made, the difference was not less than 500,000*l.* annually for the whole country, and in the port of London alone 100,000*l.* had been paid on account of this prohibitory duty. He would now advert to another subject of great importance—the state of our trade with France, and particularly in the article of wine. Their lordships must know that a duty of 143*l.* 18*s.* was imposed on the tun of French

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wine, while only 95*l.* was imposed upon Spanish and Portuguese wines. There had been a falling off in the duty in the last year of 220,000*l.* Now, although the government of France was not disposed to enter into any commercial treaty, or to make any liberal arrangement for receiving our manufactures in exchange for their wine, he would not allow but that some change should be made in our present trade with that country. The consent of Portugal to any beneficial arrangement of this kind with France would not necessarily be required, as, if we did not enforce our claim to send Portugal our woollens, they had no right to demand of us to take their wines. —What he had said with regard to the wines of France would apply likewise to its silks; and if our manufactures in silk were to suffer temporarily by a removal of the prohibitory duties, this was a case in which he would willingly agree to a large parliamentary grant for the purpose of indemnity. He had now gone through all the points of our trade with respect to Europe, and had given his views of the changes which he thought ought to be adopted. He now came to a subject which, with whatever difficulties it might be surrounded, had at least this advantage, that it would relieve and benefit the shipping interest. It would be impossible for their lordships not to recollect, and to apply the fact, that from one of the largest, most fertile, and most populous portions of the globe, that immense space which lay between Africa eastward and America, the general British merchant was excluded.

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ed. From the time that he doubled Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope, he found his commercial operations cramped, and his enterprise restrained; not by the nature of the country, for it was rich, and adapted to commerce; not by the indisposition of the people to trade, for they were numerous, industrious, and disposed to exchange their productions for ours; not by the difficulties of the seas, for, by the trade winds and the monsoons, navigation was easy and secure: but he was pursued, and all his schemes defeated, by the statute book. He would not speak with disrespect of the body of the East India company, but he would say, that it traded under all the disadvantages to the country of a monopoly. If the private trade were perfectly unrestricted, much smaller vessels might be employed, and many merchants would engage in it who could not fit out a ship of 500 tons burden. There existed many nations perfectly accessible to smaller vessels, who were now never visited. They composed a population of upwards of 70,000,000; and he would beg leave to read a passage from a book lately published, showing the facilities for commerce in the eastern seas, the great wealth which they offered, and the little trade that was now carried on in them. The noble marquis recommended this as a field for our commerce, in case some alterations were admitted in the right exercised by the East India company. He was well aware that all such trades must have slow and small beginnings; but he was also aware that it was in encouraging those slow and small beginnings that the le-

gislature of a country was best employed. He recollected a story, which, though it was not much in itself, deserved some notice from their lordships, since it had been upon record by Dr. Franklin, as a complete illustration of the doctrine which he (the marquis of Lansdown) was then advancing. Dr. Franklin related that his wife, conceiving herself to be under obligation to a ship-owner at Maytown, made a practice for some years of sending a cap annually to his daughter as a present. After this practice had lasted for some time, the doctor stated that he accidentally met this ship-owner, in company with a farmer of the same town, in Philadelphia. The ship-owner said to him, "A dear cap that was, friend, which you sent to us at Maytown." "How so?" replied the doctor. "Why, since you sent us it, none of our young women will go out without it." The farmer then interrupted the ship-owner, and told him that he was only telling one side of the story; for he ought to have added, that it was only since those caps had been sent to Maytown that their young women had been accustomed to send mittens to Philadelphia, it being by the sale of their mittens that they were able to procure the Philadelphia caps. This story he (the marquis of Lansdown) confessed was a trifle in itself; but it was trifles like these which acted on the minds of bold and enterprising men with a power which was more easily conceived than described. Their lordships would recollect, that six years ago, when the trade to the East Indies was not open, there was no independent British tonnage on the other side of the Cape

Cape of Good Hope. At present he was happy to inform them that there were in the eastern seas 20,000 tons of shipping in the service of the East India company, but 61,000 in the service of the free traders. Was there any one among their lordships, seeing, as they had all seen, the rapid strides with which British commerce had advanced in that quarter of the globe, bold enough to say that the advantages of a free trade might not be carried still further even there, and might not be rendered productive of even still more important results? It was true that in the vessels employed in the free trade there were only seven men to every 100 tons, whereas in the East India service there were 20 men to the same quantity of tonnage; but did that circumstance prove any thing against a free trade, connected, as they ought to connect it, with the fact that the number of seamen engaged in that free trade was greater than the number engaged by the East India company? The noble marquis proceeded to contend, that it was a peculiar hardship that in countries where the British had established an unprecedented power, and where they exercised an uncontrolled dominion, an American should be at liberty to carry on a trade in which it was not allowed to an Englishman to engage. The consequence of this extraordinary state of things had been, that, while the British trade at Canton had been stationary during the last thirteen years, their trade had made most rapid increase, and, indeed, during the last few years, had increased to a full third of its former value. He would next proceed to show to

their lordships another point, in which our commercial regulations gave an advantage to the American merchant trading in the eastern seas, which was not enjoyed by our own. Both must go to South America for bullion; and, for the sake of argument, he would suppose that Valparaiso was the port to which both went. The English merchant, after taking in his bullion, is obliged to return to England, and then cannot set sail for India until he has refitted his ship. The American merchant, on the contrary, sails directly from Valparaiso to his place of destination, disposes of one cargo, and takes in another, almost before the English merchant is able to set sail a second time from England. He had been informed, in the course of that morning, that at the present moment certain Americans were fitting up vessels in the Thames, in order to make a beneficial adventure, which no Englishman could hazard with safety under the present regulations. Was it either right or expedient that this country should extend to Americans the privileges of a trade from which she excluded her own inhabitants, who were equally well, if not better, calculated to carry it on, from their habits, their industry, and their spirit of enterprise? He should next proceed, unwilling as he was to touch upon any political question on an occasion when he had no wish to excite any political feeling, to say a few words upon certain subjects, which, though they were connected with the politics, were not less connected with the commerce, of the country. He was not prepared to say that the British govern-

ment ought to exert its influence to procure the immediate independence of South America—by no means; but yet he was prepared to say that, considering the manner in which the trade of its subjects had increased at Buenos Ayres where it was liable to no restrictions during the years 1810, 1811, and 1812—considering that since the latter of these periods it had even increased there to a two-fold amount, and that similar results had taken place in every other part of that great continent where British manufactures had been introduced—it was bound by every tie of feeling and of interest to cement the connexion which already subsisted between the inhabitants of the two countries, by the utmost good faith, kindness, and liberality. To cement that connexion would not be a difficult task for this country, as there was none better calculated to inspire the South Americans with sentiments of respect and affection. Their lordships, he was sure, were well aware that, in the year previous to the commencement of the unfortunate war which terminated in the establishment of American independence, our exports to the United States did not amount to more than 3,000,000*l.*; whereas at present they amounted to no less a sum than 30,000,000*l.* Was this great and amazing increase the result of restrictive laws and provisions? Certainly not: it was the result of the increased prosperity and population of those states, and of their becoming, in consequence of it, great consumers of our produce and manufactures. If such had been the case with North America, did not that very circumstance render it still more

the interest of the British government to consolidate its friendship with those countries which were desirous of securing its friendship, which under the odious government from which Spain had recently emancipated itself, had never been open to us, and which even under the government which had just succeeded to it, were not likely to be more accessible to us? The noble marquis then proceeded to urge the necessity of using conciliatory measures towards Ireland also, declaring, that if ever there was a people calculated to give employment to capital, and to become great consumers of manufactured goods, it was the people of Ireland. He then concluded his speech by moving for the appointment of a select committee to examine into the state of the foreign trade, and the best means of extending it.

The earl of Liverpool rose with great satisfaction, after the able and candid speech of the noble marquis, which he had heard throughout with the utmost gratification. He agreed with him in most of the facts which he stated, also in the propriety of limiting the inquiry, and he disapproved of those who would set at variance our commercial and agricultural interests. With this general view of the question, he would endeavour to proceed into an inquiry of what the situation of the country was, both with respect to its internal and foreign relations. Their first object ought to be, to probe into the real causes of the distresses of the country, and then to consider if any, and what, remedy could be applied.

His lordship contended that there had

had been no falling off in the internal consumption of the country; and for the purpose of proving this, he entered into a comparative view of the consumption of certain articles for the year 1819 and the three preceding years, of which the following is the result:

Tea.—Average of the years 1817, 1818, and 1819 . lbs. 21,658,700  
From the 5th of April 1819 to the 5th of April 1820 . 22,332,117

Which shows no inconsiderable increase of . . . . 674,417

Coffee.—Average of the years 1817, 1818, and 1819 . . 7,923,583  
Last year . . . . . 7,358,856

In which there was a diminution of . . . . 564,727

Tobacco.—Average of the years 1817, 1818, and 1819 . 11,967,711  
Last year . . . . . 11,175,917

Diminution of . . . . . 791,794

Malt.—Average of the years 1817, 1818, and 1819 . . 22,132,276  
Last year . . . . . 23,971,387

Increase . . . . . 1,839,111

Spirits (English and Irish).—Average of 1817, 1818, and 1819 . . . . . 25,173,755  
Last year . . . . . 4,819,000

Diminution . . . . . 2354,755

The manner in which these accounts were taken showed that there could be no fallacy in them, and therefore the conclusion must be, that the internal consumption of the country was rather increased than diminished. If he were to proceed to a detail of the articles of general consumption among the middle and lower classes of society, such as candles, skins, salt, soap, bricks and tiles, &c. it would be found that here also an increase had taken place; there might, perhaps, be a trifling diminution in some articles, but this was more than compensated by the increase in others. He now came to another part of the question, namely, our foreign trade, and particular-

ly that in British manufactures. Here he admitted there was a considerable falling off. The declared value of British and Irish manufactures exported in 1818, was about 48,503,760*l.* In 1819 it was 37,939,506*l.*; leaving a deficiency of 10,564,254*l.* It should be recollected, however, that the preceding year was one of great trading effort; it would therefore be better to take the average of the years 1816, 1817, and 1818. The average export trade of those three years was 45,161,756*l.* leaving a deficiency of 7,300,000*l.* as compared with last year. This was doubtless a very great falling off; but before they entered into an inquiry into



the cause of it, it was material to look to what the trade of the country was antecedent to the last war, and also at the periods of that war when we were in the most flourishing state. In the year 1792, one of our greatest years of trade before the war, our exports amounted in value to 24,905,200*l*. In the following years they were as follows:—

1806 . . .	25,000,000
1807 . . .	27,000,000
1808 . . .	26,190,000
1809 . . .	26,000,000
1810 . . .	35,000,000
1811 . . .	34,940,000

These were the years of the war in which our commerce had risen to its greatest extent. It was true that the average he had taken was deficient near 11,000,000*l*. during the last year, but still our exports were nearly as great now as they were during the most flourishing years of the war. It next became necessary to inquire in what branch of our trade a falling off had taken place: some decrease in our European trade had undoubtedly taken place, but not to any considerable extent. That deficiency did not, on an average of three years, exceed 1,200,000*l*.: One article on which our exports had diminished was the refined sugar. Since the ports of the Brazils had been opened to other powers in common with us, they supplied themselves with that article. A falling off had also taken place last year in our continental trade to the amount of 600,000*l*.; but with Ireland our trade was increasing. The noble marquis had alluded to our relations with India; but if he would consider the real causes of our distress, he would find them to be the glut of the In-

dian market, and the falling off of our trade with America. The noble lord proceeded to detail the falling off which had taken place in our exports to America, of cottons, glass, woollens, cutlery, hardware, &c. making, upon an average of three years, a deficiency of 3,100,000*l*. annually. The noble marquis admitted that distress was not wholly confined to this country. He (lord Liverpool) went further. His lordship then proceeded to show that the same commercial distress was prevalent in America and Europe as in this country; the cause of which in the United States he stated to be the great prosperity to which they had risen during the peace, in consequence of their trade as a neutral power, and the check which this trade had received by the establishment of a general peace.—He did not think any of the measures suggested on the other side, though important in themselves, calculated to produce any very extensive effect; but, in whatever degree they might operate, he was equally certain that they were well worthy of consideration. That some general system was necessary, no man would deny; but he objected most strenuously to a meddling legislating disposition on these subjects—a continual tampering with great questions, and changing regulations session after session, to comply with temporary emergency, partial interests, or unreasonable clamour. On such matters the fewer the laws were, the better; those already on the statute book were perhaps more than sufficient; perhaps some required alteration and amendment, and others might be altogether removed; but the undertaking would be attended with

with difficulty, and ought to be commenced with care. Knowledge and the certainty derived from previous experience, were the safest guides in all the relations of life; when disadvantages and inconveniences were once ascertained, they might be avoided or prepared against; but with perpetual changes there would of course be no system, and without it neither foreign nations nor ourselves could know on what to rely, and distresses would be multiplied in a tenfold proportion.

The earl of Lauderdale began by complimenting the noble earl and the noble marquis on the able manner in which they had conducted this important discussion. He concurred in a great deal of what had fallen from both. He however took a more consolatory view of the situation of the country than either of the noble lords—than even the noble earl, who had given, from authentic documents, such a cheering prospect of the trade of the kingdom. When he reflected on the causes operating to produce distress—on the exertions already made to repel the evil—and the small decrease of demand, he could not but entertain a sanguine hope that the deficiency would be supplied through the inquiries of the proposed committee.

After a few words from lords Ellenborough and Calthorpe, the question was put and carried, and the marquis of Lansdowne stated the names of the peers who were to form the select committee. Among them were the earl of Liverpool, the duke of Wellington, earl Donoughmore, the earl of Lauderdale, lord Holland, lord Grenville, lord Bathurst, lord

Calthorpe, earl Grosvenor and lord Darnley.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. W. Courtenay presented a petition from certain newsvenders against the publication of Sunday newspapers.

Mr. Lambton expressed the greatest disgust at the hypocritical cant of the petition.

A discussion then took place on a motion by lord Milton for the repeal of the duty on the importation of foreign wool. The noble lord maintained that the imposition of the duty had failed in its two main objects, as a source of revenue, and as a protection to the home grower; and in proof he quoted evidence on the subject given before the privy council last year, which went to show that the duty had the effect of bringing the French and Flemish woollens in competition with the English to the American market.

Mr. Stuart Wortley supported the noble lord.

The chancellor of the exchequer and several other members on the same side opposed the motion, and contended that the state of the American market, with respect to English woollens, arose not from the duty, but from the diminished demand caused by distress in the United States. They also argued, that as the home manufacturer had a monopoly of the home growth, the grower was entitled to some protection. It was further contended, that this duty had the effect of removing the Spanish export duty; so that, in point of fact, by this removal no burden was additionally placed on the British manufacturer. To this last point it was replied, that the Spanish export duty was removed in

respect to the whole world. But in answer it was stated, that nearly the whole of the wool exported from Spain came to this country. The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he continued in the same sentiments which he had expressed last session. Whatever might be the ultimate effect of the measure, no sufficient experiment had yet been made to warrant the proposed alteration. If it was improper, generally speaking, to apply a tax to the raw material, it was a principle no less sound, that by the effect of taxation our natural produce should be supported. It was not in England only that a depression of the woollen trade had taken place. The manufacturers of France had quite as much cause for complaint as the manufacturers of this country.

The house then divided, when the numbers were—

For the motion . . . 128

Against it . . . 202

Majority . . . 74

In a committee of supply, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, that a sum not exceeding 7,000,000*l.* should be granted to his majesty to discharge the like amount granted out of the supply of the year 1819 ; and, on the motion of Mr. Bankes, that a sum not exceeding 10,109*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* be granted to his majesty to be applied towards defraying the expenses of the British Museum for the year 1819, the said sum to be paid without fee or deduction.

Adjourned, soon after 12 o'clock, to Tuesday the 30th of May.

### CHAPTER III.

*Debate on the agricultural Petitions—Message from the King respecting the Queen, and Debate on it—Secret Committee—Message from the Queen, and Debate on it—Ways and Means—Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for a Compromise with the Queen—The Queen's Answer—Queen's Petition and Remonstrance against a Secret Committee—Arguments of her Counsel—Education of the Poor—Bill of Pains and Penalties—Petition of the Queen against it—Arguments of her Counsel—Milan Commission.*

**H**OUSE of lords, May 30.—The civil list bill was read the third time.

Lord Dacre moved as an amendment, that no part of the surplus sums arising from the admiralty droits should be applied for the purposes provided for in the bill ; but, that an account should be annually laid before parliament, in order to its disposal.

This was seconded by lord Ellenborough, but opposed by the earl of Liverpool, and was negatived by 81 to 21.

The bill was then passed.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. H. Sumner disclaimed any wish on the part of the agriculturists to encroach on the privileges of the other two interests in the country. They did not wish for any

any extension of the protecting duty of 80*s.* a quarter; but they wished for a committee to inquire into the ways in which that protection had been evaded. It had been said, that our corn since 1815 had averaged 78*s.* per quarter, but it was of that they complained; for such was the system of fraud and falsehoods in taking the averages, that while the markets gave them at 78*s.* they had, in reality, never exceeded 72*s.* The general prayer of the petitioners was, either for a committee to inquire into their distress, or to be called to the bar to prove it. They did not pretend to point out the way in which their sufferings were to be alleviated. His motion was, that the several agricultural petitions be referred to a select committee, to examine and report on them.

Mr. Gooch seconded the motion. Without some relief, the farmers could not pay the taxations, which, whether just or not, were absolutely necessary.

Mr. F. Robinson did not deny that there was agricultural distress; but it did not arise from the last corn bill being inoperative, but from the extraordinary circumstances attending, and consequent upon the late war. He had never advocated the last corn bill as a positive good, but as a choice of evils; but it gave him great relief to find, that the remedy proposed by Mr. Webb Hall was so extravagant, as to be intolerable; namely, to impose a permanent duty of 40*s.* per quarter upon all foreign corn imported. No government could carry on the affairs of the nation under such a measure. The agriculturists complained that immense quantities of foreign corn had been smuggled in from the Isles of Man, Jersey, and Guernsey.

He had inquired into that, and found no truth in it; he was therefore of opinion that this alarm was perfectly groundless. If his honourable friend would confine himself to an inquiry into some of the practical effects of the corn laws, he should not object: but on account of the government and the country, he must protest against any alteration of the law itself.

Mr. C. Western entered into a long detail, to prove that the act of 1815 was no protection to the agriculturists at all; for it had admitted more foreign corn to be imported than any former measure of this kind. He stated it as a positive truth, that the state of agriculture was so much depressed, that its produce must diminish. The capital of the farmer was sunk and gone; and without some relief the prosperity of the country must be shaken.

Mr. Baring said, the distress of the farmer arose from the inability of the manufacturer to consume his produce, as appeared by the diminished consumption of the town of Birmingham. The petitions presented to the house appeared to have been procured in the same way as those in favour of universal suffrage. He could state his conscientious opinion, that the farmers were the class of the community that suffered the least.

Mr. F. Lewis wished that the petition should be referred to a committee that might set the subject finally at rest. The language of the petitions rather prayed for an examination of the general principle of policy, than for any immediate relief; but though he was anxious for inquiry, he should vote against the motion.

Lord Milton said, it was the load

of debt and taxation that pressed on the country ; and it would be a delusion to hold out the prospect of relief, except by a diminution of that debt. He felt much regret that he could not vote for the motion, as no good effect could arise from an inquiry so instituted.

Mr. Curwen said, that the poor's rates and taxes had increased since the corn bill ; and that had more than counterbalanced the diminished price of labour. Many of the taxes, he thought, should be thrown into a modified income tax. The rent of land had fallen 15 per cent. ; and a committee should be appointed, not for any particular class, but for the people of England.

Mr. Ricardo looked only to the good of the country at large, and was on that account averse to the corn laws. The high price of food must diminish the profit on the capital of the country, by raising the price of wages ; and if the price of labour was low in a foreign country, that circumstance would induce capitalists to remove thither. The corn law ought to have been made a temporary, and not a permanent, measure.

Mr. Huskisson considered the appointment of a committee as unnecessary.

Mr. Coke of Norfolk could have wished to see a committee appointed on a broad basis, taking into consideration the difficulties of all classes : for if it were the fact, as stated in the petitions read to-night, that several manufacturers did not earn more than elevenpence three-farthings a week, they had suffered more than the agricultural labourer had.

Mr. Ellice considered the present motion as only calculated to increase the public distress ; and

therefore he would meet it by moving the previous question.

Mr. Brougham conceived it would be most improper, after the numerous petitions which were presented to the house from distressed agriculturists, not to pay some attention to their claims ; and therefore he was greatly astonished at hearing the monstrous proposition made by the honourable member for Coventry, of moving the previous question. The great mass of taxation and poor rates fall generally on the agriculturists, much more than on any other class of men. There was nothing like a free trade to be any where found ; and it was absurd to object to the corn laws on the ground of the freedom of trade. He wished to see some measure carried into effect, that, by taking away a moderate part of the public burdens from one class, and adding a moderate part to the other class, would tend to equalize the pressure of those burdens. If some amendment could be proposed, confining the object of the committee, he should feel it his duty to vote for the motion.

Mr. Ellice explained, and declared his willingness to withdraw his amendment.

General Gascoyne would not consent to the previous question being withdrawn : if the house went into a committee, he should propose the repeal of the corn laws.

Lord Castlereagh could not consent to the motion in its present extended shape. If confined to a specific object, it should have his support.

At three o'clock the house divided, when there appeared for the original motion, 150 ; for the previous question, 101 ; majority, 49.

Mr. Baring moved the adjournment

ment of the house, in order that the committee might be appointed at a time when there could be a full attendance.

Lord Castlereagh deplored and lamented from the bottom of his heart, the decision of the house. So little had he anticipated such a result, that, being asked by several persons, whether he thought there was such a difference of opinion as would make it necessary for them to remain in the house till the division, he had told them that nothing was so unlikely, from the temper which the house had evinced during the debate, as an effective support of the motion. If he had thought that it would have had so many supporters, there would have been a very different attendance of members, and a very different result from that which had taken place.

Mr. H. Sumner said, that the decision of the house had taken him as much by surprise as it seemed to have taken others; for, however convinced he was of the propriety of the measure he proposed, he had not thought, that any proposal he could make to the house would have been so favourably received.

The motion of Mr. Baring was then put, and carried unanimously.

May 31.—Mr. Robinson proposed, that the inquiries of the committee which Mr. Sumner had obtained, should be strictly confined to devising means for the prevention of frauds, in striking the average under the provisions of the corn laws of 1815; frauds which had been described by the agriculturists as *working effects* so extensive and injurious, as to reduce the general excluding price throughout the country from 80s.

a quarter of wheat, which the legislature had acknowledged as necessary for the British farmer's protection, to 72s. and even 70s.

Mr. Robinson's proposition was (justly perhaps) considered by the landed interest as merely a device to neutralize the important results of Mr. Sumner's successful motion; and the gentlemen in that interest accordingly opposed the restriction of the committee with great warmth.

Mr. Banks and Mr. Burrell proposed that a middle course might be taken; and that the committee should be confined to the question of averages, but not to the consideration of frauds, or the particular arrangements of 1815; suggesting that, instead of striking the averages by the twelve maritime districts, a general average of all the kingdom should be taken.

This proposition was vehemently resisted by lord Castlereagh, who contended, that in 1815 the legislature fixed upon the maritime districts as affording not a *representation* of the general average of the kingdom, but a *criterion*; that from the nature of things, the general average must always be lower than that of the maritime districts; and had the legislature contemplated the *general average*, it would have taken a suitably low excluding price, 72s. or 74s.

Mr. Brougham replied to this argument with great eloquence; but, on a division, Mr. Robinson's motion was carried by a majority of 251 to 108; which of course destroys the whole effect of Mr. Sumner's motion.

June 1.—Mr. F. Campbell called the attention of the house to the present system of administering

ing justice in Wales; and pointed out its numerous defects, as compared with the proceedings in the English courts. He also contrasted the character of an English judge with that of a Welsh judge. After various observations, he concluded with moving, that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the courts of justice in Wales; to examine into the propriety of abolishing the same; to consider the best means of including Wales in the English circuits; and to report their opinion thereupon to the house.

After a discussion of some length, in which Mr. Warren, Mr. Creevey, lord J. Russell, Mr. Wynn, colonel Wood, and Mr. J. Allan, took part; lord Castlereagh moved an amendment, to leave out all the words after "appointed," for the purpose of inserting the following: "to inquire into, and report to the house their observations touching the laws relating to the administration of justice in Wales." This amendment, after some further conversation, was agreed to, and a committee was appointed accordingly.

Lord Castlereagh, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to continue the alien act, stated the grounds on which the measure had been continued since the peace, and contended that they still existed in full force.

The motion was supported by the solicitor general; and opposed by sir R. Wilson, Mr. G. Baring Wall, sir J. Mackintosh, and Mr. Lambton. It was carried, on a division, by a majority of 149 to 68.

His lordship also obtained leave to bring in a bill for continuing the suspension of that provision in the

charter in the bank of Scotland which naturalizes foreigners purchasing a certain amount of stock.

June 2.—The house having gone into a committee of supply, lord Palmerston addressed the house on the subject of the army estimates; but in a few minutes was obliged to sit down from indisposition.

Mr. Ward then brought forward the ordnance estimates. The savings effected by the reduction of various establishments amounted to 16,000*l.* a year; but on the whole there was an increase of 133,000*l.* He concluded with moving for a sum of 892,694*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

Mr. Hume went through the different items, and stated the increase of the present, as compared with the last year.

Mr. Ward replied at considerable length.

Mr. Creevey contended, that by law, the repairs of the forts at Barbadoes, and other islands in the West Indies, should be defrayed out of the 4½ per cent. duties, a fund now expended in paying sir C. Long, 1500*l.* a year; sir H. Popham, 500*l.*; and other pensions to Mr. Huskisson, sir Fulke Greville, lady Mansfield, &c. When he (Mr. C.) first introduced his motion relative to the tellerships of the exchequer, it was almost hooted out of the house, as an indecent attack upon private property. He had persevered, however; and the feeling of the country being pretty manifest, the marquis of Buckingham and lord Camden, after having enjoyed a sinecure of nearly 30,000*l.* for nineteen years, begged, as a particular favour, that it might be taken away from them, because they knew, that, though there were only forty-five persons against

against them in the house, they had not one man out of it with them. The honourable gentleman concluded by protesting against these items for repairs.

Mr. R. Ward observed, that the pension attacked by Mr. C. had been granted for public services, and had been confirmed by parliament.

Mr. Vansittart was surprised at the way in which Mr. C. treated the conduct of the marquis Camden, who had given one of the most splendid examples of public spirit recorded in the annals of any country.

Lord Castlereagh said, if ever an act proceeded from virtuous and disinterested sentiment, it was the mode in which the noble personage adverted to (lord Camden) had resigned so large a portion of his income.

After some observations from Mr. Tremayne, Mr. W. Smith, and others, the several resolutions moved by Mr. Ward were agreed to.

Lord Palmerston then explained at large, the different items of the army estimates. Resolutions agreed to.

June 5.—On the motion of Mr. Baring, a committee was appointed to inquire into the means of maintaining and improving the foreign trade of the country.

Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the Grampound disfranchisement bill. Mr. R. Smith and Mr. serjeant Onalow supported the measure. Mr. D. Gilbert moved an instruction to the committee to limit the bill to extending the right of suffrage to the hundreds of Poudry and Pie-

dre. Here Mr. Vansittart having stated that there was some pressing business which required the attention of his majesty's ministers, the further debate on the noble lord's motion was postponed.

The insolvent debtors' bill went through a committee; in which, after some opposition from Mr. Denman, a clause was agreed to for the appointment of three commissioners, instead of one.

House of lords, June 6.—The king came to the house in the usual state about two o'clock, and, the commons being in attendance, gave the royal assent to the civil list bill, the insolvent debtors' continuation bill, the stage coach regulation bill, glebe lands bill, and other public and private bills.

The earl of Liverpool, by command of his majesty, presented the following message:

"George R.—The king thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the house of lords certain papers respecting the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this country, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of the house. The king has felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of a discussion, which must be most painful to his people as well as to himself; but the step taken by the queen leaves him no alternative. The king therefore feels, in consequence of this communication, the utmost confidence that the house of lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case and the honour and the dignity of the crown will require."

House of commons.—Lord Castle-



Castlereagh appeared at the bar, and presented a message from his majesty to the house, similar to that delivered to the house of lords; which having been received,

Lord Castlereagh said, he had now to move a humble address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication, and to assure his majesty that the house would lose no time in proceeding to take the papers into consideration. He should now give notice, that he should to-morrow move to refer the papers now laid before the house to a secret committee. The noble lord then moved the address.

Mr. Bennet.—Mr. speaker, seeing no member near me disposed to put a question to the noble lord, and with a full persuasion of my own humility, I still feel most anxious to know from him, whether a letter which has this day appeared in one of the public journals, and which purports to be the letter of lord Hutchinson to the legal adviser of the queen of England, is, or is not, a genuine document? Whether lord Hutchinson had instructions from the ministers of the crown to call upon the queen of England to lay down her right and title—a right held by the same constitutional securities as that of the king himself—for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a year? I do feel most anxious to have an answer to this question, because, hardy as I know his majesty's ministers to be—so hardy, to use the words of my right honourable friend (Mr. Tierney), as even to betray the king and insult the queen—I do not believe that even they would venture to authorize such a proposition. I, for one, will never assent to the genuineness

of that document, until I hear it admitted by the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh). Until that admission shall be made, I can never give credit to the statement, that a British ministry, without the authority and consent of parliament, would have dared to call upon the queen of Great Britain to divest herself of that title which she holds by the same right as the king himself does his title, for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a year—a bribe not to be paid by the king himself, but to be taken out of the pockets of the people of England labouring under the severest distresses, and to be given to a person against whom, if the statements circulated against her were true, was not alone unworthy of being the queen of England, but of being allowed to place her foot upon its shore. There are no words strong enough to convey an adequate idea of such a proposition. To call it treason to the monarchy, might be considered extravagant; but I cannot consider it less than an act of treachery to the monarchy of Great Britain. Feeling a sincere respect and attachment to that monarchy, upon whose credit and character I believe the peace and security of this country chiefly depend, I could not, as an honest man, postpone the duty I feel of hearing the ministers of the crown admit or deny the fact of the genuineness of the document now before the public. Whether or not they had transmitted a person to make such an offer? Whether they, the ministers of the crown, are parties to the proposition of calling upon the queen of England, without the consent, authority, or knowledge of parliament, to lay down her title for 50,000*l.* a year?

Lord

Lord Castlereagh observed, that he could not help admiring the peculiar temper under which the honourable member rose to put his question. It must be felt by the honourable member as a most auspicious state of mind for entering into a question of this great importance—a question, I must say, almost without example in the history of parliament, involving in so high a degree the dignity and honour of the crown, and the interests and happiness of the people—it has never been my lot yet to encounter—but, were it only to allow the honourable gentleman to recover that composure necessary for such a discussion, in tenderness to him, as well as in justice to the subject, I will decline giving any answer to his inquiries. The usage of parliament has marked out the proper course to be pursued; at present, it is our duty to acknowledge the gracious message from his majesty, and I call on the house to witness if ever a communication was made more deeply affecting the feelings and interests of the crown, in language less calculated to excite heat of temper in individuals, or forced and premature discussion in parliament? I will put it to the house to decide, if the most ordinary occasion, if even a turnpike bill had been the subject of a royal message, whether it would not have been due to decorum to give notice of a proceeding like that adopted by the honourable member. The honourable member certainly combined very extraordinary habits, and if I could be tempted by any thing into this sort of discussion, it might be by his manner. But I will not be provoked, if I may use the ex-

pression; in this stage, the matter is only proper for a notice; and I am sure that, whatever may be said or done, it will be more convenient and more agreeable to the house to have said and done to-morrow, when the subject will be regularly opened by the motion which I have signified my intention of then bringing forward for the appointment of a committee. This will afford the opportunity now seized by the honourable member, and I hope he will see no reason to impede the question.

Mr. Beaumont did not consider the question put by his honourable friend at all calculated to throw any impediment in the progress of the course proposed by the noble lord. It appeared to him to be a very fair and reasonable question. From the want of an answer to it, and the evident disinclination of the noble lord to give it, it was evident that this extraordinary letter was genuine, but that his majesty's ministers were ashamed to own it.

Mr. Creevey asserted, that so far from a notice being necessary, it was competent for any member to make a motion forthwith. He was so convinced of this, that he held one in his hand for an account of the negotiations with the queen, which it was his intention to have offered to the house. In what state were the house? The queen was to be proceeded against for setting her foot in England—for it was clear this was her only offence; and the king now refused to be in the same country with her, as he had before resolved not to meet her in the same drawing-room. A threat had been employed to deter her from coming—a bribe had been offered to in-

duce

duce her not to land; and when this failed, and a message was sent to them, they had a right to inquire into the real state of the case before they went into evidence—evidence into which he thought they ought not to go at all. The house was asked to enter upon this investigation, on which a bill, perhaps even a bill of attainder, might be founded, by a message from the king. Now let them look how they stood. The king was distinctly the prosecutor; and if their proceedings went to the length which he had contemplated, and the measure went through parliament, the king would ultimately be the judge. He advised the house to pause. He apprised it not to interfere hastily in an affair between husband and wife. Since the time of Henry VIII. they had had no precedent of the kind, and that was not very tempting to induce them to follow it, though fifteen ministers had left their public duties last night to go to arm against a woman. That woman, let them remember, was a daughter of the house of Brunswick—she was the niece of the late king—she was the cousin and wife of the present—she was the mother of the late princess Charlotte. If that lamented princess were alive, did they believe that such a message as they had heard to-night would have been delivered? No such thing. Let them consider, then, before they entered upon a course pregnant with consequences of which it was impossible to foresee the end. As it might be more convenient, he should wait till to-morrow before he made the motion which he had mentioned, for an account of

the negotiations at St. Omer's; but he would have reckoned himself disgraced if he had not risen this night to say as much as he had done.

Sir R. Wilson said there never was a message so calculated to excite the most serious impressions as that communicated from the throne that evening. He trusted, however, that pending the prosecution, it would be felt a paramount duty to protect the queen from any further indignity. He did not speak of those repeated indignities offered to her by official persons from this country abroad, or by foreign courts under our influence; neither did he speak of such an indignity as that of excluding her from the liturgy. But he particularly adverted to indignities of such a character as the compelling the queen of England, when she arrived at Calais, to sail in a common passage boat, to hoist the standard of England in a hired conveyance. Was it no indignity, that the queen of England had no roof, no asylum, no house, to which she could repair, but has been obliged to accept the roof of an honest individual? (*A laugh.*) The laugh he did not understand; but he would repeat, an honest individual, who had discharged his various public duties with fidelity, with diligence, and with service to his country. Whatever course the advisers of the crown might pursue, he was disposed to believe that his majesty would not approve of any indignity offered to her who was once the wife of his affections, and now the partner of his throne.

Lord A. Hamilton stated, that, as he had given a strong opinion on the subject before, he should not

not trespass long upon their attention. The honourable gentleman who considered these things as the first indications of opposition towards the queen, had forgotten that he had formerly brought under the consideration of the house a remarkable instance of this spirit in the striking of her name out of the liturgy. That proceeding tended to condemn, as far as ministers could condemn, her majesty, and he contended that it was without precedent and illegal. The act of parliament gave the power to make such alterations in the liturgy as occasion might demand; but by what special pleading, or, as he should rather say, by what special quibbling, could it be contended that it authorized such a pre-condemnation as this? It was, he had hitherto thought, a principle of British justice, that every one should be deemed innocent till proved to be guilty. He asked, then, if this act was not a previous condemnation?—Was it a fair or a just measure?—As an unauthorized individual, and without consulting with any one on the subject, he felt himself bound to require that her majesty's name should be replaced in the liturgy before any step was taken against her. The removal prejudiced her character, and conveyed an impression detrimental to her conduct. It was a testimony of ministers that she was not fit to continue queen of England, and more especially when coupled with the proceedings of this evening. It not only showed that they were influenced against her, but it had prejudiced the mind of every corner of his majesty's dominions; and yet it was proposed to bring

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her to trial with that previous judgement against her. He could not admit of such a principle, and he called on the house not to allow this prejudice to operate against the queen. In adverting to the order in council by which her majesty's name was excluded from the liturgy, he expressed a doubt whether that order were not the result of some art or intrigue, and whether advice had not been given to his majesty upon that occasion, for which his ministers were afterwards not willing to be responsible. That order was sent beyond the jurisdiction of the privy council; for it was sent to the general assembly in Scotland, where, whatever might be its authority in this country, it was mere waste paper. In point of fact, many clergymen of that country had continued to pray for her majesty; and a motion had actually been made in the general assembly to condemn the order, as an improper interference with the rights and privileges of Scotland as settled by the union. He could not suffer these acts of previous and anticipated condemnation to pass without entering his protest against the injustice of such a measure, and without calling on his majesty's ministers to extend to the queen of England that privilege which was not denied to the poorest and meanest of her subjects, the privilege of not being condemned unheard—without calling upon them to retrace their steps, and place the queen in the same situation to meet her trial, in which she would have been placed if she had not experienced these acts of injustice on the part of his majesty's ministers.

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Mr. Denman.—Sir, it is not my intention to pursue this discussion, which, both in a personal and constitutional point of view, I shall find fitter opportunities to enter upon hereafter. I am afraid, too, that at present I may be betrayed into some of that ardent feeling displayed by my honourable friend (Mr. Bennet), though I will say that I am less alarmed by his warmth than by the temperance, calmness, and coolness with which the noble lord opposite has opened a subject so threatening to the individual against whom these measures are directed, and so replete with consequences hostile to the tranquillity of the country. In the situation in which I am placed, however, I cannot permit this subject to advance without taking the earliest opportunity of asking one question. I cannot rest satisfied with a mere notice, when I see that on the instant of the arrival of this illustrious person in her adopted country, a trial is instituted against her, a trial founded on papers—not on witnesses; a trial—not by the ordinary tribunals of the country—but by a secret committee. In the peculiar situation in which I find myself, I think I am entitled to know what course it is intended to pursue, and to call upon the noble lord opposite, when he comes down to-morrow to resume the awful subject before us, to state distinctly the nature of the proceedings which are in contemplation against her majesty.

Mr. Brougham rose, and, after some preliminary remarks, observed, that it appeared the resolution had at length unfortunately been come to, to make the conduct of the queen the subject of a

regular and formal investigation. He said unfortunate, not for the illustrious personage the most nearly interested in the inquiry, but for parliament, for the house, and for the country. I say (he continued) a resolution appears to have been taken, which must render all further silence on this question unnecessary. The time approaches when all men will have to make up their minds on the subject, and my lips will be unsealed from that restraint which has heretofore closed them. At present I shall only say I think it fair to give the noble lord opposite warning, that government will not only have the task to perform of showing a strong case against her majesty, but they will have another task as ministers, paramount to that, of clearly and distinctly convincing the house and the country that there was no longer a possibility left them of postponing or suppressing this discussion. Whichever way the question is determined, is of no consequence to this point. Their case must be, that the landing of the queen and pre-existing circumstances rendered all further forbearance impossible. I take it for granted that ministers are prepared to state this case to the house, and trust that to-morrow they will acquit themselves of their obligation. Now that I am on my legs, sir, I hope that I may be allowed to say a few words that seem requisite for my own justification. Since I entered the house a newspaper has been put into my hand, in which, to my great astonishment, I read an account purporting to relate to what took place at St. Omer's; that account is, I must observe,

observe, inaccurate, and in most material points very garbled and erroneous. In justice to the noble lord (Hutchinson), who has not yet returned, I am bound to state this much, and to designate the relation of what he did as imperfect and garbled.—For myself, I declare that I have no notion of the manner or by what channels this statement got into the public journals. To what indiscretion, or to what breach of confidence, this premature disclosure of circumstances is owing, I cannot tell. Until I entered the house, I declare I was not aware that one title of the affair had been promulgated.

The question was then put and carried.

Lord Castlereagh moved that the papers which he had delivered should be kept in the custody of the clerk of the house; which was agreed to.

Mr. Brogden brought up the report of the committee of supply.

Mr. Calcraft had intended, upon the bringing up of the report, to have called the attention of the house to the causes of the increase of the army. He should, however, defer his observations to a future day.

Mr. Hume re-stated what he had said on a former evening relative to pensions upon retirement. Such pensions, he contended, were contrary to the act of parliament by which no pensions were to be granted for less than ten years' services. In one case a pension had been given for a year and a half's service.

Mr. Ward stated that pensions had been granted to four clerks who had served in the West Indies, and whose situations had

been abolished. All the pensions had the signatures of three lords of the treasury.

Mr. Calcraft was sorry he could not compliment the present master-general (of whose military talents no man could think more highly) on his regard to economy, as there was an increase of 127,000*l.* above the estimates of last year.

Mr. Ward and Mr. Calcraft explained.

Sir J. Newport observed, that the duke of Wellington was, in the present case, only to be looked to as the master-general of the ordnance, and equally responsible as any other public officer.

Upon the resolution that 92,000 men should form the army of Great Britain,

Colonel Davies asked if that number was to be the permanent peace establishment?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that temporary causes had led to a temporary increase, which, he trusted, would not be permanent.

Lord Nugent stated his intention of bringing the question of the increase of the army before the house in one of the stages of the mutiny bill.

Mr. Hume observed, that in the American legislature it was the practice at the commencement of the session to appoint committees to examine the naval and military expenditure as well as the other branches of the public expense. Such an example, he thought, might be adopted with much advantage in this country.

Sir J. Newport deprecated the idea of parliament devolving its own duty on any committee.

Mr. R. Gordon moved for an  
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account of the expense of erecting barracks from the year 1793 down to the present time, distinguishing each year. Ordered.

Lord Palmerston brought in the annual mutiny bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow. He also obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the allowance to publicans for quartering soldiers.

House of lords, June 7.—The earl of Liverpool, on the king's message being read, moved an address thereon. He then moved for a secret committee, consisting of fifteen lords, for the purpose of examining the papers laid before the house, and to report upon them as they might think fit.

The marquis of Lansdown objected to this mode of procedure respecting the conduct of her majesty, upon the supposition that their lordships might eventually be called upon to decide judicially in the matter.

Lord Liverpool, in reply to this objection, observed, that judicial proceedings were quite out of the question; because, suppose the queen guilty of adultery abroad, and, for argument sake, suppose the evidence clear beyond any reasonable doubt; in such a case he had the highest legal authority for saying, that such a case would not be high treason by the laws of this country; nor would it be in any way cognizable by the civil law. The noble lord then proceeded to observe, that the statute of Edward III. laid down that an act of adultery committed by any person, with respect to the queen, the wife of the heir apparent, or the king's eldest daughter, was high treason. That act did not make the crime high treason in

the female, but the practice of the courts had made up for the defect in the act, and established that the consenting female was guilty of high treason. This could only be as an accessory; as to treason, every accessory was a principal; but this act did not apply to the case of the queen, or princess of Wales, committing adultery with a foreigner abroad. The foreigner, as owing no allegiance, was guilty of no crime; and she could not be accessory to a crime which had no existence. This was the opinion of the highest law authorities; and this opinion answered the objection of the noble marquis, as it precluded the possibility of an impeachment by the house of commons.

In the house of commons, Mr. Brougham delivered a message, on behalf of the queen, to the following effect:

“The queen thinks it necessary to inform the house of commons, that she has been induced to return to England, in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time past by secret agents abroad, and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatsoever but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support. Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring its attention to written documents; and she learns with still greater astonishment that there is an intention of proposing

proposing that these should be referred to a secret committee. It is this day 14 years since the first charges were brought forward against her majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents, privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies with full confidence upon the integrity of the house of commons for defeating the only attempt she has any reason to fear. The queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner too well calculated to prejudice her cause. The omission of her name in the liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight, both of English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence—must be viewed as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction.”

Lord Castlereagh, in rising to call the attention of the house to his majesty's most gracious message, said, he was convinced that the house would feel, as he did, the extremely painful and delicate task imposed upon him in bringing on, perhaps, the most distressing and deeply interesting public question that had ever been agitated in that house. He assured the house, that if he had not been persuaded, in common with his colleagues, that he had come to this important task with all that preparation which was dictated by prudence, and a constitutional attachment to the illustrious personage most intimately concerned in the affair; and unless he was satisfied that every effort on the part of the administration to avert this most painful duty had been exhausted—if he had not been persuaded of all this, he should have risen with a more heavy heart than he now rose with, to submit his observations to the house. If the question had not taken the course which it had, and had not the house been called upon in a more particular manner by the communication just made by the honourable and learned gentleman, he (lord Castlereagh) might have been induced to suppose that there was still some ground for the assumption, that it was a matter yet to be determined on, whether the house should enter upon the consideration of the subject at all. His lordship then took an able review of the case, and in conclusion observed, that he would not disguise from the house, that he anxiously felt the difficulties which they had to contend against; but he trusted that whatever those difficulties might be, there was wisdom



enough in parliament to surmount them ; that there would be an absence of all warmth and intemperate zeal, and that a calm disposition would be felt and shown to do justice to all parties without favour or affection. But if any disposition was felt in any quarter to make this subject a source of agitation to the country—and here he could not in justice abstain from stating that, as far as the two honourable and learned gentlemen opposite were concerned, there was a total absence of all such disposition—but if it turned out that her majesty had lent herself to any mischievous and coarse adviser—the result would ultimately teach her, that as far as her honour and her innocence were concerned, and he trusted she would be able to establish both—but, as far as her character was concerned, she would find that it could derive nothing but stain and reproach from such dangerous, such weak, or wicked advisers. The noble lord concluded with moving, “That the papers which were yesterday presented, and laid on the table of the house, be referred to a secret committee, to consider the matter thereof, and to report thereon to the house.”

Mr. Brougham, in a speech of great length and ability, opposed the motion ; and in conclusion observed, that the queen positively protested against any secret inquiry. She cared not what tribunal it was before which she might be brought ; but she desired to be made acquainted with the nature of the proceedings intended to be instituted against her ; and to be confronted with the witnesses which should be brought forward. He implored the house

to take all the circumstances into consideration ; and his last prayer was, that negotiations, if entered into, should not be all at once broken off ; but that, if possible, they might be brought to such a termination as should save the country from the calamities that might otherwise fall upon it.

After Mr. Canning had addressed the house, Mr. Wilberforce proposed an adjournment, in order to afford an opportunity for an adjustment of this painful question. After a few observations from Mr. W. Wynn, the motion was agreed to.

House of lords, June 8.—Lord Kenyon moved that the ballot for the secret committee should be postponed, in hopes that a friendly arrangement might yet be accomplished, with which view proceedings had been delayed in another place.

Lord Liverpool was not aware of any circumstances which could justify delay as to the balloting, but he could have no objection to fix the first meeting of the committee for Tuesday next.

The marquis of Lansdown, and lords Holland, Carnarvon, Darnley, and Rosslyn, spoke in favour of delaying the ballot. Lords Lauderdale, Erskine, and Donoughmore, approved of the course suggested by lord Liverpool.

The motion for immediately proceeding with the ballot was carried by a majority, proxies included, of 108 to 29. The following were reported as forming the committee: archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, lord president of the council, duke of Beaufort, duke of Northumberland, marquis of Lansdown, marquis of Buck-

Buckingham, earl of Liverpool, earl of Donoughmore, earl Beauchamp, Viscount Sidmouth, bishop of London, lord Redesdale, lord Erskine, earl of Lauderdale.

House of commons, June 9.—Lord Castlereagh moved that the consideration of the order of the day for referring to a select committee the papers accompanying his majesty's message be further postponed.

Mr. Brougham fully agreed with the noble lord, that it would be improper now to enter into explanations.

Mr. C. W. Wynn said, no one could suppose that the renewal of the negotiation, come from whichever party it might, was the result of any other feeling than a deference to the wishes of the house of commons, re-echoed back to it as those wishes had been by every individual from one end of the country to the other. The motion was then agreed to.

The house, in a committee of supply, after a long discussion on the navy estimates, voted 1,956,566*l.* for that service.

The house having gone into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Vansittart stated the terms on which the loan for 5,000,000*l.* had that day been taken, which, he said, were a half per. cent. better for the public than the loan of last year. He concluded with proposing resolutions, sanctioning the contract, which were agreed to after a long conversation, in which Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Hume, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Grenfell, alderman Heygate, and Mr. Barham, took part.

House of commons, June 12. —

The insolvent debtors' bill went through a committee, in

which it received several additional clauses.

June 14.—On the motion of Mr. serjeant Onslow, after a pretty general conversation, a select committee was appointed to consider of the propriety of making it a standing order of the house, that in future no bill for the regulation of any trade or manufacture should be read a first time, unless upon the report of a select committee, to whom it should be previously submitted.

Col. Bagwell called the attention of the house to the great distress prevalent in the south of Ireland, from the failure of eleven local banks.

Sir J. Mackintosh then moved, in a most elegant speech, a new writ for the city of Dublin, in the room of the late Mr. Grattan. Mr. Grattan, he said, was the only man of this age who had received a parliamentary reward for services rendered in parliament, although he was then only a private gentleman, without civil or military honours. The commons of Ireland had voted an estate for him and his family, "as a testimony of the national gratitude, for great national services." He had been the founder of the liberties of his country. From being only a dependent province upon England, he made her a friend and equal; he called to the enjoyment of their freedom a brave and generous people; and he was the only man recorded in history who had liberated his country from the domination of a foreign power, not by arms and blood, but by his wisdom and eloquence. It was his peculiar felicity that he enjoyed as much consideration in that country, whose power over

his own he had done his utmost to decrease, as he enjoyed in that for which he had achieved that important liberation. He had survived every feeling of political hostility, occasioned by that important service; and if it were possible, that in that divided assembly any honour could now be paid to this exalted individual, equal to that which he had enjoyed in life, it would be clearly that which should be an unanimous recognition of his meritorious character. Though he felt it his duty to oppose the legislative union of the two countries, yet no man, when it was achieved, was more ardent in his wishes for its permanence. To his previous exertions it was owing that they met upon equal terms, and as independent nations; and that, instead of receiving laws from England, the Irish members in this country now took their full share and equal participation of the duties of legislation, and of the conduct of the affairs of both kingdoms.

"Mr. Grattan was the sole person, in the history of modern oratory, of whom it could be said, that he had attained the first class of eloquence in two parliaments, differing from each other in their opinions, tastes, habits, and prejudices, as much, possibly, as any two assemblies of different nations. This great man died in his progress to the discharge of his parliamentary duties. He risked his life to come into that house, to propose a measure which he believed would be the means of healing the long bleeding wounds of his suffering country; of establishing peace and harmony in a kingdom whose independence he had himself achieved; of

transmitting to posterity, with the records of her political, the history of her religious, liberation; of vindicating the honour of the protestant religion; of wiping from it the last stain that dimmed its purity, and of supporting the cause of religious liberty, whose spirit went forth in emancipated strength at the reformation, though its principle was long unknown to the reformers themselves. He furnished an unmixed example for the admiration of that house. The purity of his life was the brightness of his glory. He was one of the few private men whose private virtues were followed by public fame; he was one of the few public men whose private virtues were to be cited as examples to those who would follow in his public steps. He was as eminent in his observance of all the duties of private life as he was heroic in the discharge of his public duties. Among all the men of genius he had known, he had never found such native grandeur of soul accompanying all the wisdom of age, and all the simplicity of genius, as in Mr. Grattan. He had never known any one in whom the softer qualities of the soul had combined so happily with the mightier powers of intellect. If he were to describe his character briefly, he should say, with the ancient historian, that he was "*Vita innocentissimus; ingenio florentissimus; proposito sanctissimus.*" As it had been the object of his life, so it was his dying prayer, that all classes of men should be united by the ties of amity and peace."

He trusted that he should not be thought too fanciful if he expressed his hope that the honours paid to Mr. Grattan's memory in this

this country might have some tendency to promote the great objects of his life, by showing to Ireland how much we valued services rendered to her, even at the expense of our own prejudices and pride. The man who has so served her must ever be the object of the reverential gratitude and pious recollections of every Irishman. When the illustrious dead of different kingdoms were at length interred within the same cemetery, there would seem to be a closer union between them than laws and nations could effect; and whenever the remains of the great man should be carried to that spot where slept the ashes of kindred greatness, those verses might be applied to him which had been elicited upon another occasion of public sorrow, from a celebrated poet, who resembled Mr. Grattan in this, that to a beautiful imagination he united a spotless purity of life:—

"Ne'er to these chambers, where the mighty rest,

Since their foundation, came a nobler guest;

Nor ever to the bowers of bliss convey'd  
A purer spirit or a holier shade."

The honourable and learned gentleman sat down amidst the unanimous cheers of the house.

Lord Castlereagh, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. V. Fitzgerald, also warmly eulogised the character of Mr. Grattan.

Sir H. Parnell addressed the house on the ultimate advantage which would arise from the doing away the countervailing duties on the British imports into Ireland, the continuance of which beyond a period of twenty years was not contemplated by the fra-

miers of the act of union. He moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the subject. The motion was supported by Mr. Littleton, lord Althorp, and others, and opposed by Mr. V. Fitzgerald, Mr. Vansittart, sir N. Colthurst, lord Castlereagh, and others; and, on a division, it was negatived by 66 to 30.

On the third reading of the mutiny bill, lord Nugent urged a variety of arguments against so large a military establishment as 92,586 men in time of peace, and moved an amendment for reducing it to 77,924.

Mr. Bright seconded the motion.

Lord Palmerston went at large into the state of affairs at home and abroad, in order to justify the keeping on foot so large a force.

Colonel Davies condemned the late addition, and said he should move to reduce the army to 80,479 men.

Sir H. Vivian, Mr. V. Fitzgerald, and Mr. R. Martin, opposed lord Nugent's motion; and Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Smith supported it.

The amendment was then negatived, by 101 to 47, and the bill was read the third time, and passed.

Several sums for paying the interest of exchequer bills were voted in a committee of supply.

House of lords, June 15.—Lord Holland presented a bill for the repeal of the royal marriage act; which he wished to remove from the statute-book, because he considered it a direct invasion of natural right—a law hostile to morality,

ality, and calculated to promote not only foreign wars, but also civil wars. Besides these evils, it had, in his opinion, the tendency to render the marriages of the descendants of George II. unhappy marriages. If the bill which he now presented should pass, it would afterwards be for the consideration of the house, whether the means of relief should not be facilitated to those who had suffered from the effects of the existing law.

Lord Liverpool reserved his objections to the measure until a subsequent stage.

The bill was then read the first time.

In the commons the same day, the insolvent debtors' relief bill was read the third time, and passed.

A petition was received from the corporation of Lichfield, complaining that, by the interference of peers, they were in a great measure deprived of the benefit of their elective franchise, no less than 500 new votes having been created between 1799 and 1813, by giving rent charges and annuities, in violation of the spirit of various acts of parliament.

Lord Binning brought in a bill to authorize the East India company to embody and provide for a volunteer corps in this country.

Lord Castlereagh moved to postpone the consideration of the message relative to the queen to Monday; wishing it to be understood by all parties, that the result of these repeated but inevitable delays would then positively be communicated to the house. The motion was agreed to.

A long and pretty general con-

versation then took place on the present distressed state of the south of Ireland, from the failure of so many banks; and, in a committee of supply, the sum of 500,000*l.* was voted, to be placed at the disposal of commissioners, to be advanced in such portions as to them should seem meet, on proper securities. Mr. Vansittart at the same time intimated, that the lord lieutenant had been authorized, in anticipation of the decision of the house, to apply for relief of the present distress 100,000*l.*, being part of the grant of 1817 remaining unappropriated.

Mr. Arbuthnot then brought forward the estimates for miscellaneous services for the present year. Mr. Bennet and others strenuously objected to the large vote for the barrack department; but, on a division, it was carried by 72 to 30. The rest of the estimates were also agreed to.

June 17.—The chancellor of the exchequer brought up the report of the committee on the subject of the Irish failures. The resolution recommending a grant of 500,000*l.*, for relieving the commercial distress of that country, was agreed to.

House of lords, June 19.—The earl of Liverpool laid on the table the correspondence which had taken place relative to the affairs of the queen, and expressed his regret that the negotiation had not led to the wished-for result. With the view of affording time for their consideration, he moved, that the meeting of the secret committee be postponed to Friday the 23d.

In answer to a question from the

the marquis of Lansdown, his lordship said, that ministers had no proposition to make on the subject, but left it entirely to the consideration of the house.

After some observations from lords Grey, Harrowby, Holland, Darnley, Rolle, Ducie, Erskine, Spencer, Lauderdale, and Liverpool, the titles of the papers were read, and lord Liverpool's motion for postponing the committee was agreed to.

In the commons the same day, lord Castlereagh presented copies of the proceedings in the negotiation relative to the queen's affairs, which were ordered to be printed; and, to give due time for their perusal, he moved that the adjourned debate on the king's message respecting her majesty should be further postponed to Wednesday.

Mr. Brougham, in expressing his regret at the result of the negotiation, said no blame would be found to attach to her majesty. It was possible, barely possible, amongst the many other peculiarities of this distressing case, that the house might be induced to adopt the opinion that no blame attached to either party.

The motion was agreed to.

The house having then gone into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to state the budget of the year. He began by recapitulating the supply and the ways and means of last year, and comparing them with those of the present. The sum voted for the army last year was 8,600,000*l.*, for the present year 9,400,000*l.*, being an increase which was called for by the agitation and discontent that per-

vaded the country. The sum voted for the naval service last year was 6,400,000*l.*, for the present year 6,583,000*l.*, being also a trifling increase. The ordnance in the two years was nearly the same; although in the last year there was an apparent advantage, in consequence of a considerable sum having been derived from the sale of old stores. The miscellaneous estimates of the last year amounted to 2,078,000*l.*, those of the present year to 2,500,000*l.* The interest of the unfunded debt was last year 1,920,000*l.*; this year, owing to the reduction which had taken place in that debt, it was only 1,410,000*l.* The total amount of the sums voted for the public service in the last year was 20,488,888*l.*; in the present year 20,722,000*l.*, being an increase in the present year of about 240,000*l.* In the last year, comprehending the sums voted for the reduction of the unfunded debt, the grants for the repayment of a portion of the debt to the bank, in order to prepare for the resumption of cash payments, &c. the total amounted to nearly 31,000,000*l.* The reduction which had taken place, or was to take place, in the unfunded debt, was on the whole 9,000,000*l.* The total of the provision for the public expenditure for the present year was 29,723,000*l.*, of which, as he had before said, 23,722,000*l.* was for the public service, and the remainder for the reduction of the unfunded debt. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to enumerate the ways and means of supplying this expenditure. The malt and pensions duty 3,000,000*l.* the new excise duties 2,500,000*l.* Last session he had charged  
3,000,000*l.*

3,000,000*l.* on these duties. It appeared, however, on the 5th of April last, when the annual accounts were made up, that a considerable portion of those duties were still unreceived. He proposed in the present year to charge 2,500,000*l.* on those duties. The decrease which appeared under the head of excise was attributable to the consolidation of the excise duties, and not to any actual diminution of their amount. On the contrary it appeared that they were charged on a much larger quantity of articles of consumption than the average annual amount. There remained two other items—the lottery 240,000*l.*, and old naval stores 270,000*l.*, making the total amount of the ready money revenue of the country about 6,000,000*l.* To make up the sum necessary, he took the loan of 5,000,000*l.*, an issue of exchequer bills 7,000,000*l.*, and a loan from the sinking fund of 12,000,000*l.*, making, with the ready money revenue, the sum of 30,000,000*l.* With respect to the terms of the loan to be obtained from the sinking fund, he meant to follow the precedent of last year, as he considered it fair that the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt should advance it on the same terms as those on which the loan had been advanced by the contractors. The amount of the sinking fund on the 5th July was 17,000,000*l.* Taking the 12,000,000*l.* of loan, there were 5,000,000*l.* left in the hands of the commissioners. Under the present circumstances of Ireland, it would not be justifiable to make any demand on her capital. Although the clear sinking fund had not arrived in the present year

at the anticipated estimate of 5,000,000*l.*, he calculated that it would reach to about 3,400,000*l.* He trusted that there would be no occasion for a loan next year, and he expressed his conviction that a sinking fund of between three and four millions would be productive of a very advantageous effect on the money market.

The right honourable gentleman proceeded to describe the operation of the new taxes. He adverted to the recommendation from the other side of the house of retrenchment in the management of our financial concerns, by what they considered the simple operation of abolishing that part of the sinking fund which was now advanced by way of loan, instead of adhering to the present practice; and detailed the reasons that induced him to be of a different opinion; among which was the impracticability, without the most detrimental consequences to Ireland, of touching that part of the sinking fund which was operative on the debt of that country. He concluded by moving his first resolution, namely, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply to be granted to his majesty, the sum of 12,000,000*l.* be raised by way of annuities."

After a long and general conversation, in the course of which Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Ricardo, and others, repeated their former observations as to the arrears of the consolidated fund, the amount of the unfunded debt, the transactions with the bank, and the state of the currency; to which replies were made by Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Huskisson; the resolution for the loan and those  
respecting

respecting an issue of exchequer bills were agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

The report of the committee of supply was brought up. Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Lockhart, sir Joseph Yorke, and others, objected to the grant of 60,000*l.* for the buildings at the Penitentiary; also to that of 21,000*l.* for the annual expenditure of the establishment. Mr. L. observed, that at this rate each convict there confined would cost the country 100*l.* a-year. The resolution was then agreed to. A sum of 9,000*l.* was also voted for the American loyalists, after which the house was resumed.

June 21.—The house, in a committee of supply, after some observations from sir J. Newport, Mr. Hume, and others, voted 1,300,000*l.* for the army extraordinaries, 300,000*l.* for contingencies of the civil list not coming within the ordinary annual estimates, and 100,000*l.* to defray queen Anne's bounty, and to augment the income of the poorer clergy.

House of lords, June 22.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the loan, the transfer of grants, the exchequer bills funding, the mutiny, the customs regulation, the glass, the Jamaica, and the Cape of Good Hope trade, the flax and cotton regulation, the alien and denizens, the free-port, the American colonies drawback, and the bakers' regulation bills, and a great number of private bills.

Lord Liverpool, in consequence of circumstances having come to his knowledge which still afforded some hopes of an adjustment of the unhappy differences between the king and queen, moved that

the meeting of the secret committee be postponed to Tuesday.

Lords Grey, Spencer, Erskine, Holland, and Darnley condemned the whole of the proceedings of ministers in this business. They were defended by lords Liverpool and Ellenborough. The motion was then agreed to.

In the commons the same day, Mr. Wilberforce rose, and assured the house he was conscious of the weight of the burthen which now devolved on him; but he was encouraged by the hope that he should have the support of the house, when it was considered that the course he was about to propose was the only one which could avert that fatal inquiry, the injuries to the country that might result from which were such as he dared not contemplate. He wished the house to prosecute the objects it had in view as friends of both of the illustrious parties, and on referring to the papers on the table, he conceived that they suggested in themselves a hope of accommodation. The honourable gentleman then explained the reasons for postponing his motion till this day. Having, he said, received a communication from her majesty on the subject, in which she had, with peculiar ability, treated the subject in every possible way, he had thought it necessary to re-consider all the objects he had in view. In the interim he was honoured by a second communication from her majesty, in explanation of the first, which rendered it more imperious on him than ever, deliberately to re-consider the nature of his proposition. He would, however, honestly and candidly confess, that her majesty's communication did not



not hold out any serious hopes that she would be yet induced to make such concession as to the point in question. The great point which seemed now to stand in the way of an amicable adjustment, was the omission of her majesty's name from the liturgy, and the accommodation of that point in a way reconcileable to her majesty's feelings. Mr. W. then contended that this point was not of a religious nature, for the queen was included with the "royal family," and that her majesty's yielding to the wishes of parliament would shield her from the imputation of shrinking from inquiry. He concluded by moving the resolution, "That when such large advances have been made towards an amicable arrangement of the present unhappy differences, her majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the house of commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion yet remains, would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her majesty has been graciously pleased to express, to submit her own wishes to the authority of parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgements of the house of commons, and sparing this house the painful necessity of those public discussions which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire."

Mr. S. Wortley seconded the motion.

Mr. Brougham, who laboured under indisposition, said, in the late negotiation, no little had been already gained by her majesty—she had obtained the unqualified recognition of her rights, rank, and privileges, as queen of England. If at any time she should re-visit the continent, she would be allowed the accommodation usual on voyages of the royal family; and at whatever court she took up her residence, she would be treated as became the rank of a queen of England. Having obtained the recognition of the title of her majesty—having procured a declaration that hitherto there was no impeachment upon her honour—whatever might be the result of future proceedings, and however resolutely determined ministers might be to persevere in inquiry, and to open the green bag (for determined he understood they were, and on her own account, it was far from the intention of the queen to resist that determination); yet, having gained thus much in favour of her rights and her innocence, and standing upon this rock and basis, he put it to the house whether it did not become the station the queen had now acquired, to stand still longer upon resistance, and to demand that some further step should be conceded? The honourable gentleman then went on to state, that the future residence of the queen had of course been an important question; and as her removal might be considered injurious to her character, something seemed absolutely necessary to do away any misconstruction of her motives. The first thing that suggested

suggested itself for this purpose was the restoration of her majesty's name to the liturgy, and precisely in this mode the question found its way into negotiation. From all that he himself knew, and from the undoubted sense of a majority in and out of doors, he was warranted in stating, that the surrender of that point by the crown would ensure success to the object of his honourable friend. Success would then be certain, and without the shadow of dishonour to the queen. This once conceded, all difficulties would be done away.

Lord Castlereagh, in a speech of considerable length and animation, contended that the omission or insertion of names in the liturgy had always been left to the discretion of the privy council, and subject to the personal revision of the king. He complained that Mr. Brougham had never started this point until the very close of the negotiation; he had not mentioned it from St. Omer's; nor had he raised any objection when the basis that the king should *retract* nothing, and that the queen should *admit* nothing, was sanctioned by his signature. And it was only after he had thus bound himself *not to claim a retraction*, that he came forward to propose one, and made it a *sine qua non* on the part of her majesty.

Mr. Denman replied to lord Castlereagh's speech, defending the consistency of the queen's law advisers, and maintaining that the erasure of her majesty's name from the liturgy was illegal. He then adverted with much animation to the treatment of the queen, and the mode in which the green bag had been made up, and con-

tended that, as she was acknowledged to be queen, she should have the rights belonging to her station till convicted.

Mr. Canning supported the motion at great length. Mr. Tierney wished an adjournment, in order to ascertain the queen's sentiments on the resolution. Mr. Hutchinson spoke in defence of lord Hutchinson.

A division took place. The numbers were for the original motion 391; against it 124; majority for the resolution 267.

On Saturday, June 24, a deputation of the house of commons waited on her majesty. The deputation consisted of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. S. Wortley, sir T. D. Acland, and Mr. Banks.

Her majesty received them in the drawing-room, where she was attended by lady Anne Hamilton, and by Messrs. Brougham and Denman on her right and left side, in their full-bottomed wigs and silk gowns. The members of the deputation were severally introduced to her majesty by Mr. Brougham, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. Mr. Wilberforce then read the resolutions of the house of commons. The following reply was then read by Mr. Brougham:

"I am bound to receive with gratitude every attempt on the part of the house of commons to interpose its high mediation, for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the royal family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can declare, that an entire reconciliation of those differences, effected by the authority of parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and

and dignity of all the parties, is still the object dearest to my heart.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions. It shows the house of commons to be the faithful representative of that generous people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct. But I trust to their candour and their sense of honour, confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.

"It would ill become me to question the power of parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised. But, however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority, the question, whether I will make myself a party to any measure proposed, must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone.

"As a subject of the state, I shall bow with deference, and, if possible, without a murmur, to every act of the sovereign authority. But, as an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

House of commons, June 23.—

Mr. Brougham stated, in explanation of what passed the preceding evening, relative to the point of the liturgy having been brought forward at so late a period of the negotiation, that as soon as her

majesty knew of the omission of her name, through the gazette, she immediately addressed a letter to one of his majesty's ministers, to complain of it. This was the state of the fact, and he felt it incumbent on him to bring it before the house.

Lord Castlereagh admitted that he had been informed of such a letter having been received by a noble friend of his.

June 24.—The house met, in order to receive the answer of her majesty, which was delivered at the bar by the members of the deputation. As soon as it had been read, general Ferguson inquired of lord Castlereagh, whether the commission which collected evidence against the queen at Milan, was public or private, or was appointed by the crown? Lord Castlereagh declined answering the question.

House of lords, June 26.—Lord Dacre presented, from the queen, the following petition:

"To the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.

"Caroline R.—The queen having been informed that proceedings are about to be instituted against her in the house of lords, deems it necessary to approach your lordships as a petitioner and a fellow subject. She is advised, that, according to the forms of your lordships' house, no other mode of communication is permitted. Now, as at all times, she declares her perfect readiness to meet every charge affecting her honour; and she challenges the most complete investigation of her conduct. But she protests in the first place against any secret inquiry: and if the house of lords should, notwithstanding, persist in

In a proceeding so contrary to every principle of justice and of law, she must in the next place declare, that even from such an unconstitutional course she can have nothing to apprehend, unless it be instituted before the arrival of those witnesses whom she will summon immediately to expose the whole of the machinations against her. She is anxious that there should now be no delay whatever in finishing the inquiry ; and none shall be occasioned by her majesty. But the queen cannot suppose that the house of lords will commit so crying an injustice as to authorize a secret examination of her conduct in the absence of herself and her counsel, while her defence must obviously rest upon evidence which for some weeks cannot reach this country. The instant that it arrives, she will entreat the house of lords to proceed in any way they may think consistent with the ends of justice : but, in the mean time, and before the first step is taken, her majesty desires to be heard by her counsel at your lordship's bar this day, upon the subject matter of the petition."

Lord Dacre then moved that her majesty's counsel be called in, which was immediately agreed to : and Messrs. Brougham, Denman and Williams appeared at the bar.

Mr. Brougham began to address their lordships. He said he had the honour to attend their lordships as counsel for the queen ; and he understood that he should now be heard in support of the petition which had just been read. It might have been more consistent with his duty, if, feeling, as he did, the extensive importance of the interests which he was now called upon to

defend, and sensible how feebly it was in his power to defend them, and how small the abilities he brought to the task, he had asked for a delay of a few hours to prepare himself for the execution of it. But he had it in command from his illustrious client, not to spare any personal sacrifices, on his own part, to avoid delay ; and not to offer any obstruction on hers, to the immediate commencement of the inquiry.

It became, therefore, the more necessary to make the statement which he was about to advance on the part of her majesty, that she should not appear to ask for delay in the accustomed and vulgar sense of that word. She asked for no delay of the prosecution : she asked for no delay of judgement, because she was conscious that she was innocent ; and because she knew that their lordships were just : but she asked for delay, because she knew that all the forms of law and justice would be set at defiance if they refused to listen to her petition, and proceeded to try her on the *ex-parte* statements of her enemies. As it appeared from a message on the table, her majesty was to be brought to trial on grave charges contained in papers submitted to their lordships. These papers, as stated in the message, referred to the conduct of her majesty when residing abroad. What the charges themselves were ; by what testimony they were supported ; who the base tools were, who lent themselves to procure, collect, and arrange them ; how they were scraped together ; by whose influence they were conjured up ; he could not tell : but it was enough for him to know this, that be it creditable to the collector, or be it odious and

disgraceful to the collector and the witnesses, it went to affect the character, and to impeach the conduct of her majesty for something that was alleged to have been done abroad. Now, it was known to their lordships, that her majesty had resided for the last five years at a great distance from this country ; that she had lived beyond the Alps and the Appenines ; and that it was physically impossible for her to procure the production of a single document, the presence of a single witness, or even the answer to a single letter that might be necessary for the vindication of her character, in less than five or six weeks. But unless the house waited till witnesses on the part of her majesty should be collected and brought to this country—witnesses whose presence was absolutely necessary, not only to enable him to rebut a single charge, but even to cross-examine a single individual of those wretches,—(he begged pardon of their lordships for his warmth ; he meant of those persons whose evidence had been thrown into the sealed bag,)—the ends of justice could not be accomplished, and her majesty might as well be condemned without any of the formalities of it. It would, then, be more than five or six weeks before her majesty could be prepared to repel the charges against her, and enter upon her defence.

Now let it not be understood by persons out of doors—as he was sure it could not be understood by the honourable minds of their lordships, whatever construction might be attempted to be put upon it by her majesty's enemies—that this claim of delay was made from any consciousness of guilt, or with any desire to elude investigation. The

more important this charge, the more the accused party felt conscious of innocence ; the more secure of an honourable acquittal ; the more essential it was she should have at her command, all the means of vindicating her honour, and confounding her enemies. He called on their lordships to recollect that when an Englishman's wife or daughter came before the public, to have her conduct, during a long course of years, sifted with the strictest scrutiny—in order to enable her to meet the dangers attending such an investigation, the witnesses must be all English ; no foreigner must be admitted as an evidence against her ; none whose principles hung on them by a loose tenure ; none who denied the obligation of an oath ; none who conceived that an oath taken here, whatever importance they might attach to it elsewhere, was not to be rigorously attended to. That was the first safeguard of an Englishwoman tried for her conduct in England.

In the next place, as the witnesses against her were of her own country, she had an opportunity of knowing them ; the judge knew them, and the public knew them ; the press showed to the world their conduct in the witness-box ;—their conduct, as regarded their duty to their fellow-creatures, and to their God. The third safeguard of an Englishwoman brought to her trial in England was that compulsory process by which she might bring into court witnesses to her conduct, against whom neither bribes, nor threats, nor any procurements of her adversaries, could avail one straw. But how was her majesty situated ? All the witnesses by whom the charges against her were supported, were,  
either

either by religious observances or by other circumstances of character and situation, of such a description, that he would venture to say, although all the noble lords whom he addressed were as bold as the distinguished captain (the duke of Wellington) in whose presence he then stood, there was not one of them who would not shrink back with terror, if he thought one speck of such evidence was to be brought forward against his wife or daughter. Her majesty was not, in the present case, clothed with power, or invested with patronage; her friends abroad were neither numerous nor powerful; nor were they likely to atone, by their zeal, for the smallness of their number and their want of power. She was discountenanced by all the public authorities of this country, and despised and rejected by those abroad; and under these disadvantages she had to meet all that bribery, all that force, all that fear, all that malignity could collect and array against her. He would ask their lordships, if they could doubt that her majesty was conscious of her innocence, and fearless of the result, when under such circumstances as these she called on her law officers to go on, and demanded no delay of the proceedings. But it was his duty to take care (and if he neglected it, their lordships, who took upon themselves the character of her judges, would look to it,) that she should not be suffered, by her fearless readiness to meet the charge, to injure herself by acquiescing in a course which, how innocent soever she might be, must prove fatal to her cause. Until he had an opportunity of communicating with the witnesses of his illustrious client,

it evidently would be impossible for him to become acquainted with the characters and habits of all her accusers; of some of whom indeed he knew enough, and his knowledge of these made him anxious to know the rest. Unless he had a personal intercourse with the witnesses for the defendant, so as to learn the habits and inducements of those who supported the charges, he would ask any person who had ever seen a cause tried, if it was possible for him to cross-examine one witness in such a manner as the ends of justice required.

He would put the case of one of her majesty's accusers who had been dismissed from her service for stealing 400 napoleons; was that fact to make him careless respecting the testimony and the character of the next witness? To prove this fact, he had two witnesses, one of whom was at Rouen; no Hanoverian baron, no Milan spy, but an English naval officer, who had fought and bled in the service of his country. This honourable man, he was aware, would turn the other witness out of court; but was that to make him less cautious about receiving the testimony of others? Surely not. He asked their lordships, therefore, under the awful sanction of their oath, as the queen's judges, if they would drive him into the defence of this case, without granting the delay which he now demanded, and thus prevent him from refuting one tittle of the evidence adduced against her majesty? He again begged their lordships not to misunderstand him. He did not ask for any thing that might avert this prosecution, still less any thing that might delay the result when once

the proceeding had begun: he only claimed a delay of the commencement, not of the result, of the prosecution. The question was, whether this delay should be granted after the invisible tribunal—he begged their lordships' pardon—after the secret committee had reported, or before that preliminary step was taken. He was here assuming, with great humiliation, that after this secret preliminary inquiry had taken place—after the noise of it had been echoed over all the country—and that noise would be greater or less, according to the secrecy or publicity of the inquiry—after her majesty's character had been blackened over all Europe, without the possibility of putting one cross question to any of her accusers, their lordships would then at least allow the delay of a few months, to enable her to bring forward her witnesses. He was assuming this, because he supposed that there was no English tribunal—not even a Milan tribunal—that would deny an accused party some opportunity of defence. The only question here was, whether their lordships would grant this delay in a stage of the proceedings when it would be essential to the defence of her majesty, or would withhold it till it would be useless, or, indeed, till the sentence was in effect pronounced. He implored their lordships to consider, that all her majesty's legal advisers asked, was, that a mode of proceeding should not be resorted to which must inevitably lead to her condemnation whether she was innocent or guilty. He asked for her that only without which, in every British court of justice, no man could with safety go to trial, without

which an indictment for any offence, and against any individual whatever, must not be sustained. He had a right to assume that the expressed opinion of one branch of the legislature would not be totally disregarded by the other, and he should therefore cite the authority of the commons' house of parliament as at least worthy of the attention of their lordships. That branch of the legislature, including in it the movers and authors of an investigation into her majesty's conduct, had pronounced that such a proceeding would be "disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire." He felt the more confident that their lordships would listen to his application, when it was further considered that he asked not that the result, but that the commencement of a trial, which the house of commons had so characterized, should be delayed two short months, and that legal murder should not be committed on the first subject of the land.

Mr. Denman followed.—In advising this petition to be brought down, he did not think that he was guilty of any violation of the forms of the house; or that there was any thing in that proceeding derogatory from the dignity of her majesty. He could not suppose that there were any motives of a personal nature, or any considerations resulting either from effect or connexion, that would make it improper in him to request any peer to present this petition. Still less did he doubt whether it was competent to be received. It had in fact been received, and therefore it was unnecessary for him to allude

any further to the consideration of the mode in which it was presented. He apprehended, that every one who was injured had a right to petition that house; and if a petition was to be excluded, it remained for those who opposed its reception, to show the grounds of a proceeding so contrary to the justice of their lordships. As to the mode of the present application, he apprehended that her majesty, as the first subject in the realm, had a right to petition or remonstrate in a case where her best interests, her honour, perhaps her life, were at their lordships' disposal. He was totally unable to define the anomalous character of the proceedings which had been instituted against her majesty; and when he looked to the judicial process that may arise out of this proceeding, he felt himself in a state of absolute doubt and uncertainty; he had to contend with shadows and clouds, and was ignorant of the next step to be taken. When these papers were thrown on the table of the two houses of parliament, he did not know that an impeachment was not intended to be founded upon them; and that consideration should have prevented their lordships from entering into any preliminary inquiry. He contended that their lordships had no right to assume, that an impeachment might not be the course finally adopted, for bringing to punishment the illustrious person whose petition he was now supporting. He was aware that another course might be resorted to; and that by a bill of pains and penalties she might be degraded from her rank, and driven into exile. Either alternative was entitled to their lordships' most serious attention. If

their lordships were hereafter to be called on by the house of commons to inquire judicially into her majesty's conduct, he would ask them to look at the situation in which this exalted individual was placed. A committee of fifteen of the most distinguished peers of that house, whose minds had been impressed by the contents of this bag, were to pause for a time on these impressions, and then to sit in judgement on her majesty's character, her honour, and perhaps her life. How was it possible for the most honourable mind to divest itself of prejudices so impressed? He would not expatiate on the manner in which this trash had been collected; but he would suggest to their lordships, from their experience of what had occurred since the first of the dissensions between his majesty and the queen, the likelihood of worthless characters furnishing readily such evidence, however false, as they might deem to be acceptable. How little likely was it, that a demand for such evidence should fail of receiving a full supply! He would not go so far as to say that any great exertions had been made to collect testimony of such a description; but it was enough to rouse suspicion, that the desire to receive it was known to exist. But if, in addition to this, some wretches, from a desire of recommending themselves to favour and to office, had been busy in raking together every filth with which the basest miscreants were ready to furnish them, their lordships would pause before they attached weight to evidence procured through such instruments. His learned friend, in alluding to the offices of such agents, had almost fallen on the words of the poet:—



Some busy and insinuating rogue,  
Some cogging, wheedling, cozening slave,  
To get some office hath devised this  
slander.

If such wretches had been at work, it was not likely that the most polluted evidence could be wanting in the greatest abundance. On these grounds alone her majesty's legal advisers wished for delay; and it would not be difficult to show, that a compliance with the wish would ultimately prevent delay; for nothing was so likely to retard the course of justice, as leaving a cause half heard. He begged the house to reflect, that according to the mode in which justice was generally administered in this land, and which he would take the liberty of saying was very different from the proceeding adopted towards her majesty, the parties received notice to meet each other; and unless that course were pursued, the greatest temptation would be offered to subornation, and thus the course of justice was interrupted, and the difficulty of establishing guilt or innocence increased. It was therefore for the sake of a speedy termination of the prosecution, for that was the object nearest her majesty's heart, that the present application was made. When he considered the circumstances under which her majesty had come to this country; when he considered the situation in which she was now placed; when he looked around the house, and saw to what hands her defence was to be intrusted, he was sure their lordships would grant this delay for the ends of justice. He begged them to remember that one of the most distinguished peers that had ever graced that house, (lord Bacon,) and at the head of the admini-

nistration of justice in this country, had said, "A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great council, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgement as upon even ground."

Mr. Williams (also counsel for her majesty) was proceeding to address the house, when the lord chancellor interrupted him, stating to their lordships that he believed it was not customary for more than two counsel to be heard in support of a petition. His lordship then put the question; and it being decided in the negative, the counsel withdrew.

Lord Liverpool put off the meeting of the secret committee, to give time to consider the desire of her majesty's petition.

Lord Grey gave notice, that if the noble lord (Liverpool) persisted in proceeding by a secret committee, he should to-morrow state his reasons for proposing a different course of proceeding.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh moved an adjournment of the debate on his majesty's message.

Mr. Brougham expressed her majesty's satisfaction that the time was fast approaching when her conduct would undergo public investigation.

Colonel Palmer considered the omission of the queen's name in the liturgy not only unjustifiable towards her majesty, but most improper in this government, at a time when they complained that revolutionary

revolutionary principles, disloyalty, and infidelity, were gaining ground in the country.

Mr. B. Bathurst observed, that the appointment of a secret committee had been proposed because the subject of inquiry was of a most delicate nature, and because many circumstances might otherwise be divulged which would defeat the end of that inquiry.

Mr. Tierney said, it now appeared that the house was to be absolved from the inquiry, and that it was to be transferred to another quarter. But the noble lord was not entitled to ask for relief from that difficulty in which his own rashness had involved the house, the crown, and the country. —Mr. Tierney then proceeded at considerable length to defend the queen, and censure the ministry.

Mr. Martin (of Galway) defended ministers.

Mr. Stuart Wortley did not blame her majesty for rejecting their mediation; she had full liberty to do so; on the contrary he admired, and no man of feeling could refrain from admiring, the magnanimity with which this illustrious female had acted, not only on this but upon all other occasions. But to put off this inquiry for six months, or, in other words, for ever, was a proceeding which could never satisfy the house, the country, or either of the illustrious individuals who were parties to it.

Mr. Wilberforce regretted that her majesty had rejected the proposed mediation of the house of commons: he conceived that the rejection was owing to her own high and proud feeling, and not to the instigation of her legal advisers. He would now state his

opinion, that any secret committee of that house to sit in judgement on her majesty's conduct would be totally unadvisable. If there were any means of avoiding this inquiry, which he really thought there were not, he would willingly embrace them; but as it was, he thought it better that the lords should undertake the investigation because they were already a court of justice.

An amendment was moved to the motion of lord Castlereagh by Mr. Western, that the debate should be adjourned to that day six months, but it was negatived by 195 against 100.

House of lords, June 27.—Earl Grey inquired of ministers whether any thing had occurred to induce them still further to delay the meeting of the secret committee.

Lord Liverpool said, that, after the arguments heard the preceding day in support of her majesty's petition, he thought it proper to allow 24 hours for considering whether any change should be made in the course of their proceedings. For himself, after the fullest consideration, he saw no reason for departing from it.

Lord Grey then, at great length, addressed the house against the proceeding by an inquiry before a secret committee. He concluded by moving, that the order of the meeting of the secret committee to consider the papers referred to their lordships be discharged.

Lord Liverpool vindicated the general conduct of ministers from the sweeping censure of the preceding speaker; and, with regard to the present subject, strongly contended, that their conduct had been consistent with the principle

on which they set out, namely, that it was desirable, if possible, to avoid going into an inquiry; but if that could not be effected, then that it must, as a choice of evils, be entered into, on the grounds and in the manner already sanctioned by the house. Any doubts which he might have originally had as to the construction put on the statute of Edward III. by the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, had been completely removed by all the legal authorities to whom he had access. An impeachment for high treason was therefore out of the question.

Lord Erskine, after the proceedings which had taken place in the house of commons, and her majesty's anxious wish for a public trial, would retract the vote which he had previously given for proceeding before a secret committee. He was also of opinion that the omission of her majesty's name in the liturgy, whilst she was acknowledged as queen, was illegal.

The lord chancellor always thought the construction of the statute of Edward III. by lord Coke, a forced one; but at all events it was not applicable to the case of adultery committed abroad and with a foreigner. His lordship then, at considerable length, repeated the arguments which he had urged on a former occasion in favour of preliminary inquiry by a secret committee. But neither in that inquiry, nor in any proceeding which might grow out of it, would he ever lose sight, for a moment, of the substantial principles of English justice. Whatever course of proceeding the house might choose to adopt, he should enter upon it in the spirit so ably described by an eminent English

judge, who declared that he had made a covenant with God and himself, that neither affection nor any other undue principle should ever make him swerve from the strict line of his duty. In that spirit he had always endeavoured to act during the past, and should endeavour to act in the future. The consciousness of doing so would be the best consolation he could possess, if he should appear to the friends whom he esteemed to act wrongly, and would form his best title for pardon at the hands of that God, before whose tribunal all mankind must sooner or later stand to be judged.

In the sequel of the discussion, the motion was supported by the marquís of Lansdown, lord Belhaven, and lord Holland, and opposed by lords Donoughmore and Lauderdale.

The archbishop of Canterbury denied that he was to be considered as the constitutional adviser of the crown, with regard to the omission of the queen's name in the liturgy.

Lord Liverpool concurred in this opinion; which was controverted by lords Holland, Dacre, and Grey.

Lord Darnley gave notice, that he would submit a motion on the subject of the omission alluded to.

Earl Grey's motion was then negatived by 102 to 47.

House of commons, June 28.—Mr. Brougham addressed the house on the subject of the education of the poor. He testified his cordial thanks to the 11,000 clergy of the established church for the returns which they had made on this subject. From them he had formed that digest now in the hands of members; but in order

to the proper understanding of which it would be necessary for him to prepare a key. After alluding to the grossly erroneous calculations of Dr. Colquhoun as to the number of poor uneducated in Great Britain, he proceeded to show that the project of universal education was not one of modern date. In France, in the year 1582, under the reign of Henry III. the states general met, and the noblesse of the day presented a petition to the sovereign, praying that pains and penalties might be imposed upon those who would not send their children to school; and nearly at the same time the Scotch parliament (perhaps the most aristocratical body then in existence) passed a law, that every gentleman should send his eldest son at least to school, in order to learn grammar. In Scotland, indeed, it appeared that public schools had been established in many towns as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. The extension of learning to the lower orders had always been patronized. It was singular that the arguments recently advanced by pious but mistaken men, against general education, had been first adduced by Mandeville, an infidel and an atheist, in 1714. It appeared, that in the endowed and unendowed schools of England, there were means of educating 655,000 children: now this was one-fourteenth of the population; but the number of children should be taken at one-ninth or one-tenth, and here was only provision for one-fourteenth or fifteenth. Besides, from the 655,000 were to be deducted 93,000 children, who were at dames' schools, where they learnt next to nothing; this would reduce the

number educated to one-sixteenth; and even here, previous to 1802, none of the new schools, those under the Bell and Lancaster system, were established. They educated 180,000; and therefore, previous to 1802, there was only education for 1-20th part. And in the principality of Wales the proportion was 1-26th; whilst in Scotland the proportion was 1-9th. The proportion in France, at present, was 1-28th; at present, there were 1,066,000 children educated; whilst in 1817 there were only 866,000. Here was an extraordinary improvement; for in two years above 7000 schools had been established by private exertions only; and in ten years, if they went on improving thus, there would not be an uneducated person in France. In Switzerland there was not one person in 60 of any rank, who could not read writing. And in Holland there were 4151 schools, and provision for educating 1-10th of the population. The honourable member then proceeded to take a review of the Sunday schools: there were 400,000 in those schools, but not more than 100,000 of these children could be added as going to any other school, and therefore that would make the whole number educated 700,000, leaving 1-5th of the population without education. He would next look to the return, of the number of schools; and it would appear from the returns, that there were 3500 parishes in England in which there were no schools, either endowed or unendowed; whilst in Scotland there was an endowed school in every parish. He would next look to the state of Middlesex; and here, excluding the ~~dames'~~ schools

schools and the new schools; instead of one-fifteenth, the proportion would be one forty-sixth only. The next county was Lancashire, and here the proportion was one twenty-eighth; whilst the average of Durham, Cumberland, and Northumberland, was one-tenth, and of Westmoreland one-eighth. In the six midland counties, the average was 1-24th; next the eastern, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex, the average was 1-21st; Somerset and Devon was 1-24th. Now, taking into consideration the population of the neighbourhood of the sea coast, and the avocations, it would be found that crime kept pace with the want of education. In the four northern counties the proportion of poor was as one in 15; in the other counties the poor was as one in 11. In the whole kingdom the average of commitments for crime was as one in 1400. In the four northern they were as one in 4200; in the six midland, the commitments were as one in 2100. The honourable member went on to state the proportions in other counties. In the four northern counties 37,000 children paid for their education, whilst 16,000 did not pay. In the six midland counties, 16,000 paid, and 28,000 did not pay. The proportion was equally disadvantageous to the other counties in England, compared with the northern; and in Scotland, few indeed took education for nothing; the peasant of Scotland would stint himself in necessaries, to give his child food for the mind. He wished he could see this spirit restored in England; but that could not be under the present system of poor laws. It existed in Scotland, but extend the poor laws to

that country, and it would exist there no longer. He had taken a long time to frame his bill, which would be found to agree with the documents on the table. His plan was divisible into four branches. The first related to the foundation of the schools; the second, to the appointment and the removal of the masters; the third, to the admission of scholars; and the fourth had for its object the improvement of the old education endowments. With reference to the first branch, he proposed to give the initiative in the appointment of a schoolmaster to four different classes. The first was the grand jury at the Easter sessions, finding or presenting a bill that the district was deficient in a school; the second was the clergyman of the parish; the third was two justices of the peace; and the fourth class would be formed by five householders in the district. After going into a variety of subordinate details, he came to the question of expense. According to the ratio of the schools in the county of Devon, the total outfit would be 850,000/. But according to the ratio of Cumberland, the expense would only be 400,000/, giving an average of half a million; and the annual expense would at an average amount to 100,000/. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the better education of the poor in England and Wales.

After some observations from lord Castlereagh and others, the motion was agreed to.

June 29.—Lord John Russell addressed the house at some length on the grievances of the inhabitants of Parga. The British

tish consul had estimated their property at 277,000*l.*; but sir T. Maitland had sanctioned a subsequent estimate which reduced it to 150,000*l.*, and of this sum they were obliged to accept payment in Turkish alloy. After some observations on the conduct of sir T. Maitland, his lordship concluded with moving for a memorial presented to the secretary of state for the colonial department by two natives of Parga, and for certain copies of, or extracts from, the dispatches of sir T. Maitland.

Mr. Goulburn vindicated the conduct of the British government, and contended that the Parganites had received a fair compensation for their losses.

Sir R. Wilson and Mr. Hume said, the Parganites were dissatisfied, and our character suffered in the eyes of Europe, from an impression that they had not received the protection which had been promised them.

After a few words in reply from lord J. Russell, the motion was agreed to.

House of lords, June 30.—The royal assent was given by commission to the twelve million loan bill, the funded debt charges' bill, the Irish clerk of the peace bill, the Irish coasting trade bill, the Irish coroners' bill, the Dublin founding hospital bill, the watch and ward bill, the sail cloth bill, the Ayr and Calder navigation bill, &c.

In the commons, the same day, a royal message was brought down by lord Castlereagh, recommending the house "to take measures that annuities may be secured to his majesty's royal brothers and sisters, for their respective lives,

to such amount that their incomes may be rendered equal to those which they enjoyed at the demise of his late majesty."

On the motion of sir John Newport, and after a long discussion, it was ordered, that it be "an instruction to the committee on the Irish court of chancery bill to receive a clause, providing against any master in the chancery of Ireland being elected into, or sitting, or voting in the house of commons, so long as he shall hold such office." In the debate on this clause, the case of Mr. Ellis, one of the candidates for the city of Dublin, was canvassed at length, and an effort made to have him excepted from its operation in the event of being returned; but the incompatibility of a seat in parliament, with the duties of his office, was not to be surmounted, and the motion was accordingly agreed to.

House of lords, July 3.—The marquis of Lansdown presented the first report of the select committee on foreign trade: it is confined to an inquiry into the state of the timber trade, and an investigation of the means of its improvement.

In the commons, the same day, the house went into a committee on the royal message respecting the provision to be made for the junior branches of the royal family. Lord Castlereagh then entered into explanations as to the situation of the different members of the royal family, and said it was proposed to make an addition, not exceeding 24,000*l.* a-year, for placing the duke of Clarence on a level, as to income, with his other brothers, and for paying certain legacies and pensions

sions to the late queen's servants. He stated, that prince Leopold had, for the present, taken upon himself the support and education of the infant princess of the duchess of Kent.

Mr. Vansittart having moved that the house should go into a committee of supply, Mr. Creevey said it was understood that a grant was to be proposed to defray the expenses of the coronation. Under existing circumstances, he thought it very improper to hasten that ceremony. With what disgust would the nation view its king mixing in all the revelry of a grand gala and jubilee (given, too, not at his, but at the public expense,) at the very time that its queen was made the subject of a grave and heinous accusation!

Lord Castlereagh said, his majesty's rights were not to be impaired by the absence or presence of the queen. The coronation was something more than a mere gala; it was a ceremony whereby the king ratified the compact which existed between himself and his people; and therefore was a ceremony which ought not to be delayed. The day had been fixed; and if it gave pain to her majesty, ministers could not help it, for her presence had not been occasioned by them. The expense of the coronation had been greatly exaggerated; it would not exceed 105,000*l*.

Dr. Lushington, colonel Davies, Mr. Tierney, and others, recommended delay. They were replied to by Mr. Vansittart and Mr. F. Robinson.

The house then went into the committee, and the sum of 100,000*l*. was voted for the expense of the coronation, and se-

veral grants for services in Ireland.

House of lords, July 4.—The earl of Harrowby presented a report from the secret committee relative to the queen; that they have examined, with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them; and they find, that those documents contain allegations, supported by the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of the queen; charging her majesty with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity; and attributing to her majesty a continued series of conduct highly unbecoming her majesty's rank and station, and of the most licentious character.

"These charges appear to the committee so deeply to affect not only the honour of the queen, but also the dignity of the crown, and the moral feelings and honour of the country, that, in their opinion, it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which, it appears to the committee, may be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which they cannot but most deeply deplore."

Lord Liverpool said he should, to-morrow, introduce a bill on the subject of the report; with regard to the course of proceeding on which he should be disposed to consult the convenience of the illustrious person who was the object of the charges.

Lord Grey renewed his protest

test against a course of proceeding which violated every principle of justice.

Lord Harrowby justified the conduct of ministers in endeavouring to avoid this inquiry; but they must now proceed with it, and the course they had pursued was sanctioned by the house. The report of the committee could only be viewed as the finding of a grand jury.

Lord Carnarvon said, the parallel did not hold; as a grand jury examined witnesses on oath before they found a bill. He urged ministers to delay the coronation until the inquiry was brought to a termination.

Lord Darnley augured nothing but mischief from the course adopted by ministers.

Lord Grey again expressed his surprise that ministers should have been willing to grant fifty thousand pounds from the pockets of the people, to enable the queen to live in comfort abroad, with a person with whom they now charged her to have maintained an adulterous connexion.

Lord Liverpool justified ministers.

Lord Holland said, the course of these proceedings was from the beginning wrong—highly inconsistent—highly dangerous—derogatory from the honour of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Hume proposed a series of resolutions as to the rates per cent. of the expense of collecting the various branches of the revenue.

Mr. Lushington contended that Mr. H.'s calculations were in se-

veral respects erroneous, and proposed substitutes for several of them, by way of amendment.

After some observations from sir H. Parnell, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Vansittart, Mr. H.'s resolutions were negatived, and the counter resolutions adopted by 124 to 95.

Mr. Hume made his motion relative to the property of the late king.

Mr. Vansittart said, there had been found, among his late majesty's papers, some of a testamentary nature; but the question of their validity and construction had been submitted to the opinion of legal authorities, from whom no report on the subject had been yet received. This being the case, it was clear that the lords of the treasury, or his majesty's ministers, were not empowered to take possession of the property under an authority of this kind, which, under other circumstances, might have been available. When the doubts upon the question should be thoroughly removed, it would be for them to take the necessary steps; in the mean time it would be satisfactory to the house to learn that the property in money and stock was of the value of 90,000*l.* exclusive of freehold property, and the houses at Weymouth, &c. This sum of 90,000*l.* would be subject to a very considerable claim; and as to the Weymouth property and the advertisement for its disposal, which had appeared in the public prints, it was only necessary for him to say, that, in whatever way the decision of the law authorities might go, they could belong to no other person than his majesty. That being a necessary  
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case in any possible event, it had been thought advisable that this property should be disposed of.

Mr. Hume consented to withdraw his motion, the explanation of the right honourable gentleman being satisfactory.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that even reckoning the additional article of private property at Weymouth, &c. the whole would not amount to more than between 102,000*l.* and 103,000*l.*

Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a bill to extend to the new bank of England notes the same protection from forgery as had been extended under the former law.

Mr. C. Grant obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the issue of treasury bills; the principal object of the measure being the raising of 250,000*l.* for public works.

House of lords, July 5.—The queen presented a petition to the house desiring that she might be heard by her counsel; which was resolved in the negative. Afterwards the earl of Liverpool presented a bill of pains and penalties against her majesty, of which the following is a copy:

“Whereas, in the year 1814, her majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then princess of Wales, and now queen consort of this realm, being at Milan in Italy, engaged in her service, in a menial situation, one Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity:

“And whereas, after the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, had entered

the service of her royal highness the said princess of Wales, a most unbecoming and degrading intimacy commenced between her royal highness and the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami:

“And whereas her royal highness not only advanced the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, to a high station in her royal highness's household, and received into her service many of his near relations, some of them in inferior and others in high and confidential situations about her royal highness's person, but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction, obtained for him orders of knighthood and titles of honour, and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood which her royal highness had taken upon herself to institute without any just or lawful authority:

“And whereas her said royal highness, whilst the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, was in her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station and of her duty to your majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honour and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, and in other respects, both in public and private, in the various places and countries which her royal highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse with the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, which continued for a long

a long period of time during her royal highness's residence abroad; by which conduct of her said royal highness, great scandal and dishonour have been brought upon your majesty's family and kingdom: Therefore, to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct on the part of her said majesty, by which she has violated the duty she owed to your majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of queen consort of this realm; and to evince our just regard for the dignity of the crown and the honour of this nation; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, do hereby entreat your majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after the passing of this act, shall be and is hereby deprived of the title of queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions appertaining to her as queen consort of this realm; and that her said majesty shall, from and after the passing this act, for ever be disabled and rendered incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or any of them; and moreover, that the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be, and the same is hereby from henceforth for ever wholly dissolved, annulled, and

made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

In the commons, the same day, the report of the committee on the consumption of smoke by steam-engines was brought up. Mr. M. A. Taylor, in moving that the report be printed, gave notice that it was his intention, early in the next session, to introduce a bill on this subject.

Lord A. Hamilton repeated the observations delivered at various former periods, as to the injury done to the agricultural interests of Scotland by subjecting malt made from Scotch barley and bigg, to the same duties as that from English barley, and concluded with moving some resolutions on the subject.

Mr. Vansittart could not depart from the general principle of an equalization of the duties, but was willing to make an abatement of 6*d.* per bushel for malt made from bigg. He concluded with moving the previous question, which was carried, on a division, by 53 to 43.

The house having gone into a committee of supply, lord Castle-reagh again explained the circumstances which rendered it necessary to propose an additional grant of 24,000*l.* for more effectually providing for the junior branches of the royal family, and defraying the pensions of certain servants of their late majesties. He then proposed resolutions to that effect.

Mr. Bankes and Mr. Hume objected to the arrangements respecting the pensions, as several of the servants who had been only a year or two employed, and who were in the prime of life, were to be allowed their full salaries.

laries. They wished the resolutions to be postponed for reconsideration by ministers.

Mr. W. Smith approved of this suggestion. He wished to know whether the report was correct, that the pension of the late Mr. West had been stopped on the death of his late majesty.

Mr. Vansittart justified the scale on which the pensions had been made. With regard to Mr. West, he had no pension from the crown, but was a repairer of his majesty's pictures, under the lord chamberlain, and received his salary from the lord chamberlain's office.

Mr. Huskisson said, Mr. West's salary was paid up to the day of his death; and he should not be doing justice to his late majesty if he did not state that the king had granted to West, out of his own purse, 1000*l.* a year, and that, in the course of his life, he had paid him not less than 40,000*l.* for the encouragement of the fine arts. The resolutions were then agreed to; and several other grants were voted for the public service, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart and lord Palmerston.

On the motion of lord Castle-reagh, it was ordered that a committee be appointed to search the journals of the other house; and if it should appear that the lords had adopted proceedings with respect to her majesty, he should then postpone his motion, which stood for to-morrow; and should also propose a further postponement of the adjourned debate on the king's message.

The house having gone into a committee on the postage acts, Mr. Vansittart proposed a resolution, "that his majesty's post-

masters general be authorized to charge an addition, not exceeding the rate of postage now payable by law, on letters dispatched by a particular conveyance." This express post was, he said, to be established between London and Manchester, and if it answered, the system would be extended to Edinburgh and Glasgow. Agreed to.

House of lords, July 6.—Lord Dacre presented the following petition from her majesty:

"*Carolina regina.*—The queen has heard, with inexpressible astonishment, that a bill, conveying charges, and intended to degrade her, and to dissolve her marriage with the king, has been brought by the first minister of the king into the house of lords, where her majesty has no counsel or other officer to assert her rights. The only alleged foundation for the bill is the report of a secret committee, proceeding solely on papers submitted to them, and before whom no single witness was examined. The queen has been further informed, that her counsel last night were refused a hearing at the bar of the house of lords, at that stage of the proceeding when it was most material they should be heard; and that a list of the witnesses, whose names are known to her accusers, is to be refused to her. Under such circumstances, the queen doubts whether any other course is left to her, but to protest in the most solemn manner against the whole of the proceeding; but she is anxious to make one more effort to obtain justice, and therefore desires that her counsel may be admitted to state her claims at the bar of the house of lords."

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On the motion that counsel be called in, the lord chancellor asked to what points counsel could, in the present stage of their proceeding, be heard? To what particular points at present could their lordships instruct counsel to confine themselves, if they were called in?

The earl of Liverpool recommended that they should be called in, and asked to what points they wished to be heard.

This motion was agreed to, and the counsel (Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman) were called to the bar.

The lord chancellor then stated, that he was desired by the house to ask upon what points the counsel intended to address their lordships, and, after they had answered, then to direct them to withdraw.

Mr. Brougham observed, that he was ordered by her majesty to appear at their lordships' bar, in consequence of the proceeding instituted against her, and that he had several points to urge in behalf of his royal client. Her majesty had yesterday been served by the gentleman usher of the black rod with a bill, presented to their lordships, which contained charges of the gravest nature, and her majesty could not suffer the shortest interval to elapse without stating her objections to the whole proceeding thus instituted by bill. Their lordships, he hoped, would also suffer him to add his regret that the request made by her majesty yesterday to be heard against this proceeding was not complied with. It was also the wish of her majesty's counsel to object to the course of proceeding, on account of the relative situation in which their lordships and her majesty

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stood with respect to proceedings which it might still be necessary to adopt. They were also directed to address some observations to their lordships, touching the mode of proceeding, and to the time; touching any delay, also, which might be proposed, as to whether that delay should take place at the present, or be interposed in some subsequent period of the proceeding. It was also their wish to declare certain matters on the part of her majesty, which they thought calculated to have an important effect on the proceedings before their lordships; and he had to add, that the present was the stage of the proceedings in which it was proper for them to state to their lordships those matters to which he had thus generally adverted. They begged further to observe, that it was matter of very serious detriment to her majesty that their lordships should have rejected the prayer of her petition yesterday, and refused to hear her counsel before the bill to which her petition of this day referred had been brought in and read a first time. This appeared to her majesty the more extraordinary when the ground of that refusal was considered. It was said that a report, on which a bill was to be founded, had been made in a certain place, but that of the existence of any such proceeding her majesty could have no knowledge. Her majesty and her counsel were held to be quite ignorant of this proceeding, though every body in the metropolis but themselves was well acquainted with it. In fact, the report was by this time in the possession of every man, woman, and child, within the range of the circulation

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of the newspapers. It was stated by these newspapers that their lordships had ordered the report to be printed, and every one of them had published copies of it. These statements might, perhaps, be fabrications—they were perhaps gross libels on the secret committee which their lordships had appointed, and on their lordships' house: but, as they were given in a very consistent form, and as those who had dared to circulate assertions apparently so calumnious had not been judicially visited for their presumption, her majesty's counsel began to be afraid that there was some foundation for them, and that the report, of which they and her majesty could know nothing, might in fact be in existence. But that report, if it did exist, went further than the bill, with a copy of which they had been furnished. There was matter in the report which had not found its way into the bill; and that was a point upon which her majesty's counsel were also most desirous of being heard.

Mr. Brougham having concluded, the counsel were ordered to withdraw.

The lord chancellor thought it quite impossible for their lordships to permit counsel to address them in the way proposed. It was his most anxious desire that strict justice should be done in this as in every other case; but if certain matters were to be stated at the bar, to show why this proceeding could not be adopted, they must either be matters of fact or matters of law: if matters of fact, as the circumstances of the evidence were not yet known, they might be irrelevant: and if they were points of law, they might have nothing to

do with the defence which was to be made against the bill.

Lord Dacre proposed that the counsel should be called in under some particular instructions.

The lord chancellor repeated that he should have no objection, if they were limited as to the mode and time of proceeding.

Earl Grey was sensible of the necessity of adhering to precedent and analogy in their lordships' proceedings; but it ought to be recollected that this was a case for which there was no precedent, and he hoped that it would never form a precedent for any future one. If they were to be guided by precedent, it was impossible for them to find any. Their lordships' object ought to be to do substantial justice. The noble and learned lord proposed, in the first place, to limit the hearing of the counsel to the mode of proceeding on the bill; but it should be recollected that the petition objected to proceeding by bill at all. He understood the counsel to state that he had several facts and circumstances to urge; but he did not state whether those facts and circumstances related to the defence, or to the manner in which their lordships were proceeding. He wished their lordships seriously to consider whether they would not be acting too hastily, if they, from a mere regard to form, excluded the counsel from stating any facts which might be of importance to the case of his client.

The earl of Liverpool did not understand what possible limit there could be to the statement of counsel, if they were allowed to proceed in the way they proposed. To allow them to speak on matters not connected with the defence

fence would be to allow them to speak on every possible subject. He thought the course proposed by his noble and learned friend afforded as great a latitude as could be allowed.

The lord chancellor observed, that after a bill of this description was read a first time, the nature of the evidence on which it was founded must be explained before any noble lord could propose its second reading. Every person who was interested in opposing it would then be entitled to be heard against it; but if counsel were allowed to be heard now in the way proposed, such a proceeding would be neither more nor less than a surrender of all their lordships' functions. He therefore put the motion, that the counsel be called in and instructed to confine their argument to the mode of the proceeding on the bill, and to the time of such proceeding.

The marquis of Lansdown observed, that the real question was, not whether their lordships should hear counsel on the mode of proceeding with regard to the bill, but whether they would hear arguments to induce them to abandon the bill altogether, in order to adopt some other course.

Earl Grovesnor regretted that counsel had not been heard before the bill was introduced. That certainly was the time at which their lordships ought to have taken the objection into consideration. He, however, thought that the hearing should now be granted.

The earl of Lauderdale could not conceive how their lordships could be asked to hear counsel against the proceeding by bill at this period. When they came to

the second reading, counsel might very properly be heard on that point; and if it could then be shown that they ought to abandon that course—that the measure ought not to be a legislative one—the bill would be given up. In the mean time it appeared to him that it would be most improper to hear counsel.

The lord chancellor, as a peer of parliament, gave it as his opinion that counsel could be heard on nothing but the mode of proceeding to be had on the bill, and the time at which the proceedings should take place. When, however, he stated that their lordships ought so to confine the counsel, it was to be understood that he meant the limitation to be without prejudice to any argument which might be urged against the course adopted by bill. Surely, according to every parliamentary principle, their lordships must reject any attempt to tell them what they ought to do in this stage.

Lord Holland reminded their lordships, that the great point on which her majesty's counsel desired to be heard, was to show that the proceeding by bill was a hardship to his client. If he understood what was likely to be done in the progress of the bill, all the witnesses for the prosecution would be heard at a stage long before any defence could be made. Now if this was so, the question of proceeding by bill had best be discussed now, because, if there were any hardship in the case, that hardship would occur before the counsel could have an opportunity of stating any thing against it.

Earl Grey again insisted on the

propriety of hearing counsel now against going on with the bill. When they came to the second reading, if it should be shown that the course adopted was wrong, time and labour would be lost, as well as evil done. If counsel were to be heard against the bill at all, this was, on every principle of justice and propriety, the proper time for hearing them. Undoubtedly their lordships could not suffer counsel to obtrude themselves, and to dictate the course of proceedings to be adopted by the house; but that did not prevent their lordships from seriously weighing the reasons which might now be offered against the bill.

The lord chancellor repeated the reasons on which he thought the counsel ought not to be heard. Were he in a situation to consult his feelings as a man, he would not object to the application which had been made; but, in his situation as a peer of the realm, he was bound to resist it. His lordship then put the question on the motion for limiting the counsel, which was carried.

The counsel being then called in,

The lord chancellor stated, that he was commanded to inform them, that in what they should represent to the house they were to confine themselves to the mode and manner of proceeding to be had on the bill, and to the time when those proceedings should take place.

Mr. Brougham, her majesty's attorney-general, then proceeded to address their lordships to the following effect:—His learned friend, and himself were totally ignorant of what had occurred in their absence, and therefore their

lordships would naturally suppose that they were at a loss to comprehend the exact points to which, as they had been told, their argument was to be limited, and the manner in which they were to be tied down in entering upon the important task which they were then called upon to perform. In making the effort, which he was then making with all good faith, to comprehend the command which their lordships had just imposed upon him, he should trust to the indulgence of their lordships for his pardon, if, in the discharge of his duty, he happened to misinterpret the order which they had issued; and he therefore begged of their lordships, if he was guilty of any such misinterpretation, to impute it to accident, or rather to misfortune, that he had not caught in its right sense their lordships' meaning, and not to any intention on his part (which before God he disclaimed) of offering any observation to their lordships which should in the slightest degree disobey the instructions which they had given him. He gathered from what had been intimated to him, that those instructions commanded him to confine whatever he had himself to urge, or whatever her majesty had commanded him to urge on her behalf, to the manner of proceeding with respect to or upon the bill which had been served upon her majesty last night by the ordinary officer of their lordships; and assuming it to be right to proceed by bill—

The lord chancellor—"By this bill."

Mr. Brougham—"By this bill? He would take it so; because by that admission their lordships would

would decide two points in his favour:—first of all, they would determine that the proceedings by bill (to which many heavy and grievous objections might be made if permission were granted to enter into that question) were the proceedings which their lordships had adopted; and, secondly, they would determine, in so inflexible a manner that it would be in vain to offer resistance to it, that they would proceed by bill in no other manner than the bill then before their lordships warranted them in doing. He should therefore presume that that bill was unalterable at present, and irrevocable till some future opportunity, and should argue for his illustrious client under the idea that he was confined to the manner of the proceedings, and the time or times in which those proceedings were to take place. If he rightly understood the instructions of their lordships with respect to the mode of proceeding, there was no occasion for him to say a word upon it: the only mode of proceeding which their lordships could now adopt was to propose the second reading of the bill; and therefore, as he was not prepared to propose that the third reading of the bill should precede the second, or indeed to suggest any other fanciful mode of legislation, he felt that when they called upon him to argue on the mode of proceeding which was instituted against his illustrious client, they knew that they were not subjecting themselves to a long argument, as it was impossible for him to urge any argument at all upon such a subject. He could understand the instruction which had been given to him with regard to

the time of proceeding, but he declared his incapacity to comprehend the instruction which had been given him relative to the mode or manner in which it was to be conducted.

Having stated thus much to their lordships, he should now confine his argument to the time of proceeding only: but he had been led to suppose that there were two points to which their lordships had wished to direct his attention, because they had first addressed him upon the manner of proceeding, and had afterwards limited him to the time or times of such proceeding. He now found that he had been mistaken: for if he were to go into the argument whether evidence ought to be received before the second reading of the bill, which the rules of their lordships' house, for which he entertained the highest respect, precluded, he should labour entirely in vain, and would be met by the obvious remark, that counsel ought not to be allowed to dictate to their lordships the mode in which they were to proceed, and also that they ought not to be heard in detail against the bill until its second time of reading. The question of time was, therefore, one of the utmost importance, not only as regarded their lordships, but also with respect to the illustrious party whom he represented; for if he could satisfy their lordships that the nature and tendency of the present bill was such as suspended absolute destruction over the head of her majesty—if he could succeed in showing that the interests of justice demanded that it ought to be speedily discussed, and that her majesty the



queen had in consequence commanded her legal advisers to inform their lordships, as he on their behalf now did inform them, that she did not call for any delay; that she was ready to proceed forthwith in her defence against the report of the secret committee, and also against the charges in the preamble to the celebrated bill now before their lordships; that she desired their lordships to prove that evening, if they could, or else to-morrow, all the accusations which were contained in that unparalleled preamble to a bill as unparalleled and unprecedented as the preamble itself; if he could succeed in the argument which he had urged, partly from the indulgence extended to him by their lordships, and partly in the delivery of the strong, impetuous, and even clamorous desire of her majesty to have the accusations now brought proved against her, if either their lordships, or the attorney-general, or any other of the king's counsel, could prove them; then he trusted that he should have made out a case, even in confining himself strictly to the question, which would induce their lordships to throw out the present bill now upon its first time of reading. The suggestion of throwing it out, even in its first stage, was one which arose naturally out of the argument which he had been allowed to employ upon the time of the proceeding; for it was his duty to protest against all delay, and to satisfy their lordships that the only just and consistent measure which they could pursue—indeed the only measure which did not militate against the safety of his illustrious

client—was, either by throwing out the bill in its present stage, or else by proceeding immediately to read it a second time.

The learned gentleman then proceeded to state that it would not be a difficult matter to deal with the instruction of their lordships, if it were distinctly stated that he and his learned friend were not to be heard against the bill until its second reading, because such instruction would be consistent and intelligible. But, from the obscurity of the present instruction, he was at a loss to know the exact path on which he ought to walk; and he was afraid that if he veered but a single hair's breadth, and but for a single moment, from the straight line upon which he was suffered to tread, even though it were for the mere purpose of gaining a purchase, in order to get on better in that straight line, he should be accused of not showing the deference which was due, and which he was particularly anxious to pay, to the expressed wishes of their lordships. He trusted that their lordships would consider the advantage with which he should be able to address them if he could throw off the advocate, and address them as an individual upon this question. The relief he should gain by such a change would be incalculable, as he should then only have to answer for his opinions as an individual, and not for those which he might have to propound as an advocate. Feeling, however, that he was now standing at their lordships' bar in the character of an advocate, he felt obliged to fling himself upon the compassionate consideration of their lordships, and to implore them

them to consider any thing offensive which he might utter as forced by necessity from the advocate, and not from the individual who addressed them.

He now felt it to be his duty to state that it had reached her majesty—and these were times, and hers was a situation in which the ear was open to every report—but it had reached her majesty that it had been argued (and he had himself seen the argument in the public newspapers, and, therefore, aware as he was that it could not at all influence their lordships' decision, he was still bound, on behalf of his illustrious client, to guard against any popular impression reaching the minds and perverting the judgements of those who were her judges, who he trusted would treat it with the contempt it deserved) that she was to be dealt with as if she was the lowest and not the highest subject in the realm. In opposition to that argument he would say, "God grant that she were in the same situation with the lowest subject in the realm! God grant that she had never risen to a higher rank than the humblest individual who owed allegiance to his majesty!" For, if she had not, she would not have had occasion to complain of a single day's delay in obtaining relief from the load of calumny which had been cast upon her by the present anomalous proceeding. If she had been the meanest instead of the most exalted personage in the country, she would have had no proceeding served upon her, such as he held a copy of in his hand; she would on the contrary have been fenced round by the triple fence whereby the law of England

guards the life and honour of the poorest female. For what, he would ask, was the nature of the proceeding now instituted against her majesty? A bill of divorce, not founded upon any evidence of adultery—a bill of pains and penalties, not founded upon any previous proceedings, either in the courts of common or civil law. Before such a bill could have been introduced against any other individual, there must have been a sentence in the consistory court—there must have been the verdict of a jury, who might have sympathized with her feelings—who, being taken from the same rank in life as herself, and knowing that the evidence produced against her might, under similar circumstances, be produced against their wives and daughters the next, would have been influenced by a desire to guard against a common danger. There would then have been among her judges none who were the servants of her husband, for her counsel would have had the right of challenging all such—none who were hired during his pleasure—none who were placed in a situation to feel gratitude for the past or expectation for the future favours which he had it in his power to bestow. She would have been tried by twelve honest, impartial, and disinterested Englishmen, at whose doors the influence which would act upon her present judges might flagitate for years, before it would make the slightest impression either upon the hopes or the fears which it was calculated to excite. She had, therefore, good cause to lament that she was not the lowest subject of his majesty; and he could assure their lordships that

she would willingly sacrifice every thing except her honour, which was dearer to her than her life, to obtain the poorest cottage which had ever sheltered an Englishwoman from injustice. Upon such grounds was founded his reason for making as short as possible (for he was still observing upon the time of the proceeding) the interval which would elapse between the present evening and the discussion on the second reading of the bill.

He had many other reasons of a similar nature, all pointing in a similar direction, all tending to the same point—he meant the granting of her majesty's prayer for the immediate commencement of the investigation—which he was prevented from urging by the limits to which their lordships had confined him. He could not, however, refrain from calling the attention of their lordships to the situation in which they might hereafter be placed, and to the anomalous condition to which they might be reduced, if they did not get rid of the present bill as suddenly as possible, and indeed altogether. Their lordships would observe, that there was nothing in the allegations of the preamble which precluded their lordships from becoming judges in a criminal proceeding, upon charges arising out of the very evidence which they were called upon to examine as legislators in support of those allegations. He took it for granted,—indeed his respect for their lordships compelled him to suppose it impossible that they could have done otherwise—that they had well perpend- ed whether the whole charge which had been brought against his il-

lustrious client might not amount to an impeachable offence. He took this point, he repeated it, for granted; because, if an impeachment were not an impossibility, they would never have taken into their consideration a bill which by probability might render them masters of the evidence on which they might afterwards be called upon to give sentence as judges.

He took it also for granted that it was equally certain that they must have also decided another point; he meant this—that where there was no indictable offence which could be punished by the common law, then also was there no impeachment which could be sustained: though for his own part he must confess that he did not know any principle of law, or any course of practice, upon which that doctrine could be defended. Indeed he had always understood that an impeachment was never instituted except where an indictment could not lie; but their lordships, from the peculiar constitution of their house, having had the opportunity of learning the opinion of the twelve judges, appeared to have come, upon long and mature deliberation, to a conclusion diametrically opposite to that which he had, no doubt very erroneously, supposed to be the true one. Still, though he conceded all these points to their lordships, there arose out of the bill itself a point which no respect to their lordships could induce him as an advocate to give up for a single moment. Granted that no high treason had been committed under the statute of Edward III., because the adultery—or he ought rather to have said, the alleged adultery—had been committed with

with a foreigner, and abroad; yet he would ask, was Malta no part of the king's dominions? Was Gibraltar not included in the possessions of his majesty? How could he, or their lordships, tell that his illustrious client might not have touched at Malta, where he believed that she actually did touch, during her voyage for a year and a half up and down the Mediterranean, with the very individual with whom this adulterous intercourse was said to have been carried on? How could they tell whether it might not have been carried on at other places *intra presidia*? If such adultery had been committed in such places, were their lordships prepared to admit that an impeachment could not be founded upon it in another quarter? Supposing that they were inclined to make that admission, he would then ask them—or rather he would take it for granted that their lordships had applied also to the court of admiralty, and had decided another point against him by the authority of the civil courts of the country. That point was, that nothing done on board of a king's ship could be construed into—

The lord chancellor here interrupted Mr. Brougham by observing to their lordships that he thought that the learned counsel was transgressing the rules of the house in alluding, as he had, to what their lordships might be supposed to have done or left undone. He was likewise of opinion, that, in pursuing that line of argument, the learned counsel had not complied with the instructions which had been notified to him as the commands of their lordships. If their lordships thought fit to allow such a latitude of argument, they

certainly had the power to do so; but, as a peer of parliament, he must say that he would not sit upon the woolsack to listen to it.

Mr. Brougham then continued. —He would persist in making the attempt to pursue that line of argument until he was silenced by the authority of their lordships. In doing so he was only performing a sacred duty which he owed to his illustrious client, and which his conscience informed him that no difficulty or danger ought to induce him to neglect. If prevented from performing it, he must certainly bend before their lordships' power. Their lordships, however, were used to be just.

The lord chancellor. — Their lordships were just, and had made their present order for the purpose of continuing so.

Mr. Brougham. — As he was not allowed to proceed in the course which he had intended, he should now proceed to show the immediate connexion which existed between the topics on which he had just been speaking and the point of time to which he had been limited by their lordships. His argument was to prove that this bill ought to be sent out of doors immediately, and that it could not lie 24 hours upon the table without producing great and imminent danger to the safety of his client. Indeed he would assert that, unless that bill was discarded by their lordships, no justice could be done to his illustrious client. The line of argument which he was then adopting was perfectly consistent with the instructions of their lordships; for, the more clearly he could show the bill itself to be pregnant with mischief and danger, the more did his

his argument apply to the time in which this proceeding was to be carried on. As he had been instructed to confine his argument as to the time, he could not help observing that the light in which he had endeavoured to put this question was one which had struck upon his mind most forcibly; and he therefore felt himself bound to present it to their lordships until he was silenced by their authority.

All that he had now to add was, that her majesty desired no delay; that she was most anxious to have the evidence who were to substantiate, or rather to endeavour to substantiate, those foul and false charges against her honour, called without delay to their lordships' bar. He ought perhaps to apologise for applying such language to the preamble of a bill which their lordships had allowed to be read a first time; but still his sense of duty informed him that he ought to be allowed to say that those charges were foul, false, and most malignant, since they originated from a report, which, having been made in the first instance upon written documents, and without the examination of witnesses, and having been backed in the second by the approbation of their lordships, had propagated many circumstances to the great and manifest detriment of her majesty.

The learned gentleman then proceeded to say that the queen was not only desirous that the proceedings now instituted against her should meet with no obstacle on her part to a speedy investigation, but was even desirous that the proceedings, after they had once commenced, should continue *de die in diem*. He was not

certain whether in making that observation he was conforming strictly to the line which their lordships had chalked out for him; but what he wished to urge was, that their lordships, after they had once commenced the proceedings, ought not to allow them to meet with any suspension, for could there be a more crying injustice towards her majesty than to go on with the accusations which had been preferred against her, to hear part of them supported by evidence; then to discontinue the examination of them, in order to allow that evidence to be collected, sorted, and patched up, so as to tally even with those parts of it which made most materially in her majesty's favour? The first demand, therefore, which he had to make of their lordships, was an immediate, the next was a continued proceeding. That this would not occasion any difficulty or inconvenience to those who had preferred these accusations, he conceived that he had a full right to assume; for was it to be imagined that between the period when the Milan commission was first established and the present hour they had not had time sufficient to bring over the evidence requisite to substantiate them? Was it to be presumed that any of the parties (he begged pardon—there was only one party—his illustrious client) was unprepared? He said there was only one party of which he could at present take notice, for he had no right to call their lordships, who were to be the judges, a party to this prosecution. Still, when he saw that the attorney-general, or some person appointed by him, was to appear at a future day by order of their lordships, he could

could not help surmising that there must be another party. He would assume that the party opposed to her majesty was an abstract or an allegorical personage, called public justice. Still, he would say, that if public justice had collected charges in March, 1819, it might have been prepared to support them by July, 1820.

But then he supposed that it would be said that this proposition would take the accusing party by surprise. It might be so; but when he saw that there were persons high in office, and ministers of the crown, ordering the counsel for the crown to attend on behalf of the prosecution, he thought he had a right to assume (though he knew nothing of it officially) that they had something to do with it. But if the ministers should say that they were taken unawares and without preparation, then he would apply himself to their lordships, not only as a branch of the legislature, but also as a court of justice, not to allow further time to those individuals, who, in this case, were his antagonists, and of whom it would be improper and highly derogatory from their lordships to suppose that they could be among the judges of his client. From such a plea, if made, he would draw two conclusions—either that they were ready with their witnesses, and able to go on with their charges (which he deemed to be a false conclusion); or, what he believed to be the true conclusion, that the king's servants believed every iota of the charges in the preamble to the bill to form part of a tissue of the most gross falsehood and the most rank imposture. It was impossible for a moment to suppose

that the king's ministers believed the queen guilty. Had they really thought there was the least foundation for any one of the charges in the preamble, they would not have ventured to offer her 50,000*l.* a year, with the privilege of residing in a foreign court with the rank and dignity of a queen.

The bishop of Exeter wished to be informed whether the counsel at the bar was or was not obeying the direction of the house.

Lord Holland said that he had never heard a more extraordinary appeal. The counsel had been directed to confine themselves to certain limits, and they proceeded accordingly: but in the midst of the speech a reverend lord had thought fit to rise in his place, and ask, as a matter of information, whether the counsel were obeying the direction of the house? If the reverend lord had formed any opinion of his own in the negative, it became him, with the great knowledge and acuteness he possessed, to point out in what way the counsel had deviated. It was strange indeed that he should call upon the whole body of the house to decide the point, merely for his personal satisfaction. After what had occurred, it would be even stranger still if the reverend lord did not undertake to go through the whole argument of the learned counsel, and prove in what way he had deviated from the line the house had directed him to follow. This would afford the house a singular advantage, especially as the counsel had himself stated that he had great difficulty in understanding the precise points to which he was to direct his observations.

Mr. Brougham having again taken

ken his station at the bar, proceeded :—In adverting to the question of time, he had called upon the house to proceed without delay, and one answer he had anticipated was, that the supporters of the bill would say, that they were not yet prepared with their evidence. To this he was endeavouring to reply when he had been interrupted ; he was attempting to show that the confidential servants of the crown were placed in this dilemma,—either that they were satisfied, that there was some ground, some colour for the accusation, which might be a sufficient reason for not proceeding immediately ; or, on the other hand, that they were not ready to go on, because they had been taken by surprise, because the bill had been forced upon them, and because they themselves, utterly disbelieving every tittle of charge against the queen, could not be prepared with testimony to support the preamble. He had ventured humbly, and out of respect for the ministers of the crown, to assert, that if they had believed, he did not say any material part of the allegations, but any part however insignificant, they never would have pursued that line of conduct which was now notorious ; they never would have consented that her majesty should remain abroad unmolested, without any measure of degradation or divorce, exposing the dignity and honour of the crown, and the morals of the country where she resided :—the first to be lowered, and the last to be contaminated. They had offered her a splendid, a royal revenue ; she was to live where she chose, to be announced at foreign courts as the lawful and rightful queen of England ; and, above all, the mi-

nisters of the crown were themselves to move addresses to her in parliament. Was it to be credited, that they would have acquiesced in all this if they had given a moment's belief to any part of the statements in the preamble ?

Having dealt with this topic, so far at least as to bring it within the notice of their lordships, he begged once again to be allowed to implore the house, to mark the painful situation in which her majesty was placed. He said nothing of the condition in which her counsel stood : they must do their duty, and had no right to complain ; but the situation of the queen was hard indeed. Before any step had been taken against her ; before her title had been disputed ; before even men's minds were made up that any thing should be done ; various measures had been adopted to stigmatize and degrade her. If those who had hitherto prosecuted this business were indeed aware of the full weight of the evidence ; if they relied upon it ; if they knew that it must in the end lead to a conviction of enormous guilt ; they still had happily contrived that the bitterest stigma, the basest degradation, should precede even that conviction. How unspeakably more severe was the lot of the queen ! how infinitely more unjust the treatment she had experienced, since it appeared that the first step taken to ensure her a fair and an impartial trial, was previously to sentence her,—or rather to pass over the form of sentence, as they passed over the evidence—and to inflict a punishment that had never been awarded, arising out of a trial that had never been had ! and all this for the purpose, forsooth, of securing her, afterwards,

wards, a calm and unprejudiced hearing. Of this the queen now complained: she could not complain before, because till now she never knew that she was to be put upon her trial. Under these circumstances she had a right to remonstrate, that the first step towards bringing her to her trial was, not only to deprive her of the presumption of law, (falsely called merciful, because it was only just,) that until the accused were convicted, she should be deemed innocent: but to deprive her of it, not by general expressions and vague insinuations, but by affixing a stain upon her forehead, which compelled every man who resorted to his church, to see in the very service of God, that a crying injustice had been done to his fellow subject. From all such persons as had inflicted this odious stigma; from all such authorities; from every species of extra-judicial proceeding; from every cast, colour, and shade, of party feeling; from every kind of oppression and indignity; her majesty appealed to this house. She came before their lordships as the highest branch of the legislature, the supreme court of judicature; she claimed protection from those who were now trying her by bill, and who hereafter might be called upon to try her by impeachment; who were now legislating, when they might at some future period be required to sit in judgement: but whether acting in the one capacity or in the other, with the confidence of injured innocence she flung herself upon the house, and trusted that no mixture of party; no presence of interested persons; no adventitious influence exercised out of doors; no supposed want of sympathy with the

feelings of the country; no alleged, though falsely alleged, tendency on the part of their lordships to truckle to royal favour would stand between the queen and justice, or prevent her case from receiving a fair, impartial, and an unprejudiced decision. She appealed to their lordships with the more confidence, because she knew that the house was composed of the most illustrious peers, spiritual as well as temporal, that any nation of the world could boast.

Mr. Denman immediately followed on the same side. In submitting to their lordships those prayers not contained in her majesty's petition, he was placed in a singularly difficult situation between the instructions he had that morning received from his royal client and the directions of the house. It would immediately occur to every man, that when a charge of this weighty nature had received the sanction of a bill--when that bill, which had been once read, imported not only degradation from rank, but the dissolution of an existing marriage--considerations of a very different kind must have thronged into the mind of the party accused than any questions as to the mere mode and time of such a proceeding. He would not conceal from their lordships that he and his learned friend had received from their illustrious client one especially delegated duty, namely, to press upon the house the absolute necessity, if justice were to be done, that this most extraordinary, most anomalous, and most unprecedented proceeding should be brought to the speediest possible conclusion. Therefore, by the instruction of the



the house as to the manner, he had not been so much taken by surprise, though her majesty did not presume to prescribe what course their lordships ought to pursue: but the question of time was of the last importance, because, unquestionably, if these heavy charges were to remain a rankling poison in the public mind, afflicting even that judicature which might ultimately be called upon to pronounce as to the queen's guilt or innocence, he should despair of a just decision from the united wisdom of the world. On a former occasion her majesty had submitted an application, that the secret committee, which she was informed had been instructed to report, should not enter upon the inquiry until she were provided with the means of defence: that petition, like the request of yesterday, was rejected. He alluded to this fact, because he was anxious, in the first instance, to show that there was no inconsistency in then requiring delay, and now most earnestly entreating the house that the bill just introduced should be allowed to take its unobstructed course, that the whole might arrive at the most speedy termination. It was not to be supposed that an accused female, and that female a queen, would willingly allow an imputation of this kind to rest upon her without asserting her innocence, and defying her adversaries to the proof of her guilt. If any delay occurred, it was impossible not to see that the public sympathy, so powerfully excited on this occasion, for the injured sufferer, might be perverted and polluted by such charges going forth to the world in the authori-

tative shape of a bill. However imperfect, then, her means of defence; however deprived of the instruments to repel so deadly an attack upon her honour, the queen was anxious to meet her accusers face to face—if possible at this very instant, but, at furthest, after the lapse of only 24 hours. No injustice could be done by such a course—there was nothing to prevent the production of all the evidence against her, because that evidence had already been submitted to a secret committee; the whole case, on the part of the crown, had been heard by a body which had felt itself warranted, in the character of a grand jury, to pronounce upon the accusation, and to call upon the queen to reply to it.

He was aware that that committee sat to examine the contents of a sealed bag—he was aware also, that a second bag was submitted to its consideration; but he presumed that its deliberations took a wider range. Speaking as an English subject of a committee of the higher house of the English parliament, he was confident that it could not have proceeded upon written documents alone; acting as a grand jury on charges of the most atrocious description, it could not have decided without the examination of a single witness, or without seeing a single person from whose conduct and deportment it could judge of the truth or falsehood of the fearful accusations. The same evidence produced before the secret committee last week might be brought before the whole house to-morrow; the queen would then have an opportunity of confronting her foul calumniators,

lumniators, and of convincing the world that the verdict of the grand-jury committee, if not false, because it was founded upon testimony of some kind, however disgraceful, was at least erroneous and mistaken. In all our courts of justice such was the ordinary and established course: the grand jury itself was composed of persons wholly indifferent; they were summoned by a compulsory process and by a sworn officer; and if he were in any way connected with the parties, by an old statute the bills found by the grand jury he had summoned were null and void: the witnesses examined were all sworn in open court; and lastly, the true bill, by being filed, commenced its first stage of proceeding. If the same course had been pursued in this case, where would be the injustice of pressing it forward immediately? On a charge of high treason, the prosecutor and the accused were by law entitled to delay; but this case was different, and the royal lady for whom he appeared demanded immediate inquiry, and called upon her accusers to prove their case, that she might have an opportunity of vindicating her slandered fame, and covering them with shame and ignominy. In looking at the analogies of common law, and in mentioning the words "jury" and "courts of justice," he was well aware how inferior those institutions were to the illustrious body he was now addressing. Yet, though their lordships had adopted many of the principles by which they were guided, it was somewhat strange to observe how complete a contrast the whole of this proceeding formed to the or-

dinary and regular trial of a British subject. As a British subject the queen now stood before their lordships; as a British subject she claimed not to be excluded from rights which the meanest individual in her kingdom enjoyed. She asked for no privilege—for no favour—for no advantage; justice, and strict justice only, constituted the whole of her demand.

It was difficult to separate the question as to time from the nature of the offence and the character of the proceeding: in this respect he might therefore be guilty of some unintentional infringement of the directions of the house; but so essential was the urging of those points to the interests of his illustrious client, that he should venture to proceed with them until interrupted by the house. In the first place, this was a bill of degradation and divorce, without the intervention of a jury or the sentence of a spiritual court; and he need not remind the house, that in a case between two subjects those wholesome forms could not have been avoided. In the case of the king, such a mode of proceeding, it was true, could not be adopted; but he was not aware that the objection applied to the prince of Wales, even though acting in the capacity of regent; and in the bill it was charged that the misconduct of the queen had continued for six years. He had a right to presume, therefore, that until lately no sufficient ground had existed, or the ordinary course would have been pursued. Did it follow, however, that every thing was to be taken for granted in the same way as if the usual forms

forms had been strictly observed? On the contrary, if the mode of defence furnished by the intervention of a jury were denied, it seemed to follow from these premises that no divorce could now be obtained. The royal characters of both parties to this suit were here laid aside; and, in considering in what respects the conjugal contract had been violated, and the consequences that ought to result, it would be fit that the house should strictly examine what had been the conduct of both the exalted individuals concerned: It would be its duty to examine whether the wife had had no reason to complain—whether any circumstances of recrimination could be advanced—and whether the abandonment and destitution of the wife, if it had not cleared her of moral guilt, had not at least deprived the husband of his remedy. In all he was now advancing he did not for a moment concede that it was possible for her majesty to have been guilty of the foul charges against her; but if the house should for a time be persuaded by some infamous witnesses to believe that there was the shadow of truth in them—even if he admitted, for the sake of argument, that a degree of criminality did attach to the queen on these accusations, which nothing but the most infernal malignity could have invented—still she might be able, by the circumstances of recrimination to which he had alluded, to defend herself sufficiently against the operation of this bill. Was it then too much to ask that one moment's needless delay should not occur, that the queen might know her accusers, see the witnesses, prove

their infamy, and establish her own purity? As to the mode of proceeding, it was her majesty's pleasure that her counsel should urge, as indispensable, that she should be furnished with a list of the witnesses against her: it was, in fact, so obviously necessary, that he could conceive nothing more alarming than that any one who might sit in judgement upon her should for one instant doubt its propriety. It had been doubted whether this was not a case of high treason, and, if it had been, the law of the land would have given the accused a right to such a list; and because the proceeding was separated by such nice and merely technical differences, was it fit that it should be withheld? In every case, indeed, where a grand jury intervened, the names of the witnesses were of course indorsed upon the bill, and a full opportunity was afforded, long before the trial, of impeaching their character or their principles. Did the house mean, with such dreadful charges impending over the head of the queen of England, to say that hers was the only case to be excepted—that a right granted to the meanest subject was to be denied her? If so, it would become the counsel of the queen to consider well whether it would not be their duty, not only to their ill-fated and illustrious client, but to the world, to abandon her defence, and to leave her accusers, who thus pursued her in defiance of the protections of the law and the dictates of common justice, to the indignation and vengeance of posterity.

In addition to her claim for a list of the witnesses, her majesty expected

expected that the rest of this grave proceeding should not form a striking contrast to the ordinary course of law. From the days of Henry the VIIIth to the present moment no precedent could be found to guide a parliamentary decision: this was the first attempt of the kind since the reign of the arbitrary sovereign to whom he had alluded; in the interval, the mild principles of English law, which protected the weak from the vindictive vengeance of the strong, had prevailed, and cases of this kind had been left to the ordinary tribunals. Though bills of attainder and bills of pains and penalties had been passed, they were in general matters of regret to constitutional minds; but they had always received one sweeping apology—state necessity. Could it be pretended that this apology existed in the present case, when six years of misconduct had elapsed without trial, complaint, or remonstrance—when it was known that a commission had been laboriously employed abroad in sifting rubbish for evidence which was afterwards embodied into a report, and when that report had been long in the hands of the advisers of the crown without any proceeding being founded upon it? All pretence of state necessity then being wanting, as far as dispatch was concerned, would it be said that it existed on the ground of danger arising from spurious issue? Where was the proof of any connexion to produce a foreign offspring to claim succession to the crown? Admitting, however, this plea of state necessity, it was the desire, the claim of her majesty, that it should be immediately carried in-

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to execution. He wished to offer another consideration to their lordships; and whether it fell strictly within the order they had issued he would not determine; but it was the desire of the queen that this application should be made to the house. She had heard of witnesses by scores, by hundreds—and, if by thousands considering the quarter from whence these charges proceeded, she would not have been surprised: her humble request, therefore, was, that all the evidence contained in the green bags should be communicated to her majesty and the public. She wished to shelter herself under no concealment—the more the case was sifted, the more her own innocence and the guilt of her enemies would be apparent. She wished for every thing to be conducted openly, fairly, and without reserve. She feared nothing from inquiry, or from the utmost publicity; on the contrary, she invited and courted it, and therefore was most anxious that the whole of the evidence should be disclosed, that the full means of investigation as to the nature and character of the testimony might be afforded to her.

He had already stated more than once, he feared too often, that he had no guide in an anomalous case like the present, but in the principles of the common law of England: that common law knew of no secret committees—no tribunals where the most illustrious persons might be accused and condemned without a hearing; and he only entreated that the same forms and modes pursued in the lower courts should be adopted here, by which the queen would enjoy the fullest opportunity

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portunity of vindication at the earliest possible moment: she would then be placed in a situation where she might examine how far the conjugal relation had been preserved on both sides—whether it had not been at least first violated by her accuser in almost every particular in which a queen could have a right to complain of her royal husband. Whether, after the proof of such allegations, the house would think fit to proceed at all, and to pass the bill upon the table, it was not for him to state; but if injustice must be done, he trusted it would not be forgotten that the parties were thus far upon equal terms—they were man and wife; and if, in the course of what he or his learned friend had said, any thing had dropped which might be thought to bear hard upon the stronger party, he trusted it would be attributed to the zeal they felt in advocating the cause of the weaker.

It had been said, that this was a bill of divorce, not of pains and penalties: he knew not what heavier pains, what severer penalties, could be devised or inflicted, than hurling an individual from the highest rank in station, and the loftiest point in character, to the lowest level and the basest degradation; and that by the proceeding of a secret tribunal; by the constitution of which, all vindication was precluded, while it lent a too ready ear to the vilest aspersions. Was there no pain, no penalty, in being degraded from the rank of queen of England; and for a supposed crime, the commission of which would cover the individual with never-dying infamy? If there ever was a bill of pains and penalties in

the strictest sense of the word, it was the measure now upon the table. If, however, pains and penalties meant only temporal punishment, fine, imprisonment, and corporal infliction, then he insisted that this bill contained no protection of the queen from those pains and penalties. After the degradation of character which this bill would inflict, she would still be subject to impeachment; still exposed to the penal consequences of this imputed crime. He was aware that in pleading thus weakly, though zealously, he had done great injustice to the cause he was employed to advocate: it might have been better had he been silent, and left unimpaired on the minds of their lordships, the effect of the speech of his learned friend. He entreated the house to give the full effect to all the arguments his learned coadjutor had so forcibly advanced; and he was sure that the deep impression they had made could not be easily obliterated; and he concluded by expressing his fervent hope, that the house would still do the queen that justice, which, from the extraordinary course of proceeding hitherto adopted, there was but too little reason to expect.

Counsel were then ordered to withdraw.

The earl of Liverpool said, that some delay would be requisite to make the necessary arrangements for proceeding with the bill. The regular interval between the first and second reading of bills of this kind, was a fortnight. He wished that as little delay as possible, consistent with the interests of justice, and the usual course of their lordships' proceedings, should intervene in the present case: but some time

time must be required for making the necessary arrangements for securing a numerous attendance of their lordships, and the presence of the learned judges. He would propose to fix Monday next, as the day on which he would be able to state to their lordships when he thought it would be convenient to read the bill a second time, and to mention the order of proceeding.

Lord Holland did not intend at first to address their lordships, but he could not help making an observation or two on what had fallen from the noble earl opposite. After he had submitted certain papers to their lordships; after he had moved for a committee to examine these papers; after that committee had finished their labours and made their report; and after the noble earl, in consequence of that report, had brought in a bill, which had been read a first time, the illustrious individual whose interests and character were affected by these proceedings, applied for an immediate trial, and the noble earl proposed delay. On what ground was this delay proposed? The noble earl said that it was usual to allow an interval of a fortnight to intervene between the first and second reading of bills of this kind. What did the noble earl mean by this comparison? He (lord Holland) asked in the name of the illustrious lady concerned; he asked, for the honour of their lordships; he asked, for the sake of the people of England; whether this was a bill like those common bills introduced for relief at the instance of any other individual, and not a bill of pains and penalties? Whatever might be said by the noble earl, he could not consider it in any other light, than a bill of

pains and penalties; partaking of the nature of a bill of attainder, and inflicting a species of punishment, which could not be imposed by the usual course of law. During the whole of this discussion, their lordships had heard much of precedent; but what was the precedent on which it was now proposed to act? These bills of pains and penalties were exceptions to all principle, to all rule, to all form, and precedent. The noble earl had given his bill a double character, that of a bill of divorce, and of pains and penalties: but as it was not a common bill of divorce, he was not entitled to follow the rules which governed their lordships in such cases; but ought to proceed as was usual with bills of the latter description, where they immediately went to trial. He (lord Holland) did not say but that reasons for delay might be given. He admitted the force of one of those stated by the noble earl, namely, the absence of the learned judges; but he could not see the force of the other. The analogies of common law could not here be followed. He called upon the noble earl opposite, therefore, to state what were his other grounds of delay; and what he meant by necessary arrangements? Under that term did he include the necessity for further evidence? Let that point be well understood. Were their lordships to conceive that the evidence already collected, was not sufficient to support the charges of the bill? Were they to understand, that the evidence submitted to the committee was insufficient to support the charges? And was it necessary to wait until more was received from abroad? The proceedings against her majesty had

been going on for a year. His majesty's government had been collecting depositions for so long a time. The noble earl must have considered, often deeply, what course of proceeding it was proper for him, in such circumstances, and with such evidence, to pursue; and yet he was not now prepared to state when he would be ready to go on with the trial. As this was a bill of pains and penalties, the usual course pursued in divorce bills ought not to be followed; and, after the powerful appeal which their lordships had heard from her majesty's counsel against delay, no unnecessary delay ought to be interposed. If time was necessary, let the noble earl state why, and for what. Let the house be put in possession of clear and distinct reasons why he postpones the statement of his plan of proceeding; let the public, who felt such an eager interest in what was passing before their lordships, see the reasonableness of the noble earl's proposition; and then their lordships would acquiesce; and the public would feel the same acquiescence as their lordships.

The earl of Liverpool explained. In the first place, as had been mentioned by the noble baron, he would allow that this was a bill of pains and penalties, conveying with it the consequences of a divorce. It was not a bill of divorce; for a bill of divorce was an application of one person to be relieved, on account of adultery, from the matrimonial ties contracted with another. This was not a bill for the relief of one individual from another; but for the relief of the state, which was supposed to be aggrieved by the acts of an individual. He (lord Liverpool) saw no

reason for altering the notice which he proposed for Monday. To say that their lordships ought to proceed to-morrow, at 7 o'clock, because counsel required them to commence within 24 hours, appeared to him absurd. The last time the learned counsel addressed their lordships they asked for a delay of 9 or 10 weeks. He did not mention this for the purpose of insinuating any thing against the learned counsel. He was aware that different circumstances might render the two requests consistent; but he mentioned the fact, to show that a preparation for the one, was not what would enable them to comply with the other. He would not enter into the case; but he would mention, that three weeks intervened between the first and second reading of bishop Atterbury's bill, and yet that was considered a proceeding forthwith. He delayed his motion till Monday; that he might be able to ascertain when a full attendance of their lordships, and the presence of the judges, could be obtained. These were his only reasons for proposing delay.

The marquis of Lansdown said, that although he was not prepared to accede to the request of her majesty, that their lordships would proceed in 24 hours with the trial, yet he was convinced that their lordships ought not to let more than 24 hours pass without considering when they were to proceed. The interests of justice and the requests of her majesty demanded of them, that they should not allow four days to intervene without considering when and how they were to begin the trial. He could scarcely believe that the noble earl, in possession of all the facts, and accustomed,

customed, as he must be, to reflect deeply on the measure before the house—having moved for a secret committee, and having submitted papers to them on which they had reported—having had the good fortune to obtain the concurrence of their lordships in all the various changes of proceeding, should now be unable to point out the course which he meant to pursue, and should ask four days' delay to consider of it. He thought 24 hours quite sufficient for preparation; and that the noble earl ought to-morrow to state what his views were; and to detail those circumstances, which their lordships did not know, but which he must know, regarding the necessary preparations, and the attendance of the judges. The delay of four days, instead of enabling him to have the benefit of the presence of the judges, would interfere with it, because, although they had not yet departed for the important duties which they had to perform at this season, they would by Monday,

The earl of Carnarvon took the same line of argument, and contended that the noble earl should give his notice for to-morrow. What would the public think? How would the illustrious and royal person accused feel, if, after bringing forward such charges as were contained in the bill on the table, ministers, by asking delay, declared that they were unprepared to carry their projects into effect? If they had any reasons for delay, they should be connected with great and important interests. Nothing secret, nothing that could not be revealed, should prevent the immediate commencement and steady termination of proceedings which so completely occupied the

public mind. Ministers ought not on the present occasion to insult the nation with a show, which, in the lamentable circumstances of the royal family, would call down upon them nothing but general execration. They ought not to exhibit their sovereign, as an actor in a gaudy pageant, while his consort was subject to proceedings which might degrade her to the lowest abasement. Let them do their duty, in advising their royal master to concur with the general feeling and wish of every sensible man in the country; and postpone that parade and pageant to a further period, which could not now be exhibited without considerable danger and general disapprobation. He never spoke with more feeling or sincerity in his life; and though he would now make no specific motion on the subject, yet if ministers, whom he implored to reconsider the matter, still persisted in their design, he would bring forward a proposition, on a future day, for an address to the crown, or some other parliamentary proceeding, to postpone the coronation.

Earl Grey sincerely wished that the observations of his noble friend would receive from ministers that attention they deserved, and that, under the present painful circumstances, the coronation would be deferred. In saying this, he was sure he uttered the feeling of every feeling man in the country. With regard to the point immediately before them, he concurred with his noble friends in raising his voice in support of the proposition against delay. Considering that the noble earl opposite must have been long in possession of all the facts and circumstances, and

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considering the intervals of delay that had already occurred, it was not too much to expect that he should be prepared to state immediately his views and proposed mode of proceeding. If it was unreasonable to expect that he should immediately do it, surely to-morrow was the most distant day to which he ought to postpone his notice. The necessary arrangements were, and could only be, of three sorts—either for the production of witnesses, or for obtaining a full attendance of their lordships, or securing the presence of judicial advice. Now, which of those arrangements rendered delay necessary? With respect to the production of witnesses, the evidence which they could give must have been months ago collected. It was impossible, therefore, to conceive why the noble earl, if he had done his duty, should not be ready within 24 hours to state how he meant to proceed with regard to it. The arrangements for securing a full attendance of their lordships could not occasion any delay; for, painful as it was at this season of the year for their lordships to begin a proceeding which might occupy so much of their time, he was sure that no personal consideration would prevent them from executing their duty. But, with respect to the judges, was it indispensable to have their presence? If it was, he was afraid that the proceeding must be much further postponed, for by Monday they would have departed for their several circuits. By the 15th of this month, the judges for the northern circuit had appointed to be at York, and by the 30th at Durham. He saw nothing that could be gained by postponing the no-

tice till Monday next, and he would therefore propose that their lordships should be summoned for to-morrow.

The earl of Liverpool said, that it could make no difference ultimately, whether he stated his plan to-morrow or on Monday; for, with regard to the judges, they would not all go on the circuits, and the presence of those who were going could be as little commanded in the one case as in the other. The presence of all the judges, of course, would not be necessary.

The earl of Darnley spoke against the postponement of the notice to Monday.

Earl Grey said, that as he could not see any reason why their lordships should not be prepared to decide this question to-morrow as well as on Monday, he should take the sense of the house on the amendment.

The original question, that their lordships should be summoned for Monday, was then put, and the house divided—

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In the commons, the same day, Mr. Holford reported from the committee appointed to inspect the lords' journals, that a secret committee had inquired into the charges against her majesty, and that, on their report, a bill had been brought in to annul the marriage between George IV. and his present queen, Caroline Amelia.

Sir Ronald Ferguson addressed the house on the subject of the Milan commission. The invention of that plan of collecting evidence against her majesty belonged, he under-

understood, not to ministers, but to the vice chancellor, who had recommended for the mission a person who had long practised in the same court with him, and one of whose notable qualifications was, that he understood no language but English. A second and a third person were joined in the commission, and the vice chancellor, who was at the head of this corps of *espionage*, went afterwards in person to Milan in 1818. The commission had cost the country 23,000*l.*; during the first five months the commissioners drew 11,000*l.* He concluded with moving an address to his majesty for a copy of the commission and instructions to the agents at Milan, and an account of their expenses, and the names of those by whom such sums were respectively issued.

Lord Castlereagh said, when the proper time came, when all the facts of the case were before the house, ministers would explain every particular respecting the commission. Ministers had not fished for information respecting her majesty. They had not stirred in the business until reports transmitted from various quarters, many of them of the most grave and official character, compelled them, as servants of the crown, to institute an inquiry. The noble lord then defended the conduct of the vice chancellor and Mr. Cooke, and concluded with moving the previous question.

Mr. Creevey, in an animated speech, approved of the course taken by the gallant general. In the course of his speech Mr. Creevey was particularly severe on the conduct of the vice chancellor.

Lord Castlereagh then rose to postpone the order for taking the

message respecting the queen into consideration. His lordship observed, that as the subject of the message would most probably come before them by a bill from the other house, it would be inexpedient now to resume the debate upon it; but as the bill might fail from some technical informality, or might be ultimately rejected by the lords, and the matter would thus revert to the house of commons, he should not move to discharge the order for to-morrow, but would postpone it to the 15th of August.

Sir M. W. Ridley was for discharging the order.

Mr. Bennet, in a long and eloquent speech, complained of the conduct of ministers, and ably defended her majesty; in the course of which he was called to order by lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Tierney said, he would henceforth act in this affair judicially. He should keep his mind clear and unbiassed, until the bill now in progress came before them. He should then do his duty without fear, favour or affection; without regarding popular clamour on one hand, or court influence on the other.

After some observations from Mr. C. Wynn and Mr. A. L. Keck, a short conversation took place between lord Castlereagh, the speaker, and Mr. Tierney, when it was agreed that the order should be discharged.

The report of the committee of supply was brought up, and the resolutions agreed to. In answer to a question by Mr. Hume, as to the allowance proposed to be made to the queen, Mr. Vansittart said that the allowance made last quarter was intended to be continued

nued till a permanent provision could be made.

July 7.—Lord Castlereagh moved the second reading of the alien bill.

Mr. Bernal opposed the measure, and moved that the second reading should be postponed for six months.

Lord A. Hamilton, colonel Davies, and Mr. Ward, supported the amendment.

Mr. B. Bathurst supported the original motion, and Mr. Maxwell the amendment, which, on a division, was negatived by 113 to 50; and the bill was read a second time.

House of lords, July 8.—The royal assent was given by commission to the 25 millions exchequer bills bill, the Barbadoes free trade bill, the Newfoundland fishery bill, the Demerara trade bill, the quarter sessions bill, the Southwark bridge bill, the Drury lane theatre bill, and to a great number of private bills, amounting altogether to about 50.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. H. Sumner, on presenting the report of the agricultural committee, expressed his regret that the late period of the session would prevent any measure being taken upon it. He felt it his duty also to state, that this inquiry had been a very limited one, and ought not to preclude further investigation at a future period. His conviction was, that, unless much more was done than this committee had been able to accomplish, the difficulties under which the agricultural interest laboured must ultimately overwhelm them.

Mr. Western thought it right to state in the house, that the committee, in their inquiry, had not

discovered frauds, in taking the average, to any extent. The committee had recommended a new mode of taking the averages, but it was one which would rather facilitate than retard the opening the ports in future.

House of lords, July 10.—The second reading of the bill against the queen, or, in other words, the commencement of the investigation, was fixed for 17th August. The motion was proposed by lord Liverpool, and agreed to as to the same without dissent. The noble earl expressed his anxiety that the inquiry should proceed as expeditiously as the administration of substantial justice would admit. The constitutional usage in such cases, he said, required the presence of at least a certain proportion of the judges; and four of those learned persons would be enabled to attend the house at the period named. He entreated every noble peer to attend constantly upon the investigation, for without daily attention to the course of evidence, their lordships could not competently pronounce upon this great question.

Earl Grey suggested, that to ensure substantial justice, and to prevent the necessity of postponing or suspending the proceeding, the noble earl should communicate to the queen, or her legal advisers, a specification of the charges, and a list of the witnesses, against her, with the respective abode and condition of the latter.

Lord Holland spoke to the same effect; and quoted a standing order of the house, together with the case of lord treasurer Middlesex, who was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours in the reign of James I.

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The earl of Liverpool would never assent to a course which he thought contrary to the usage of parliament, and expressed that, as an alternative he should prefer assenting to any required delay or suspension of proceeding.

It was finally ordered, that counsel be heard at the bar of the house on the 17th of August, in support of the bill; that no lord be permitted to absent himself from attending upon the meetings of the house during the continuance of the investigation; and that no lord be permitted to give his vote by proxy.

In the commons, the same day, in a committee on the alien bill, sir J. Mackintosh proposed some clauses; the most remarkable of which was, a provision to exempt the foreign witnesses on both sides, in the pending investigation, from the operation of the bill. The clauses were finally negatived.

House of lords, July 11.—The earl of Liverpool, in reply to a question from the marquis of Lansdown, with regard to the duties on Baltic timber, admitted that some alteration might be necessary. He would not, however, pledge himself now to any particular alterations, as the subject could not be practically gone into before the next session.

Lord Auckland presented a petition from the queen, to the purport that her majesty had learnt that the second reading of the bill was fixed for the 17th of August, and her majesty prayed to be allowed to have copies of the depositions, and a list of the witnesses, the better to enable her to go into her defence. It was ordered that

the queen's petition be taken into consideration upon Friday the 14th.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Brougham moved that, notwithstanding the standing orders of the house, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman be at liberty to attend the bar of the house of lords as counsel for her majesty; but, on the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, he converted his motion into a notice for to-morrow.

Mr. Brougham brought in his bill "for the better providing the means of education to his majesty's subjects," which was read the first time. In moving that it be read a second time to-morrow, he adverted to an unfounded alarm which had been spread among the catholics and protestant dissenters, that their children were to be compelled to attend church of England schools.

Mr. W. Smith had not heard of any such alarm among the protestant dissenters, but there were several things in the bill of which they disapproved.

Lord J. Russell, after adverting to the advanced age of sir M. Lopez, and the heavy fine (10,000*l.*) inflicted on him, moved an address to the crown for shortening the term of his imprisonment.

Mr. W. Wynn commented on the enormity of the offence, bribing no less than 28 persons, and deprecated the interference of the house with the ordinary course of justice.

Mr. W. Peel hoped, that if mercy were extended to sir M. Lopez\*, the case of Mr. Swann would not be forgotten.

Lord Castlereagh dwelt on the

\* Sir M. Lopez has since experienced the royal clemency, having been released from confinement.

inconvenience of the proceeding, suggested from motives of humanity, no doubt, by the noble lord, and urged him to withdraw his motion. In such cases the executive government usually acted on the report of the judge who officiated at the trial.

After some observations from sir T. Ackland, Mr. Canning, and others, the motion was withdrawn.

Dr. Lushington, after some appropriate comments on the treacherous conduct of the French government in the negotiation set on foot last year for erecting a monarchy in South America in favour of a branch of the house of Bourbon, moved an address for copies of all official communications to government on the subject. He, at the same time, strongly urged that government should consider of the propriety of recognising the independence of the South American governments.

Lord Castlereagh said, that government ought not to be called upon for an explanation on this subject at present, as they were not in possession of the facts to be explained on the authority of any official information. It would be equally premature to enter into a review of the whole policy which this country had adopted with regard to South America.

The motion, after being opposed by Mr. Canning and sir F. Ommaney, and supported by sir J. Mackintosh and Mr. Ellice, was withdrawn.

July 12.—On the motion of Dr. Phillimore, the house, after some discussion, resolved, by a majority of 66 to 60, "That the practice which had subsisted in

the borough of Grantham, of giving to outvoters sums of money under colour of an indemnity for loss of time, was highly illegal, subversive of the freedom of election, and tending to the most dangerous corruption."

After some conversation, leave was granted to Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Dr. Lushington, to plead at the bar of the house of lords against the bill for divorcing her majesty, and leave was granted to the king's attorney and solicitor general to plead for it.

On the question for the third reading of the alien bill, Mr. Hobhouse opposed the motion, and moved that instead of "now" the bill be read a third time this day six months.

Mr. C. Smith opposed the amendment, which was supported by Mr. Monck, sir R. Wilson, and Mr. Hume. On a division, it was negatived by 59 to 23, and the bill was read the third time and passed.

House of lords, July 13.—Lord Ellenborough explained the provisions of the marriage act amendment bill, and moved its second reading.

The lord chancellor objected to the bill, as tending, by its retrospective operation, to shake the rights of succession to property since 1754.

Lord Redesdale followed on the same side, but would not object to a prospective measure.

Lord Calthorp and lord Limerick supported the motion, which, on a division, was carried by 32 to 26. All the bishops present divided in favour of the bill.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. W. Smith presented a petition from

from the protestant dissenters, for a repeal of the test and corporation acts.

A motion for the second reading of the new barrack bill was opposed by Mr. Calcraft, on the ground of the improvident contract entered into by government; and by lord Nugent on the principle of the injurious tendency to the constitution and liberties of the country, of the system of extending barracks to every corner of the kingdom, and separating the soldiers from the citizens.

The bill was supported by Mr. Vansistart, and, on a division, the motion was carried by 98 to 40.

House of lords, July 14.—The earl of Shaftesbury brought up the report of the committee appointed to search for precedents relative to the giving of lists of witnesses in cases of attainder, bills of pains and penalties, and impeachment. The report stated, that the committee had found two cases only bearing at all on the subject under their consideration. Those were the cases of sir John Bennet in 1621, and the earl of Strafford in 1640, both being cases of impeachment.

Lord Erskine addressed the house at considerable length, on the propriety of furnishing her majesty with a list of the witnesses to be produced against her. All the reasons on which the statute of William was founded for granting a copy of the indictment and a list of witnesses in cases of prosecution for high treason, applied with tenfold force to the case of her majesty. The object of that statute was to protect the accused against the weight and influence of the crown. The party had therefore the advantage of know-

ing the precise charges against him, and the witnesses by whom they were to be supported. With regard to her majesty, the house had already acted in a most anomalous manner, by not stating, in the preamble of the bill, specific acts of adultery as to time and place, but making a general charge of adulterous intercourse extending over a period of six years, and vaguely alleged to have taken place in foreign countries. If, in addition to the inconvenience of having to meet such a charge as this, she was not to know who the parties were that were to support it, he did not see how it was possible for her to be prepared for cross-examination or defence; and if time were to be allowed, after their examination, was it not grievous that she should, during the interval, labour under a heavy load of prejudice? He stood in a relation to the king, which few of their lordships did. He had known him for many years, and had passed the best part of his life in his friendship; but he would allow no personal consideration to influence him on the present occasion. The queen stood in that particular state with regard to their lordships, that she was entitled to every indulgence, consistent with the substantial ends of justice; and this consideration, he contended, required that her petition for a list of witnesses should be complied with, and he concluded with a motion accordingly.

The lord chancellor opposed the motion. From the practice in cases of treason, much inconvenience had resulted to the administration of justice for the general benefit; and no one had ever thought

thought of extending it to the ordinary course of proceeding in the courts of law, much less to parliamentary proceedings. The question therefore was, whether, under all the circumstances, their lordships would sacrifice that principle by which they were governed in the general administration of justice, and especially of parliamentary justice, to the claim of a particular individual in a particular case. He was convinced that a great essential constitutional principle would be sacrificed if the petition of the queen were complied with. For these reasons, though with regret, he should vote against the resolution.

The marquis of Lansdown strenuously supported the motion. All precedent had been abandoned in the mode of prosecution: why was it to be followed, to the manifest violation of justice, in narrowing the means of defence?

Lord Liverpool opposed the motion, on the same grounds with the lord chancellor; and lord Holland, in replying to him, illustrated and enforced the arguments of lord Erskine and the marquis of Lansdown.

Lord Ellenborough was for adhering to the regular practice of the house.

The marquis of Bute and lord Belhaven supported the motion, not only on the grounds previously urged, but on her majesty's claim as queen of Scotland, when on her trial before Scotch, as well as English and Irish peers, to have the benefit of the Scotch law, which allows a list of witnesses.

Lord Carnarvon supported the motion; and lord Erskine having replied, the motion was negatived by 78 to 28.

In the commons, the same day, on the question for going into a committee on the new barrack bill, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Wilson, and sir H. Parnell, opposed the measure, and Mr. Vansittart supported it. The motion was carried, on a division, by 50 to 33.

Mr. H. Clive having presented certain papers respecting the state of representation in Scotland, lord A. Hamilton said, the purpose for which he moved those papers was to show—1st, the extraordinary paucity of the number of voters in all Scotland; 2ndly, the fact, that of even these few, the same names were frequently repeated, as voting for different counties; and, 3rdly, that of those persons who had a right to vote in elections throughout these several counties, not one was required by law to have any property in land at all, or any personals.

The usual sessional addresses, for grants to the chairman of the committees, &c. were then agreed to.

House of lords, July 15.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the lottery bill, and fifty-six other public and private bills.

July 17.—Lord Lauderdale vindicated the conduct of his brother, sir T. Maitland, in reference to the charges which had been made against him as to the Paraguites, a corn monopoly, and the imposition of a local tax in Santa Maura. He concluded with moving for copies of the correspondence on these points between the British government and the high commissioner of the Ionian states.

Lord Bathurst described the whole

whole of sir T. Maitland's administration as deserving the highest credit. We had no more right to retain Parga, because we expelled the French from it, than we had to keep Egypt. The motion was agreed to.

In the commons, the same day, a motion for bringing up the report of the new barrack agreement bill, after some opposition from Mr. Calcraft, Mr. T. Wilson, and Mr. Lennard, was, on a division, carried by 92 to 74, and the report was agreed to.

Dr. Lushington spoke at some length on the refusal of the lord chamberlain to let her majesty have the plate which, he said, had been presented to her by the late king; and concluded with moving for copies of all official papers relative to the said service of plate.

Lord Castlereagh censured the precipitancy shown by the learned doctor in this business. He had to inform the house, that the greatest part of this service of plate was old plate belonging to king William, which had been converted to the queen's use; and so little was it anticipated that she should use it as her own property, that a formal list had been made out of the articles in the books of the lord chamberlain, of which the following was the title—"A list of his Majesty's plate in the loan of the Princess of Wales while residing in Kensington palace." The princess of Wales not being satisfied with it, lord Aylesford went to the king and explained this circumstance, afraid that he might have given offence; and the king then stated that he had no more control over that plate than he had over the crown lands. The difficulty with regard

to this particular service of plate was not a new question. When it was packed up in 1814, the lord chamberlain interfered, and prevented it being carried out of the country; and her majesty, after reaching Geneva, made another ineffectual attempt to procure it. She might just as well claim his (lord Castlereagh's) estate, and the king had just as much power to convey that to her in property as the plate in question.

Lord A. Hamilton was not satisfied by what he had just heard, that the late king had it not in his power to make a present of the plate. If he had not, then certainly there was no foundation for the motion; but from all that had passed, it plainly appeared that her majesty felt a strong impression that the plate had been given to her.

Mr. Huskisson said, a warrant signed by the crown, and countersigned by the lords of the treasury, had always been considered necessary to convey a right to a third party. From his own personal knowledge, from the official situation he held in 1808, he could take upon himself to say that no such formalities had been observed with regard to the plate in question. When the matter came before the treasury, he had himself suggested that there was in the custody of the lord chamberlain some plate of the time of king William, which might be remodelled for the purpose of providing the then princess of Wales with a service, which was to become her property no more than the furniture or linen with which she was provided in her apartments in Kensington palace. It had always been treated as the king's



king's plate, lent to the princess of Wales for her use.

After some observations by several members, Dr. Lushington replied; and his motion was then negatived without a division.

House of lords, July 18.—Lord Sidmouth moved the second reading of the alien bill.

It was opposed by the earl of Darnley and lord Holland; and supported by the earl of Liverpool, when the house divided, and the numbers were—

Contents . . . . 17

Non-contents . . . . 7

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Majority . . . . 10

The bill was then read a second time.

In the commons, the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved an address to his majesty, praying that he would direct 6600*l.* to be paid to the duchess of Kent, being the sum which would have become due had his royal highness lived until 5th of April last.—Agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the third reading of the regent's park barrack agreement bill.

Mr. Lockhart objected to the bill, and to the permanent establishment of military in the metropolis.—On a division, the third reading was carried by 80 against 45.

Mr. Wallace presented the report of the committee on foreign trade; and, in moving that the report should be printed, he lamented that the late period at which the committee had been appointed, had prevented their going so fully into the subject as they desired: their opinion, however, on one great point was, that all restrictions on trade were an evil,

and only to be justified by great political necessities. The first point of restriction was the navigation laws; and as far as related to the restrictions on this subject, the committee considered it desirable that all goods, the produce of any country, should be imported freely into this country, provided they were imported in British ships.—The second object to which the committee had attended, was the warehousing system, and this the committee thought should be extended to the utmost limits, by encouraging importation of every article of manufacture except linen: on which subject the committee reserve its opinion for future consideration. The committee also remarked on the evil arising from the numerous laws and statutes existing for the regulation of commerce, amounting to no less than 2000, of which 1100 were actually in force! The committee were aware that the evils we had to complain of could only be cured gradually. The restrictive system we had adopted had obliged other nations to act in a similar manner; but he trusted that in future, if foreign states thought fit to adopt restrictions in trade, they would not find a justification in urging it was the principle adopted by Great Britain. The report was then ordered to be printed.

House of lords, July 19.—Lord Erskine presented the petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, against the bill of pains and penalties against the queen.

The lord chancellor opposed it on the ground of its containing statements and opinions not consistent

sistent with the forms of the house to admit. His lordship contended, that there was no instance in the practice of parliament of such a petition having been received. After some discussion it was rejected.

Lord Ellenborough moved the recommitment of the marriage act amendment bill.

The lord chancellor and lord Redesdale repeated their objections to the bill, both as it originally stood and as it now stood.

Lord Westmoreland supported the motion.

Lord Carnarvon concurred in many of the objections to the bill.

Lord Erskine reminded their lordships that the bill had thrice received the approbation of the other house, and that neither of those eminent civilians, sir W. Scott and sir John Nichol, thought it their duty to vote against it.

Lord Liverpool objected to the bill, as containing retrospective enactments; but thought a prospective measure necessary to the happiness of society and the preservation of morals.

Lord Holland supported the motion. The objections to the bill might be removed on its recommitment.—After some further conversation, the bill was rejected, on a division, by 25 to 13.

July 20.—The house having gone into a committee on the Irish court of chancery bill, lord Redesdale moved an amendment on the clause disqualifying masters in chancery from sitting in the house of commons, so as to make it have only a retrospective operation.

The amendment was opposed by lords Limerick, Holland, and Lauderdale, and supported by lords Enniskillen and Liverpool.

The lord chancellor opposed the clause *in toto*, because the principle on which it proceeded would go to the exclusion of the attorney and solicitor general, and all the officers of the army and navy.

On a division, the amendment was carried by 22 to 10. The question was then put, "that the clause so amended stand part of the bill," which was carried in the negative by 22 to 10.

The insolvent debtors' bill was recommitment, after a few observations from lord Auckland, the lord chancellor, and lord Redesdale, on the clause appointing three commissioners instead of one, which was agreed to.

July 24.—Lord Erskine said, it was his duty to present a petition to their lordships on the part of her majesty; and, in presenting it, he must state to the house that her majesty, as it appeared to him, had made a very just and reasonable request to their lordships. She begged of them, as a list of the witnesses had been refused to her, that she should be furnished with a specification of the times and places when and where it was alleged that she had acted licentiously. The petition was read by his lordship; after which he ably supported the object of the petition; and concluded with moving that counsel be heard in its support.

The lord chancellor, the earl of Liverpool, and earl Bathurst, objected to the prayer of the petition.

Lord Holland made a few observations. The house then divided on lord Erskine's motion, which was rejected by 37 to 12.

July 25.—The royal assent

was

was given, by commission, to the felonies commutation bill, the stealing in shops bill, and stealing in dwelling houses bill.

Lord Shaftesbury read the report of the committee of privileges, which recommended a fine of 100*l.* for the absence of any peer for each of the three first days of the approaching proceedings of the house against the queen; and of 50*l.* for each day after, while these proceedings last. That no peer be allowed to absent himself from the second reading, and other proceedings on the bill of pains and penalties, unless his age be 70 and upwards; or except on account of the death of his nearest relative. The report also went on to state the best mode of accommodating peers during the approaching proceedings. The house agreed with the committee in its report; and also to an address to the king on the subject.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Wetherell called the attention of the house to a gross libel on the queen, which had appeared in a late number of Flyndell's *Western Luminary*, published at Exeter. After some observations, he moved that the paper in question, Flyndell's *Western Luminary*, should be laid upon the table.

Lord Castlereagh said, there could be only one opinion that the libel was of a very gross description. It was of recent date; but still, recent as it was, it had attracted the notice of his majesty's attorney general. In the conflict of libels which now issued daily from the press, it was not within the power of his honourable and learned friend to repress all which seemed deserving of pu-

nishment. In the course of his speech lord Castlereagh read libellous extracts from several of the opposition papers. He must say, that if the attainment of justice was the only object which the honourable and learned gentleman had in view, prosecutions ought to be instituted against the writers on both sides of this question. If the honourable and learned gentleman persisted in pressing his motion upon this particular paper, he should hand in to the clerk those papers from which he had read so many extracts. The attorney general said, if the publication complained of was a breach of privilege, it was a breach of the privileges of the other house, not of their own; he was inclined to think that the wisest course would be to withdraw the motion.

Lord Archibald Hamilton deemed the libel so gross, as to be beneath her majesty's attention, and was calculated only to be detrimental to the author.

Mr. Wetherell intimated his satisfaction that the libel would be proceeded against.

House of lords, July 26. — The royal assent was given, by commission, to the insolvent debtors' bill.

It was ordered that the judges do attend the service of this house on the 17th of August next; to which time their lordships adjourned.

The commons met this day, and after going through some routine business, adjourned till the 21st August.

House of commons, August 21. — A motion having been made by lord Castlereagh, that the house should adjourn to the 18th Sept.; it was moved, as an amendment,

by

by lord F. Osborne, that an address should be presented to the king, for the purpose of proroguing parliament. The motion gave rise to a discussion of some interest.

Mr. Wilberforce lamented that he had not been able to make a second attempt at reconciliation before the last adjournment, though he thought it was due to her majesty that the charges should now be gone into.

Mr. Brougham said, the case had been opened against the queen, and the chief witness had been examined, but not yet cross-examined. This was not, therefore, the time to bid parliament to stop the proceedings. He took occasion to observe that the lords had acted differently from what they had done upon the comparatively unimportant case of lord Melville: then no part of the evidence had been allowed to be published till the whole had been concluded; but at present the whole was to appear morning after morning. He hoped his noble friend would withdraw his motion. The motion was finally negatived without a division, and the house adjourned to the 18th of September.

Sept. 18.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved that a committee should be appointed to inspect the journals of the lords, in order to ascertain what progress had been made with the bill of pains and penalties against the queen.

Mr. serjeant Onslow signified his intention of bringing in a bill to enable the house to receive the depositions of witnesses on oath. He explained that his object was to give additional solemnity to their proceedings.

1820.

Mr. Hobhouse declared his opinion that the bill of pains and penalties should be rejected *in limine*. As to the public, their opinion had been pronounced against it in the most convincing way. He proceeded to argue that no benefit could result to any one from the bill, one part of which having been given up in deference to public opinion, why was not the other part given up from the same motive? He then moved an amendment for an humble address to be presented to his majesty, humbly praying him to prorogue the parliament.

Sir R. Wilson supported the amendment, declaring his conviction that the whole case originated in a foul and hateful conspiracy: he felt himself quite competent to pass his judgement on the case.

Dr. Phillimore expressed much surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, who thus broke in on the solemn order of a judicial proceeding for the sake of indulging in *ex-parte* statements. It was the sincere conviction of his mind, that whatever might be the result, the queen would have perfect justice done to her: certain he was that she would not be found guilty, unless she were proved to be so. He reminded the house of the necessity of not giving way to popular clamour. The public ought not to have it bruited amongst them that the parliament were likely to do injustice.

Mr. Bennet was convinced that a more foul and diabolical conspiracy never existed than that from the effects of which her majesty was suffering. The fearless manner in which the queen had faced her accusers, convinced him

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of her innocence ; observing as he did, that the present was the strongest instance within his memory in which a single class, composed of the judges in the case, were in direct opposition to all the other classes of the community.

The attorney general assured the honourable gentleman that he should not shrink from the painful duty he had to perform.

Mr. Hume believed there was a foul conspiracy against the queen, and spoke at some length on the impediments thrown in the way of her majesty's witnesses by foreign governments.

Lord Castlereagh began by pointing out the injustice of thus agitating a subject now before the other house ; he thought that the predetermined opposition of gentlemen on the other side, would not much raise their character before the country. Much had been said of a conspiracy ; but if a conspiracy existed, how easy and natural would it have been for those who sustained it to effect their object, as far as the honourable member's reasoning went, by fabricating the fact at once, instead of going into long and disgusting details ! But if this was a conspiracy, it was a conspiracy without example, and that was an additional reason for proceeding with the investigation, and sifting the subject thoroughly. If there was a conspiracy, in the name of God let it be sifted to the bottom by full investigation of the evidence. His majesty's advisers had done every thing that could be done in the execution of every wish of her majesty, whatever may be thought or asserted by the counsel out of doors, who were generally not the best counsel. With regard to the

feelings out of doors, he observed that there was much of generous delusion in the country on this question ; this feeling he could not but honour ; but while he said this, he could not avoid adverting to the efforts of a party—not numerous he trusted—who fastened on this, as on every other public calamity, whether a mutiny in the fleet, an enemy, the evils of a long protracted war, or the distresses of the country—which they would ascribe to the acts of the government (whether justly or not he did not now inquire)—or this calamity—which befell the country after every effort had been made by ministers to avert it. This disastrous subject was fastened on by the party to whom he alluded, with the hope of making it the means of effecting their base and wicked object of subverting the laws and constitution of the country. The language held out by some honourable gentlemen was too well calculated (without probably intending) to encourage this party ; if honourable members wished traitors to be put down, they would not countenance their efforts by unguarded expressions.

Mr. Creevey said he had not wanted the evidence to convince him that the investigation should not proceed. The injustice of the measure was so great, that the evidence went for nothing. That was the opinion of the people.

Mr. P. Moore said, on his soul he believed this was as foul a conspiracy against her majesty, and the nation at large, as ever was planned, and moreover he believed that his majesty's ministers were at the bottom of it.

Mr. Ellice opposed the amendment.

Sir

Sir M. W. Ridley adverted to an assertion made by alderman Wood, that the defence of the queen had been impeded by the want of pecuniary resources.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that 20,000*l.* had been advanced to her majesty. The sum of 10,000*l.* was advanced before the proceedings commenced, and a second sum of the same amount a few weeks since; every sum for which application was made by the queen's legal advisers had been advanced, with an intimation from the treasury, that if any further sums were deemed necessary, they would be cheerfully furnished, subject only to such an account as the legal advisers of the queen should be able to render.

Mr. Whitbread and sir G. Noel spoke in favour of the amendment.

Mr. alderman Heygate spoke of the attempts made to excite the minds of the military on this question. He was astonished that any one who professed to love liberty should encourage the interference of the military in political matters, as it was evident that the soldiery who aided the cause of liberty to-day might to-morrow be turned against it.

Mr. K. Douglas thought that ministers should take some measures for correcting the licentiousness of the press, to which much of the present agitation might be ascribed.

On a division, the amendment was lost by 66 to 12.

The house of commons then adjourned to the 17th of October.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Proceedings in the House of Lords on the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen—Evidence in Support of the Bill.*

WE have found great difficulty in determining on the manner in which we ought to proceed in giving what passed in the house of lords on this most important subject. Our limits absolutely forbid us entering into a detailed account; and the grossness of great part of the evidence also repels us. We have, after reflection, resolved to give the evidence very shortly; and also the opening speech of the attorney general, since the latter undoubtedly contained many charges, which he did not even attempt to substantiate. The summing

up of the counsel on both sides we shall give at considerable length; because by a judicious and careful comparison of the speeches of the counsel, a pretty accurate and fair inference may be drawn of the bearing of the several charges against the queen, and of the weight of the testimony on which they respectively rested.

It may be proper to remark, that all the evidence for and against the bill was given during its second reading, previously to the bill going into a committee of the whole house.

House of lords, Tuesday, August  
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gust 15.—The duke of Leinster said, that he rose for the purpose of taking this the earliest opportunity to state to their lordships, that he felt the strongest objections to the bill of pains and penalties now in progress through their lordships' house, and that he meant to oppose it in every stage, and on every occasion. He considered all bills of pains and penalties as the engines of violence, injustice, and oppression ; but that which was at present before their lordships appeared to him, in every point of view, peculiarly objectionable.

August 16.—The lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at a quarter before four.

Lord King said, that if it should be thought necessary to examine witnesses upon the bill of pains and penalties now before their lordships, it would be necessary that an order should be made to compel their attendance. He should, therefore, without any further notice, move that an order be made out for the attendance of certain witnesses, whose names were contained in a list which he should hand up to the noble and learned lord upon the woolsack. —Ordered accordingly.

The earl of Shaftesbury, as chairman of the committee appointed to search the journals for precedents as to the mode of enforcing the attendance of peers on the 17th instant, presented the following report:—

"The lords' committee, appointed to examine the journals for precedents as to the mode of enforcing the attendance of peers on Thursday, the 17th of August, ordered to report:—

"The committee having taken

into consideration the accommodation which may be afforded to strangers during the progress of a bill entitled, 'An Act to deprive,' &c. have Resolved,

"1. That no lord shall give more than one order or admission to this house upon any one day, and that the same shall be signed and sealed by him, and bear the date of the day on which it is to be used.

"2. That, as the space below the bar cannot hold more than a limited number of spectators, tickets of admission shall not be issued by any lord, except upon alternate days.

"3. That the archbishops, dukes, marquises, and earls, including the representative lords of Scotland and Ireland of the same rank, shall give orders on the 1st day, and that the rest of the lords shall give orders on the 2d day, and so on, alternate, on the succeeding days respectively."

After a few observations from the lord chancellor and the earl of Lauderdale, the recommendation of the report was agreed to, and orders were made accordingly.

August 17.—At a very early hour many individuals, hoping that their assiduity would procure for them an opportunity of witnessing the progress of this interesting inquiry, assembled in the neighbourhood of the house of lords. Those, however, who did not bear with them the passport of a noble lord, or were unconnected with the public press, were very much disappointed. Their early rising, as far as their curiosity was concerned, was fruitless. Soon after nine o'clock the peers began to take their seats in the body of the house; and several  
members

members of the house of commons took up stations near the throne. The space reserved for the queen's counsel, the shorthand writer, &c. was provided with 3 small desks. On these 5 ink-stands were placed, with a supply of pens, ink, paper, and wafers. No seats were prepared, but chairs were subsequently supplied. As 10 o'clock approached, the peers arrived in considerable numbers. At 25 minutes to 9 the lord chancellor arrived, and took his seat on the woolsack. The lord bishop of Landaff, as the junior bishop, then read prayers. Soon afterwards sir Charles Abbott (chief justice of the king's bench), together with Mr. justice Holroyd and Mr. justice Best, entered the house. They were soon after followed by lord chief baron Richards and Mr. baron Garrow, and the lord chief justice of the court of common pleas arrived immediately afterwards. At 10 o'clock precisely the order of the house was read for calling over the names of the peers by Mr. Cowper, deputy clerk of parliament. The following peers were excused from attendance, on account either of indisposition, age, the death of a near relative, or having been abroad at the time when the order for the second reading of the bill was fixed by the house:—

Lord Churchill, lord Melbourne, lord Lynedoch, lord Gardiner, lord Crewe, lord Carysfort, lord Gower, lord Riversdale, lord Lilford, lord Wodehouse, lord Glastonbury, lord Cawdor, lord De Dunstanville, lord Middleton, lord Thurlow, lord Braybrooke, lord Carleton, lord Shannon, marquis of Waterford, lord

Bulkeley, lord Cathcart, lord Vernon, lord Ashburton, lord Boyle, lord Sinclair, lord Clifford, lord Byron, lord Le Despencer, bishop of Rochester, bishop of Carlisle, bishop of Norwich, bishop of Salisbury, bishop of Chichester, bishop of Hereford, bishop of Durham, viscount Gordon, viscount Dudley and Ward, viscount Maynard, earl Craven, earl Onslow, lord Courtney, lord Cholmondeley, lord O'Neil, lord Talbot, lord Elgin, lord Coventry, lord Bute, the duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Leeds. Lord Petre, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the duke of Norfolk, were exempted from the call of the house, they being Roman catholics.

Lord Erskine, on being called, appeared, and stated, that he was upwards of seventy years of age, but he had felt it his duty to attend the house upon the present occasion. He hoped, however, he should be allowed to avail himself of that objection, if he should feel it necessary, at any future period.

(During the calling over the names of the peers, the shouts of the people assembled in Palace-yard announced the approach of the queen. In a short time after, she entered by the passage leading from the robing-room, which is situated on the right hand of the throne. She was accompanied by lady Ann Hamilton, who, with lord A. Hamilton, stood close to her during the whole of the day. She was seated in an arm-chair, on the right of the throne, and within the space allotted to the members of the house of commons. On her entrance, all the peers rose to receive her. She testified her feelings by a graceful obeisance, and, though evidently much affected



by the novel scene to which she was introduced, took her seat with becoming grace and dignity. She was dressed in black sarcenet, very richly trimmed with lace; a large white veil partially concealed her features, and falling in tasteful drapery on her bosom, rendered her figure, when she arose from her chair, not merely interesting, but highly commanding.)

The list of the peers having been gone through, the lord chancellor stated that he had received a letter from the duke of Sussex, in which his royal highness observed, that he had received the letter of the lord chancellor, requiring his attendance in that house upon the 17th instant. Amongst the excuses which were there stated as sufficient to justify a peer for absenting himself during the course of these proceedings, he did not find any which would apply to him. He, however, begged leave, as the most respectful manner in which he could treat the house, to submit to their lordships, whether, on account of the ties of consanguinity which existed between him and the parties who were so intimately connected with the bill, it would not be proper to permit him to be absent upon this occasion.—Granted.

The duke of York rose, and said, that if any person on a variety of grounds had stronger claims than another to request leave of absence upon this occasion, he was that individual. He would not, however, suffer any private feelings to deter him from doing his duty, however painful it might be.

The preliminary business having been gone through,

The earl of Liverpool moved, that the order of the day for the

second reading of the bill of pains and penalties be now read.

The duke of Leinster immediately rose and said, that, in conformity with the notice he had given on a previous day, he would, in this early stage, oppose the measure now about to be brought under their consideration. He would not, however, intrude much on their lordships' time. The best way, he believed, to bring it to a point was to move "That the said order be now rescinded."

The lord chancellor then put the question.

The cry of "content" was feeble; that of "not content" was very powerful.

The duke of Leinster demanded a division.

Contents, 41; non-contents, 206; majority, 165.

The order of the day was read; after which it was moved by the earl of Liverpool that counsel should be called in and heard in support of the preamble of the bill.

The earl of Carnarvon then rose, and in a speech of considerable length, replete with sound argument, stated his reasons for opposing the present proceeding. He objected to it because it was inconsistent with the public interests, and also because he felt that it was inconsistent with their lordships' honour. He felt such strong objections to a bill of this kind, that he could hardly conceive any cause sufficiently forcible to induce him to vote for such a proceeding. But if any case existed in which he could bring his mind to support a bill of pains and penalties, it must be one of absolute necessity.

A discussion now took place as to the propriety of the course about to be pursued towards the queen, and

and as to whether the crime imputed to her did not amount to high treason, and therefore subject to a mode of proceeding different to a bill of pains and penalties. Earl Grey, earl Liverpool, and the marquis of Lansdown, took part. The questions which arose were then submitted to the opinion of the judges—and those learned lords having retired, after an absence of twenty minutes the lord chief justice Abbott delivered their united opinion to the following effect :

“The judges have conferred together upon the question proposed to them by the house, whether, if a foreigner, owing no allegiance to the crown of England, violates in a foreign country the wife of the king’s eldest son, and she consents thereto, she commits high treason, within the meaning of the act of the 25th Edward III.? And we are of opinion that such an individual, under such circumstances, does not commit high treason, within the meaning of that act.” This opinion, his lordship continued, was grounded upon the language of that statute of Edward III. which declared it to be treason for any man to violate the wife of the king, the wife of the king’s eldest son, &c.; the judges holding, that, unless there were a man who could be legally charged with such a violation—the charge being that he did the act against his allegiance—it could not be said that treason had been committed. An act done by a foreigner, therefore, owing no allegiance to the crown, could not amount to that crime.

The question that counsel be called in, was then put and carried, when the folding doors behind

the bar were thrown open, and Messrs. Brougham, Denman, Lushington. Williams, Tindal, and Wilde, followed by Mr. Vizard, appeared on behalf of her majesty. A moment after, the attorney and solicitor general, the king’s advocate, Dr. Adam, and Mr. Park, entered by the door commonly appropriated to strangers. They were attended by the solicitor to the treasury, and by Mr. Powell, who attended the Milan commission.

As soon as the counsel presented themselves at the bar,

The duke of Hamilton requested to know by what authority the attorney general stood in that place? on whose part he appeared? and by whom he had been instructed to appear?

The earl of Liverpool understood the attorney general appeared in consequence of an order received from the house. He had taken those steps which to him seemed best for the purpose of obtaining information. He had applied for information to the secretary of state for the home department, and with that and such other as had been obtained, he now appeared for the purpose of opening the case.

The duke of Hamilton acquiesced in the explanation of lord Liverpool.

Mr. Brougham then said, that he humbly conceived the time was now come when, under the authority of their lordships themselves, he was free to state his objections to the principle of the bill. It appeared to him that, before any evidence was received, and laying entirely out of view the truth or falsehood of the allegations which it contained, he had

now a right to contend against the measure, both as impolitic and unjust. Admitting for the sake of argument, that all those allegations were true (not one of which, he was prepared to re-assert, had the slightest colour of foundation), but making the admission with a full conviction that neither the sagacity nor knowledge of their lordships would allow them to misinterpret it, still he had to demur, still to object, for powerful reasons, to the further progress of this measure. His objections were of a nature and kind not to be weakened or interfered with by any proof of the facts which constituted the foundation of this proceeding. He now therefore humbly prayed to be allowed—if not as a matter of right and justice, as matter of indulgence—to be heard against the principle of the bill in this present stage of its progress.—Counsel was then ordered to withdraw, but retired only a few steps from the bar.

After a few minutes it was communicated to them that they were at liberty to urge their objections to the principle of the bill, either at that time, or after the evidence was concluded.

Mr. Brougham then commenced his general address to their lordships against any further proceedings with the bill of pains and penalties on the queen. Such laws were sometimes passed in the earlier periods of the Roman history, and were denominated *privilegia*. They were divided into two classes—one consisting of laws passed against, and the other of laws passed in favour of, individuals. The great Roman juriconsults, however, who well knew the value of their expressions, as

well as of the principles which they established, had called all such laws *privilegia odiosa*, thereby indicating to aftertimes that they ought never to be resorted to except in cases of absolute necessity. He would not say that all those whom the great masters of ancient jurisprudence served had governed their conduct by that principle. On the contrary, he was well aware that no blacker proceedings were to be found than some of these *privilegia odiosa*. Another objection to the present bill was, that it was an *ex-post facto* law; it suffered a deed to be done, and afterwards pronounced upon its innocence or its guilt. Without notice or warning, it laid hold of a party, and inflicted punishment with the same severity as if the supposed crime had been distinctly defined, and the punishment denounced.

The bills passed against Mortimer, and others, at the commencement of Edward the III<sup>d</sup>'s reign, were afterwards rescinded, as was also the case with most of those passed during the reign of Richard III. The succeeding age was almost sure to regard them as measures adopted to serve a temporary purpose. He did not think it necessary, at this stage of the proceeding, to make any reference to the reign of Henry VIII., and he should therefore pass over the whole history of that barbarous and detested prince—detestable alike for his spoliations of property and his cruelty to his family; but still more detestable for his violation of the dearest and most sacred charities. He should therefore take his stand upon what had passed under milder reigns, and the case of lord Strafford, under

under Charles I., would be sufficient for his argument. He considered the bill of attainder passed against that nobleman as the greatest disgrace that ever sullied the purity of either house of parliament. Had the impeachment been persevered in, the proceeding would have had the semblance of a judicial inquiry. It would have been *quasi* judicial, although the principles of justice would even then have been violated, while its forms were half observed. But he now alluded to the bill of attainder, and desired to remind their lordships of the sense entertained of it by their ancestors, and by that country of which they were the ornament.

He would read to them the recorded sentiments of those ancestors, because no language of his could make so deep an impression as this was calculated to make on the hearts and understandings of all men. After stating, that, under various pretexts, the turbulent party, hostile to lord Strafford, seeing no mode of obtaining their object by any ordinary procedure, had resolved to effect that nobleman's destruction (meaning not only his bodily destruction, but that of his character), they, therefore, purposely murdered him. The bill reversing the attainder enacted that all records and copies of proceedings relative to that attainder should be wholly cancelled, defaced, and obliterated, in order that they might not be visible in after ages, or brought into precedent to the prejudice of any person whatsoever. The present bill, substituting for death deprivation of rank the most illustrious, removal from a station the most exalted, and the loss of privileges the most

esteemed amongst women—aye, and what was yet dearer, the ruin of her character and happiness—belonged strictly and technically to that class of enactments which their lordships' predecessors had thus characterized. When that part of the bill which provided for destroying the records was omitted, the omission was made out of a still greater hatred of the proceeding, and with a view of keeping it as a land-mark of what it was most important and necessary to avoid in future.

He had thus stated his general objections to all bills of this nature, and he had now to address himself to the one immediately before them. He should form but an inadequate approximation to the understanding of this libel, if he believed it to be only like other bills of pains and penalties; for he would venture to say, that the worst of those bills (not excepting even those relating to the wives of Harry VIII.) was, when compared with the present, a regular, consistent, and judicial proceeding. In the first instance he assumed that nothing illegal could be laid to her majesty's charge. He was bound to assume this by the decision of the judges, and, indeed, from the very face of the proceeding. If there was any possibility of proceeding at law, their lordships could not entertain this bill for a single moment; but, because nothing illegal had been done, they were asked to proceed in this manner. It did not, however, follow that a judicial investigation might not take place. Impeachment was a remedy for cases not cognisable by the ordinary jurisdictions. The house of commons might impeach for what-

whatever was indictable, but they might also impeach in cases where no indictment could be found.

He submitted, therefore, that some satisfactory reasons ought to be stated why impeachment was not resorted to in this instance. An impeachment was pending in lord Strafford's case, when his enemies, finding that it was not likely to answer their purpose, had recourse to a bill of attainder. He felt himself justified in assuming that some considerations of the same kind had led to the present extraordinary measure. Was the case such, that no house of commons could be expected to pass a vote upon it? or was the evidence so lame and defective, that no committee would recommend any proceedings in relation to it? Why had they not confidently trusted to that house, and taken their papers and their witnesses where an impeachment might be founded upon them, and when their lordships would have to administer justice in the regular and established form? Her majesty was deprived of many advantages by this adoption of a different course. In the other case she would have been furnished with some specification of the charges, or at least they would have been set forth with more peculiarity of detail as to the various points of the accusation. Perhaps also a list of witnesses could not then have been withheld, and, in a word, the queen would have had all the advantages of a real judicial proceeding.

Now he would not say that the present measure might not be carried on in the spirit of justice, but in every other respect it was as unlike a just measure as any to be found recorded in the annals

of parliament. When a body of men were assembled, and engaged in conducting a measure in the manner usual in legislation, it was not to be marvelled at that a party should prefer the same men sitting in a judicial character, and deciding upon their honour, to their proceedings in a legislative way amidst conflicting opinions, after repeated separation, and without any of the forms of an ordinary court of justice. But the charge here, as he had already said, was not of any illegal act, and the whole proceeding was legislative, and not judicial. He was, therefore, let in to discuss the expediency as well as the justice of this prosecution. He was at liberty to contend that it was impolitic and mischievous, even if founded upon the most unquestionable testimony. The case of lord Strafford, and the proceedings to which it led, as well as the protests of the virtuous minority who opposed the bill—all went to prove that such measures could only be justified in order either to save the state from ruin, or because justice had failed from some positive default in a court competent to administer it.

With regard to precedents, he would refer only to that of bishop Atterbury, the protest on which was signed by 30 noble lords, the lights and ornaments of the times in which they lived. It was drawn up by lord chancellor Cowper, and it resisted the measure, because, as the protest stated, "nothing but absolute necessity to avoid pain, or a direct failure of justice, could authorize such a proceeding." The burden of proof on the necessity of this bill being thrown on the other side, he would ask, where was that impelling

ing and overruling necessity (he did not say motive, for that might be guessed) which alone could prescribe and justify this measure? Was the succession or its purity endangered, or was there even a possibility of its being put in jeopardy? If her majesty had been brought to trial under the statute of Edward III., he was quite ready to allow that he could not resist the unavoidable presumption of law, that the royal succession was endangered. It would be childish and senseless to argue against that presumption, which was made for general and not for particular cases. But here he stood upon a different ground: this case was an exception to all others, and he had a right to argue upon the fact, because there was no existing law to govern it. Here he was entitled to ask, Why proceed with this bill without necessity? Why attack the queen for acts which, if committed, could not endanger the succession? This was not a trial under any known law; and if the possibility of danger of this kind were established, he allowed that one of the preliminary objections to the bill had been removed. But he called upon its supporters to show how the succession was endangered. If there were a chance that the succession might fail for want of heirs, some such charge might be desirable; but it could not be contended that such a contingency was at all likely here to happen. It was said, that the exalted station of her majesty rendered her conduct an object of peculiar solicitude with her family, and that the legislature was bound to protect the honour of that family; that her majesty's conduct

tended to degrade the throne on which she sat, and the nation over which she was placed; and it was contended, therefore, that the connexion existing between her and the nation must be broken, because her conduct would sully its purity.

First of all he might be permitted to ask, whether it had never struck their lordships that these charges all referred to the conduct of her majesty before she became queen, when she had no royal dignity to support, when she had no immediate connexion with the diadem, and when she was only the wife of a subject, though filling the highest station in the realm? But see how this operated on another most important part of the question. If the queen had been brought before the house when princess of Wales, and charged with offences alleged to be done in that capacity, could any man deny that a bill of divorce from her royal husband must have been the remedy, and that divorce could only be obtained on the ordinary forms? All the preliminary forms must have been observed: the party claiming the bill must have come into the house by petition, and he would come in vain, if he did not enter it with clean hands. But here the promoters of this measure waited till the queen had lost her rank as princess of Wales, and until that rank was almost forgotten; and then they said, Because she is now queen we will proceed against her for offences alleged to have been committed when princess of Wales, thus taking especial care not to take one step, while she possessed those rights against her husband which every private wife enjoyed. He did not

say that those rights were extinct, but some persons did assert it, and that was enough for his argument.

Thus the question now was, not between man and wife, but between king and queen, and the promoters of this bill delayed till they thought at least that she was deprived of one protection. Either, then, this bill must be dismissed for having been brought in too late, or there was not a shadow of justice in not giving her *nunc pro tunc*, as lawyers expressed it, the benefit of her situation as princess of Wales. This brought him to implore their lordships to pause awhile on the threshold of this proceeding. "I put out of view (said Mr. Brougham) at present the question of recrimination: I raised it for the purpose of my argument, and I shall pursue it no further. I should be most deeply, and I may say with perfect truth unfeignedly afflicted, if in the progress of this ill-omened question, the necessity were imposed upon me of mentioning it again; and I should act directly in the teeth of the instructions of this illustrious woman [pointing to the queen, who sat immediately below him], I should disobey her solemn commands if I again used even the word recrimination without being driven to it by an absolute and overruling compulsion. In obedience to the same high command I lay out of view, as equally inconsistent with my own feelings and those of my client, all arguments of another description in which I might be tempted to show that levity or indiscretion, criminality, or even criminal intercourse, (for why should I be afraid to use the term?) cannot be

held to be fatal to the character of the country, or to the honour and dignity of the illustrious family governing it. Here nothing is or has been proved; and is it because calumnies have been bruited and gossiped about — because such a jealous watch has been kept upon the queen abroad, that we are to think they are to have more force than conduct less equivocal at home? That argument, and every thing resulting from it, I willingly postpone till the day of necessity: and in the same way I dismiss for the present all other questions respecting the conduct or connexions of any parties previous to marriage. These I say not one word about; they are dangerous and tremendous questions, the consequences of discussing which, at the present moment, I will not even trust myself to describe.

At present I hold them to be needless to the safety of my client; but when the necessity arrives, an advocate knows but one duty, and, cost what it may, he must discharge it. Be the consequences what they may, to any other persons, powers, principalities, dominions, or nations, an advocate is bound to do his duty; and I shall not fail to exert every means in my power to put a stop to this bill. But when I am told that a case of absolute necessity for the measure is made out because the queen has been guilty of improper familiarities (though I must look at the bill itself for the nice distinctions and refined expressions found in it) — because she has thought fit to raise from low situations, officers who had served other people in menial capacities — because she had treated them

with

with unbecoming intimacy—because she had advanced them, and bestowed marks of favour and distinction upon them—because she had created an order, and conducted herself in public and private with offensive familiarity—I cannot help asking, if these matters are so fatal to the honour and dignity of the crown, nay, to the very peace of the nation (for what else can justify a bill like this?) why it is only resorted to at the present moment?

The bill charges even a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse, and therefore its supporters say it is absolutely necessary for the house to interpose. But I appeal to the house—for I am compelled to do so—whether this is not only untrue, but whether it is not known to be untrue. The bill itself speaks falsely, and I will tell you why I say so. Are we arrived in this age at that highest pitch of polish in society when we shall be afraid to call things by their proper names, yet shall not scruple to punish by express laws an offence in the weaker sex which has been passed over in the stronger? Have we indeed reached that stage? I trust I shall not hear it said in this place: I hope that spirit of justice which I believe pervades this house at large will prevent it. But if not, I will appeal to the spirit of holiness and to the heads of the church now ranged before me, whether adultery is to be considered only a crime in woman. I make the same confident appeal, and to the same quarter, when I ask whether the crown can be dishonoured, the fame of the country tarnished, and the morals of the people put in jeopardy, if

an adulterous intercourse (which no one ventures to call adultery) shall be proved against a lady, when that which I venture to call adultery, because the exalted individual himself has confessed it to be so, has actually been committed by a prince.

It is with the utmost pain that I make this statement: it is wrung from me by hard compulsion; for there is not a man who acknowledges with a deeper sense of gratitude than I do all the obligations which this country and Europe owes to that illustrious individual. I say it not—God forbid I should—to visit harshly upon him any of the failings of our common nature, much less to alter in one iota my recorded sense of the baseness of that conspiracy by which those failings were dragged before the public. I bring it forward because it is in truth an answer to this case. Why was no bill of degradation brought in in 1809, after the resolution of the house of commons, and a full confession on behalf of the party accused, that he had been guilty of “most immoral and unbecoming conduct?” All this, I say, was well known to the authors of the present bill; for one of themselves penned the very words I have just read to the house.

I ask, therefore, whether there is any possibility of replying to this objection, but in one short way—that all men may do all they please, however exalted their station, however intimately connected with the crown, and with the highest interests of the state; that their conduct is perfectly indifferent; but let the tooth of slander once fix upon a defenceless female of the family, who has  
been



been residing abroad, who has been allowed to expatriate herself, who has been assisted in removing from the country, and even cherished to keep away from it; then, at that instant, the venom must distill, and she must be persecuted and prosecuted, under the canting, hypocritical, and disgusting pretence that the character of the country and the honour of the crown are at stake. Whether all of us, nearer to the object, do or do not see through the flimsy pretext, be assured that the good sense of the nation cannot be deceived, and that those at a distance will be both shocked and astonished. The people at large must look upon it as something too ridiculous to be examined: I myself can hardly use decorous terms in speaking of it; and they, in their homely language, will assert that it is an attempt to accomplish one purpose under the colour of another. 'Here is a man,' they will say, 'who wishes to get rid of his wife; he talks of the honour and safety of the country; yet its dearest interests, its peace, its morals, and its happiness are to be sacrificed to gratify his desires.'

He would ask who had encouraged the queen to go abroad? When that illustrious personage, worn out by all she had experienced in this country, naturally began to think repose a blessing, who had recommended that she should seek it on the continent? Who had opposed the advice given by the friends of the queen, to which they had set their hands, and he (Mr. Brougham) among them, that they would answer with their heads for her safety while in England, but that when

abroad she would be surrounded by foreigners, spies, and informers? Who had counteracted this faithful suggestion? Who but those who were now arrayed against her, with a green bag of documentary evidence in the one hand, and this bill of degradation in the other? How happened it that they never before thought of the character of the country, the honour of the royal family, and the dignity of the throne? Where was their boasted sagacity, when these evil counsellors could not foresee what might be the consequences of the step they were so earnestly recommending? Then there was no whisper of any thing of the sort; all was to be ease, tranquillity, and liberty, for the rest of her majesty's life: there was to be no watching, no prying, no spying, no asking "Why do you do so or so?" but all was to be kindness and toleration. With these promises, the next thing was to assist the queen to depart. The ship of war, which was refused to bring her back, had been readily granted to take her away. Money was also offered, with equal liberality, for her outfit, and her residence abroad commenced under the happiest auspices. Yet reports soon came over; they increased by degrees; the slander became blacker and more malignant; and as early as four years ago it had assumed a certain consistency. Still there was no jealous watching, no hunting for evidence, and no hint given to the queen that it would be fit to be more guarded in her conduct: the character of the country and the honour of the crown were then never dreamed of. Ministers had never said, "Return; this is dangerous—the country

country suffers—the crown is dishonoured—the royal family degraded, by these calumnious reports.” On the contrary, they had done every thing to encourage her staying; and he (Mr. Brougham) would venture to stake his existence that any man would have been deemed an enemy, and have had the court doors flung in his face, who should have had the hardihood to counsel that her royal highness should have been requested to re-visit this country. Yet these very men, after forcing her away—after aiding, abetting, and encouraging a foreign residence—after taking no one step to put an end to that which they themselves alleged to be the sole cause of the evil: even at the twelfth hour, and when the twelfth hour was about to toll, did they then come with a request that she should return? Did they then suggest that her majesty, having changed her station, could no longer live abroad with safety—that what might be good for a princess was evil for a queen? Did they come forward with any plain frank disclosure that some inquiry might be rendered necessary—that reports had got abroad so malignant that they could not be overlooked—that suspicion attached, and that that suspicion must be removed? Was any thing of this sort done, not in kindness to the queen, but in compassion to the long-suffering people of England now agitated by this great question? No such thing: to the last moment she was warned not to come back: she was to be pensioned, largely pensioned, for not coming home; and she was to enjoy the rank she had degraded, and the privileges

she had forfeited. She was to have an income to enable her to be wicked on a larger scale; all levity, all indiscretion, even “adulterous intercourse” was to be pardoned on one condition, and that condition was, that she should continue abroad, before the eyes of foreigners who envied and hated us: she was to be the degrading spectacle of the queen of this country, without one of the virtues that ought to belong to her sex and her condition.

With these facts before him, he must have a mind capable of swallowing the most monstrous improbabilities, who could lend himself for one moment to the belief that ministers gave credit to the preamble of the bill. It would never have been heard of if the queen had returned from Calais; but her landing at Dover called up all those phantoms of national degradation and insulted honour, of which so much had recently been heard: they were all raised by the foot which she set upon the English shore; and if she had consented to restrain it, she might still have lived without imputation, at least from the quarter in which it now originated. “I end here (said Mr. Brougham) what I have to urge, not that I have nothing more to bring forward, but because I am sure that your lordships are men of justice, that you are men of principle, men of ordinary sagacity, and, above all, that you are men of honour. I have made my appeal to you upon this bill, and I feel confident that I have not made it in vain. True it is that your committee has reported in its favour, but that cannot pledge the house; and he is the greatest of all fools who con-

sults

sults his apparent consistency at the expense of his absolute ruin. The sooner you retrace the step into which you may have been led at an unwary moment, the greater will be the service you render your country: if you decide that this bill ought not to proceed, you will be the saviours of the state, and indeed promote the substantial welfare of the kingdom, and the truest honour of the crown."

The lord chancellor, as soon as Mr. Brougham had retired from the bar, said that the house, which admitted but two counsel to be heard, would hear the other counsel now.

Mr. Denman, at this late hour of the day, when the understood period for the termination of business had arrived, after an anxious attendance, and in his present state of health, trusted that their lordships would extend to him their indulgence by granting him time till to-morrow.

The earl of Liverpool was most ready to comply with the request of the learned counsel, and suggested the propriety of adjourning.

The lord chancellor added, that the house would proceed to-morrow, and that only two counsel would be heard for or against the bill.

August 18.—A petition was presented from Liverpool, by the earl of Derby, against the bill of pains and penalties.

The counsel and agents were then called in.

Mr. Denman presented himself at the bar, and in a speech distinguished as much for eloquence as it was for sound argument, argued against the principle of the bill. In our limits it would be

impossible even to give a faint sketch of the learned counsel's powerful appeal:—"I trust (said the learned counsel) your lordships will, above all things, seriously weigh the balance of evil which is likely to arise from this measure. I trust also, that you will not yourselves overlook any matter which is calculated to injure, or produce a disregard for the marriage tie. Look, my lords, to the moral feelings of the country, which this measure is calculated to outrage. Observe that all this cannot be productive of any good—but must, be the result what it may, produce infinite harm to the country. I must here on the part of her majesty protest against any proceeding by bill of pains and penalties, when the scene is laid in a foreign and distant land, when the inquiry is to be into a life of more than six years, and when the accused has been refused a list of the witnesses against her. This last refusal placed her majesty in a worse situation than any person taking his trial in one of the lower courts. The request made to your lordships was, in fact, that this great principle might be preserved, but modified according to your lordships' pleasure, so as to avoid inconvenience. This however has been refused. In the case of a charge in the lower courts the witnesses appeared before a grand jury, and the accused had an opportunity of ascertaining the character of the persons by whom the accusation was to be supported. But her majesty has been denied this right. Therefore, instead of having received any favour at the hands of your lordships, she has every right to complain.

Again,

Again I say that in her majesty's name I protest against this bill of pains and penalties in a case which admits of impeachment. I also protest against your lordships not discharging the duties imposed on you, as well as your exercise of a power not contemplated by the constitution. Your lordships may meet with the co-operation of the other branch of the legislature; but be it remembered, that you may also meet with its check and control. I must here guard myself from any imputation, from what I have said, that either I or my learned friends are declining the contest. No; we do not shrink from the combat—we are ready and anxious to meet it. Here I feel it my duty to state, that I owe to my illustrious client an apology, for having, in the line of argument which I have been obliged to take, allowed even a possibility of the truth of the charges against her. I feel a perfect conviction of her innocence; I feel also, that there cannot be brought against her any thing, which, to an honourable mind, will be a proof of her guilt. But whatever be the consequences which follow this investigation, whatever may be the sufferings inflicted on her majesty, I shall never withdraw from her that homage and respect which I owe to her high station, her superior mind, and those resplendent virtues which have shown through a life of persecution and of suffering. I shall never pay to any other who may usurp her place, that respect and duty which belong to her, whom the laws of God and man have made the consort of his present

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majesty, and the partner of his throne."

Her majesty entered the house during the learned counsel's speech, and at its conclusion withdrew.—She was treated by the house with every mark of respect.

The attorney general then rose; and said, the question to be considered was, whether they would entertain the grave and solemn, but disgusting charges preferred against her majesty—or whether they were prepared to say, that, notwithstanding the proof to be adduced, there was something in this bill that it ought not to be followed up by the enactments contained in the preamble? This was his view of the question before their lordships. But see how it had been argued by his learned friends. They had argued the question as if the preamble had not been proved, and yet they had indulged themselves in talking of spies, informers, perjured and suborned witnesses. When those witnesses had given their testimony, the time would come to speak of their character and the nature of their testimony. This line of proceeding was, in fact, nothing more or less than tampering with their lordships' feelings, and doubtless it must have made an impression upon their minds. His learned friends had also placed another difficulty in his way. They had found fault with the framing of the preamble, and, not satisfied with that, had gone through its whole history. They attacked the proceedings of the secret committee, and went on to show the disadvantage under which her majesty laboured, in consequence of not having her case brought

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before

before a grand jury. But their lordships had decided that this was the only mode of proceeding; they had decided, that the crime with which her majesty was accused, though if committed in England it would be treason, could not be so construed, having been committed abroad, and with a foreigner. They had, in fact, decided, that her majesty was not amenable to any of our courts of justice, and that this was the only mode of proceeding which could be instituted. Their lordships instituted this inquiry on the report of a secret committee; this, it was urged, deprived her majesty of the benefit derived from a grand jury. But did the committee find her majesty guilty of any one charge? They merely said, that from what had been laid before them, they were of opinion, that there was serious ground of charge against her majesty affecting the dignity of the crown, and they recommended to the house to proceed to an inquiry. See, then, how the arguments of his learned friends were applied—first they found fault with the preamble of the bill, and, secondly, they quarrelled with the measure itself, which their lordships, by their having read it the first time, had sanctioned. It was urged that the secret committee had reported upon unvouched documents. He had no means of knowing upon what statements the secret committee reported, nor did he know from whence his learned friends drew their information; but he was much mistaken if the select committee had not had the sworn testimony of witnesses in support of the statements laid before them.

But whether they had or had not such testimony was not now the question; their lordships had decided upon that report, and that decision could not now be called in question. The grounds alleged in the preamble of the present bill were of the same public nature and import as those stated in the bill against the bishop of Rochester. When the facts recited were proved in evidence, the great question which their lordships would have to decide, would be, whether such a substantiation of the truth of the facts should be followed by the enactment of the bill? It had been endeavoured by his learned friends to raise an objection to the bill, on the ground that the charges which it alleged against her majesty had flowed from slander and perjury. In the present stage of the proceeding, what right, he would ask, had they to argue upon such a gratuitous and unproved assumption? Where were the proofs to justify it? Their lordships knew nothing of them—they could not know any thing of them; and for what purpose such a line of observation was introduced, he would leave to their lordships to decide. In the same spirit, it was objected by his learned friend, that the present bill originated in a committee of that house, where no decisive opinion had been formed. He could not see the least strength in such an objection. The decisive opinion of their lordships had yet to be formed. It would be doing a great injustice to her majesty, had their lordships, in that previous part of the proceeding, ventured to pronounce a decisive opinion; it would then be imputed

puted to them that they had forestalled and prejudged the question. Their lordships had wisely abstained from such a course.

All that they had done was to express their opinion, that there existed grounds for a serious charge against her majesty. Throughout the whole of the argument of his learned friends that had been assumed, which, at least, was extremely doubtful, namely, that in proceeding against her majesty an impeachment could have been founded. The whole of the argument against proceeding by bill of pains and penalties, rested on the ground of their lordships acting in that case in their legislative, and not in their judicial capacity. When, therefore, his learned friends deprecated such a course, and contended for an impeachment, they were bound to have shown, that in the present case an impeachment could have been maintained. That proof they had declined; and their lordships, he trusted, would agree with him, that the wisest course which could have been pursued, was the one which was the least subject to doubt and uncertainty. Besides, he would confidently say, that notwithstanding all those airs of triumph with which those objections were introduced—notwithstanding all the inflammatory language which accompanied their statement, that a very different character would have been given to the measure of proceeding by a bill of pains and penalties, had not that been the very measure, which in the present case had been adopted.

It was adopted because it adverted to certain charges against her majesty, which, though of the

gravest import, were not a violation of any law, while the best authorities supported the doctrine that an impeachment could not be maintained but for a breach of a law. Sure, then, he was, that notwithstanding all the challenges now so heroically thrown out, notwithstanding all those allusions to the morality of the country, and all those various topics so liberally brought into view, had impeachment been the proceeding adopted, the very same objectors would have deprecated it, and have said, that the proceeding in the case of an adultery should have been by bill, and not by impeachment, because by the adoption of the latter course, the accused party was deprived of the power of recrimination. They complained of the proceeding by bill, because they were now shut out from recrimination, and, strange to say, regret that the impeachment was not adopted—a course of proceeding which no lawyer would venture to assert, allowed the accused to recriminate. All this contradiction had its purposes; it was to terrify and to alarm, and to withdraw the minds of their lordships from the real question on which they had to decide.

His learned friends had, it was to be recollected, taken this course, not in the exercise of a duty compulsive with them, but acting under an indulgence so very rarely allowed by that house—so rarely indeed, that the divorce case of the duke of Norfolk was the only one to be found where the counsel of the accused was allowed to interfere before the evidence was produced. It was not, then, too much to expect that those sweeping charges should have been de-

ferred until the character of the evidence to be produced was ascertained; before the charge of corruption was thrown out against witnesses to be examined. Surely his learned friends should wait until enabled to sustain such imputations by proof. His learned friends may prejudice, they may prejudice, they may assail the characters of the most eminent and illustrious in rank and station; they may rake from the shades of oblivion all those prejudices, or failings, over which the healing spirit of time and more correct feeling had, in consideration of his many virtues, thrown a veil; they may select the moment when an illustrious individual (the duke of York, we presume) was next in succession to the throne, when the remains of his illustrious partner had been just consigned to the grave, to wound his feelings, and revive recollections which a better feeling had never disturbed: all these things his learned friends may do with impunity—for him it was only to state the facts which he should call upon evidence to sustain. They may declaim on the bribes by which that evidence was obtained, and animadvert on the nature of the motives which they presumed to operate on the minds of some of their lordships. All that remained for him was to conjure their lordships, and he knew he did so not in vain, to dismiss all such inapplicable statements from their minds, and to apply themselves to the great and important question, on which, in fact, they were called in their judicial character to pronounce.

The solicitor general was next heard at considerable length.

Mr. Brougham, in reply, urged a variety of arguments in favour of his original proposition, and showed the policy of the principle contended for by the counsel for the crown.

Aug. 19.—A few minutes before ten o'clock the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack, and at ten precisely, lord Liverpool having moved the order of the day, the deputy clerk of parliament proceeded to call the house. Peers absent: lord Mountford, lord Melville, and the duke of Newcastle. In pursuance of the notice given yesterday,

Lord King then rose and said, that, the counsel having closed their arguments on both sides, he thought this the best and only opportunity of endeavouring, by some means or other, to interpose a motion which should avert what he considered to be one of the greatest calamities which could happen to the country at large. His lordship concluded by moving "That it appears to this house that it is not necessary for the public safety or the security of the country, that a bill entitled 'An act to deprive her majesty, &c.' should pass into a law."

The question having been put by the lord chancellor,

Lord Liverpool rose to state the reasons why he should oppose the motion of the noble lord, and move as an amendment—"That the attorney general be directed to be called in." He wished throughout the whole of these proceedings to abstain from any inflammatory topics, because it was his anxious desire to treat the subject entirely as a judicial question. The noble lord's observations might be divided into two heads

heads of argument : first, whether any necessity or public utility existed for continuing any proceedings whatever against her majesty ; and second, whether this was the course of proceeding which ought to be adopted. Directing his observations to the latter question first, he contended, that admitting the queen's guilt for the sake of argument, this was the only measure which the crown could have pursued under all the circumstances. It was the declared opinion of the judges, solemnly delivered, that the offence imputed to the queen was not high treason, and consequently it was found impracticable to proceed against her by impeachment, a course which would have been adopted if found practicable. By the law of England, strange as it might appear, adultery was not a crime, and notwithstanding that the propriety of a law upon that subject had often been suggested, still the law was as he described. He contended that there was a distinction between adultery committed by a queen, and by a private subject, as regarded offences *contra bonos mores*, and proceeded to urge, that in this respect the present case was anomalous, and therefore deserving a peculiar mode of treatment. He concluded by moving his amendment.

Earl Grey opposed the amendment, and argued with considerable force against the present proceeding. He contended that impeachment was a far preferable mode, and concluded by saying, that when the present question was disposed of, he should propose a resolution, the object of which would be to put a stop altogether to

the further progress of this bill. The house divided.

In favour of lord Liverpool's amendment - - - 18  
Against it - - - 65

Majority 116

Lord Calthorpe suggested to the house whether some arrangement might not yet be adopted, by which all further proceeding in this painful inquiry might be avoided.

The lord chapcellow now called upon earl Grey for his resolution, which the noble earl handed in. It was as follows:—"That it appears that the bill now before the house does not afford the most advisable means of prosecuting the charges against her majesty, and that therefore, under the present circumstances, it is not necessary or expedient to proceed further with it."

This resolution was put as an amendment to the motion of lord Liverpool, "That counsel be called in," and was negatived by a division, as follows :  
Contents, for the amendment 64  
Not contents - - - 179

Majority - 155

The counsel were then called in, and the attorney general and the counsel for the crown on the one side, and Mr. Brougham and the counsel for the queen on the other, appeared at the bar.

The lord chancellor : Mr. attorney general, you will proceed to open your case.

The attorney general proceeded to recapitulate the charges. He stated that in 1814, her majesty (then princess of Wales) withdrew herself from this country, for the purpose of travelling upon the



continent, or visiting other countries. She went in the first instance to Brunswick, and from thence, after a short stay, she went to Italy; she arrived at Milan on the 9th of October 1814. She remained at Milan for a space of three months, and during that period a person was received into her service, of the name of Bergami, as a courier, or footman, or *valet de place*. The princess, on quitting Milan, proceeded to Rome, and from thence she went to Naples, where she arrived on the 8th of November 1814. From the situation assigned to Bergami, a direct communication was opened between his chamber and that of the princess. Upon the evening of the 9th of November the princess went to the opera, and returned very early from thence. She hastened to her apartment, and gave strict orders that young Austin should not be admitted to her room that evening. She then went from her own room towards that assigned to Bergami. On the following morning it was discovered that the princess had not slept in her own room that night. Her bed remained almost precisely in the same state as on the preceding evening; and the other bed appeared as if two persons had reposed in it. This intercourse was carried on without interruption for a very great length of time. There was a kind of public masquerade held at the theatre St. Charles, in Naples. The princess thought proper to attend it, and chose as her companion her courier Bergami, and a female servant, named Mademoiselle Dumont. The whole party wore dresses selected by the princess. These dresses were of a most gross and indecent descrip-

tion, so much so, that on entering the theatre they were received with such marked insult and disapprobation, that they were obliged immediately to retire. Acts of familiarity were continued daily and without interruption. They were seen coming from their rooms in the morning at the same time. They retired at the same hour in the evening.

On the 6th of January 1816, the princess left Messina, and embarked in the frigate *Clorinde*, the vessel which had previously carried her royal highness from Civita Vecchia to Genoa. At that time Bergami was her menial, but he was now her chamberlain. The honourable officer who commanded the ship, felt it would be degrading him, if he sat at the same table with one who had formerly served him, and he remonstrated on the subject with her royal highness. She took a day or two to consider what she should do, and in the end declined the table and society of captain Pechell for that of her paramour.—At Catania, the *filles de chambre*, sitting up one night late at their revels, saw Bergami's door open, and the princess coming out in such a condition as could leave no doubt of her having passed the night in his room. She was undressed, and had a pillow under her arm, on which she always slept.

It being 4 o'clock, the house adjourned.

Monday, August 21.—The attorney general resumed his statement. He said that at the different places which her royal highness visited, the sleeping apartments were so arranged, that the bed-room of Bergami was always near to or adjoining that of her royal

royal highness. On her voyage to Tunis a bed was brought into the dining room for the accommodation of Bergami, and was placed in such a situation in the room, that when the door of the princess's room was open, she and Bergami could see and converse with each other while they lay in their beds; and the only access that remained to the room of the princess was through the sleeping apartment of Bergami. At Jerusalem she instituted an order, called St. Caroline, of which Bergami was appointed grand master, in addition to the orders she had already conferred upon him. During the voyage to Italy she had, on one occasion, a bath prepared for her, into which she went, accompanied by Bergami. The most unbecoming familiarities were moreover daily exhibited. While at Villa d'Este, the princess and Bergami frequently rode out alone in a vehicle, the princess sitting on his knee, with his arms round her waist, whilst he guided the horse. On the river Breseia they were often observed kissing one another. On the return of the princess from the east, she brought in her train a man named Mahomet: he used to exhibit himself at the Villa Branchi in the most indecorous and shameful manner, the princess and Bergami being present.

After the statement for the prosecution had closed, the solicitor summoned a witness by the name of Theodore Majocchi. This person was, through the influence of Bergami, placed, in the beginning of 1815, on her majesty's establishment. The appearance of Majocchi had such an effect on her majesty, that she, after uttering

an exclamation of surprise at the sight of him, instantly quitted the house. Majocchi's evidence tended to prove that indecent familiarities had been exercised by her majesty towards Bergami; but adduced nothing decisive, as to a criminal intercourse having been pursued.

Tuesday and Wednesday the examination of Majocchi was continued, and on Wednesday the cross-examination was concluded. Another witness, named Gaetano Paturzo, part owner and sailing-master of the polacca in which her majesty went to Palestine, was afterwards examined, whose evidence bore more strongly against her majesty than that of the first witness.

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday were occupied with examinations of witnesses.

Vincenza Garguilo stated, that he was master of the polacca that conveyed the princess of Wales and her suite to Tunis, and afterwards to Greece. He had always seen her royal highness accompanied by Bergami, not only when she went to take the bath, but upon all other occasions.

Francisco di Rollo said, that he had been engaged as cook to the princess, on board the polacca. He had seen Mahomet exhibit once in the kitchen, and another time in the court when the princess was at the window.

Captain Pechell and Captain Thomas Briggs, R. N. were examined; but their evidence proved nothing material that could militate against her majesty.

Pietro Puchi, principal waiter at the grand hotel at Trieste, spoke to Bergami's bed not having been slept in, and the princess's bed

being tumbled, and other suspicious circumstances.

Barbara Krautz was chambermaid at a post inn at Carlsruhe. Her evidence was the most material of any of the preceding witnesses. She stated, that the princess and Bergami staid at the inn about eight days. Between seven and eight o'clock at night, she had to carry water to No. 12. When she entered, Bergami was in bed, with his arm round the neck of the princess, who was seated on the bed. On her entering, the princess, let the arm fall, and jumped up, as if alarmed. Witness was surprised, and instantly withdrew. The following part of her evidence was so indelicate that the witness burst into tears.

A warm altercation then ensued as to the propriety of cross-examining witnesses on subsequent occasions; after which their lordships adjourned.

The proceedings against the queen were resumed on Monday, August 28, and continued until the 7th September. The time was principally occupied in the examination of the following witnesses: Giuseppe Bianchi, door-keeper of the Grande Bretagne inn, Venice; Paolo Ragazzoni, mason at the villa d'Este; Gerolamo Mejani, superintendant of the gardens of the princess; Paolo Oggioni, under-cook to the princess; Louisa Dumont, *femme de chambre* to the princess; Luigi Galdini, mason at the villa d'Este; Alessandro Finetti, ornamental painter at the villa d'Este; Domenico Brusa, mason at the villa d'Este; Antonio Bianci, inhabitant of Como; Giovanni Lucini, white-washer at villa d'Este; Caarlo Rancatti, confectioner to the

princess; Francesco Cassina, mason at the villa d'Este; Giuseppe Rastelli, superintendant of the stables of the princess; Giuseppe Galli, waiter at the crown inn, Barlisina; Giuseppe del Orto, baker to the princess; Giuseppe Gugiari, boatman on the lake of Como; Giuseppe Sacchi, equerry and courier to the princess.

Mademoiselle Dumont was the principal and most important of these witnesses. This lady, in virtue of her calling, was supposed to have been better acquainted with the terms on which her royal mistress and her chamberlain lived together; accordingly her testimony was fuller and more particular than that of former witnesses, and tended to prove that her royal mistress had been guilty of much unbecoming levity and indecent familiarity with her courier Bergami. As to the rest of the witnesses, none of them displayed any thing novel in the catalogue of charges against her majesty. Some were not at all cross-examined, and others but very slightly.

The solicitor general, about five minutes after the cross-examination had concluded, stepped forward, and addressed their lordships in the following manner:—

“ My lords—Mr Brougham, the attorney-general for her majesty the queen, having closed his long and elaborate cross-examination of the whole of the evidence it is our intention to adduce in support of the bill, it becomes my duty to address your lordships in support of the allegations contained in the preamble of the bill; and I trust that I may be allowed to make a few remarks in justification of myself and my learned colleagues,

colleagues, as to the course we have pursued, and the principles by which we have been influenced in conducting this important inquiry. When his majesty's attorney general received instructions to lay before your lordships the evidence upon this subject, he, in conjunction with myself and my other learned friends employed upon this occasion, paid the most anxious attention in collecting the evidence. We weighed, we considered all the materials before us; and any part of the materials which struck us as bearing upon the question, without regard to the influence or impression that might be raised against us, we fairly laid before your lordships. I trust that in so doing we have faithfully discharged our duty. We have acted by your orders, and under your direction; and we have pursued our course honestly and fairly, and to the exercise of our best judgement. What I now ask is, to be allowed to point your lordships' attention to the facts in evidence. The difficulty I have to encounter is this, that I know not what is to be offered in opposition to the evidence that has been heard, or on what argument, or on what facts, her majesty's defence is to rest. All I have to do is, to show how the allegations and charges contained in the preamble of the bill, are made out. I trust that, in referring to the evidence which my learned friends and I have had the painful task so many days of unfolding, we have not been guilty of any mis-statement or exaggeration.

It shall not, my lords, be my endeavour to influence your minds. It is my duty merely to state the

substance of that evidence, and to show how it relates to and dwells upon the charges upon which the bill has been introduced. Still less shall I hope to let fall an expression derogatory to her majesty. It is my duty to unfold the evidence. She is here on her trial. One side of the cause has not been heard, and I am bound, and your lordships are bound, to consider her innocent until her guilt (if she be guilty) shall be finally established. We, my lords, are charged with making allusions to, and throwing dirt at her majesty. We are free from that imputation. We have, in the course we have pursued, stated nothing which we believed could not be satisfactorily proved. The calumnies, if calumnies they are, are not ours. We have acted upon the evidence of witnesses who were sworn to speak the truth. But when we are accused of calumnies, let us look at the conduct of our adversaries. We have been charged with being engaged in a foul, detestable conspiracy—we are accused of subornation of perjury—calumnies as infamous as they are wholly unworthy of credit. Who is it, then, that charges us with seeking to cast dirt about? Certainly not the counsel in support of the bill. It is fixed upon a different quarter. We are also told, that the opening speech of my learned friend has not been established by proof, and that the allegations contained in the bill have not been substantially established by the evidence before you.

I request your lordships to cast your reflection back upon the mass of evidence, and in the honest feeling of your hearts, to say, whether,

whether, not only in substance, but almost in all the details, the charges have not been supported by the evidence? Let me recall to your recollection what this charge is. It begins by stating, that her majesty had engaged in her service, at Milan, a person, who has been so frequently named in the evidence, and who acted as a menial servant; that an intimacy of a disgraceful nature took place between this menial and her royal highness; that she loaded him with favours; that the members of his family were placed in situations of more or less consequence; and that, ultimately, an intercourse of an adulterous character took place between her majesty and this menial. That is the charge, and it will be my duty to show whether that is not substantially supported. I beg leave to call your lordships' recollection to the period at which her majesty first arrived at Milan, and from the time of her leaving that place up to the period of her arrival at Caprini, the last place to which the evidence reaches. I shall pursue her in the due order of time. It is said, that at Milan her majesty took into her service the individual who has been so frequently alluded to; that he had been previously in the service of general Pino, upon three livres a day; that he first entered the queen's service as a courier: that he waited at table there a fortnight, and that her majesty then left Milan. It is stated that a young man, named Austin, about 12 or 13 years of age, had been in the habit of sleeping in her chamber, and that the night before her majesty went to Naples, she said the lad was too old to

sleep in her chamber, and requested that he should be placed in some other situation. It was stated that the day after she arrived at Naples she went to the opera. It is material to consider the nature of the arrangement of the apartments at Naples. A private cabinet separated the two rooms, one of which was appropriated to the service of the queen, the other to that of Bergami.—There was no interruption to the passing of a person from room to room. Her majesty, upon her return from the opera at Naples, appeared extremely agitated, and immediately repaired to her bed-room, desiring that she should not be interrupted by Austin, and dispensing with the attendance of her attendants. The observation made next morning was, that the queen's travelling bed had not been disturbed; but that on a larger bed were the marks of two persons having lain in it. Your lordships in the course of the investigation put a question, which, fettered as we were, we could not propose; and the answer to that question stated, that upon that bed there were marks which indicated, that the act of adultery had taken place. The learned counsel proceeded to state, that the fact of adultery was seldom proved. It was not committed with open doors. It was of necessity secret, and the facts he had heard stated were as strong as ever were submitted to a jury in a case where adultery was charged. But, intelligible as this was, and reasonable as it was, he would not press it upon his own authority.

He then quoted the opinion of sir William Scott, in the case of *Loveden v. Loveden*, in the consistory

story court, which was, that the fundamental rule was, that it was not necessary to prove the direct fact—that could not be done once in a hundred times; the case was to be decided upon by an inference leading to a just conclusion. The learned counsel then said he would proceed to sum up the facts, such as they had been proved in evidence before their lordships. He would call their attention to what passed at Naples on the first visit of her royal highness. On one night, the witness Dumont, when on the point of quitting the princess's room, and standing at the door in the corridor, saw the courier at the other end of the passage coming towards the princess's apartment. Dumont did as every one would have done in a similar situation, hastened to quit the spot, and the moment she had passed the door, it was closed, and the key was turned. Perhaps it might be said that this fact rested on the single testimony of Dumont; but he hoped to satisfy their lordships that the credibility of this witness was unimpeached. If the adulterous intercourse had taken place, of which he thought their lordships could not in the least doubt, it would account for that intimacy and that familiarity between the parties which had been sworn to by many witnesses. While at Naples, a ball was given by her royal highness to Joachim Murat, in a house near the sea. The princess went, accompanied by Bergami and her chambermaid. There were two apartments, a dressing-room and an ante-room. The princess first appeared as a Neapolitan peasant, and was dressed for the character by Dumont.

She returned in an hour to change her dress.—Dumont remains in the ante-room. The courier goes with her royal highness into the dressing-room, where she entirely changed her dress, and they then come out of the room arm in arm, and return to the ball together. "I shall be told," says the learned counsel, "there is no adultery in this; but will any man of common sense entertain a doubt of it, or believe that this would have been done had not the adulterous intercourse previously taken place?"—The princess and Bergami afterwards went to the ball, dressed as Turkish peasants; but he returned almost immediately with shame from that spot which he had polluted with his presence. A footman, my lords, a common footman, was the companion of the wife of the heir apparent of England, at a masked ball."

At Naples, Bergami was confined in consequence of a kick from a horse; his room was near that of her royal highness; and Majocchi tells you, that one night the princess came through his room, and looking to see if he was asleep, passed into the room of Bergami, after which he heard them kissing each other. But perhaps Majocchi's evidence will be said to go for nothing; he has been cross-examined once; cross-examined twice, and Carlton house is introduced, and then he is cross-examined a third time. I have looked over the whole of the minutes of these several cross-examinations, and I contend that the evidence of this witness has not been shaken in a single instance. He was asked questions perfectly irrelevant, merely that my learned friends might get from

from him a few *non mi ricordos*. He thanked his learned friends for this third cross-examination of the witness Majocchi, for an hour and a half on this day, which they had demanded merely because they heard he was at Carlton house, and they thought there must be something mysterious in that.

The facts sworn by Majocchi had not been exactly confirmed by the witness Dumont, because she was not in a situation to confirm them; but they had both attested to facts of the same nature and description. At Naples, the princess and Bergami had been seen walking on the terrace arm in arm. Shall I be told that this is a trifle?—It is, however, a trifle from which one conclusion only can be drawn. I would remind your lordships of the princess's visit to the theatre of San Carlos. The wife of the then regent of this empire privately goes to the theatre of San Carlos, not attended by any of the English in her suite, nor by any respectable individual of any country, but accompanied by her chambermaid and her courier. In a rainy and tempestuous night they quit the house, traverse the garden, and enter a hired carriage at the private gate, and in disguise enter the theatre, where their reception was such as to induce them to remain a very short time. At Genoa, we find all the English attendants had quitted her royal highness, except Dr. Holland. Here the arrangement of the apartments is most material: the bed-rooms of the princess and Bergami communicate with each other, and are only separated by a room which is occupied by no

one. On the opposite side of the princess's room is the bed-room of Dumont, into which a door opened. Every night when Dumont quitted the princess and retired to her own room, the key was turned, and she was bolted in. The princess's bed was never occupied, and Dumont, finding that, never made it, only smoothing the sheets and adjusting the cushions.

The learned counsel would call the attention of their lordships to another circumstance. The first thing done by Bergami, after he had obtained such influence over the princess, was to render it as beneficial to his family as possible, and this he did by successively bringing in his own friends and relatives. The intercourse had been carried on four months at Naples, and two or three months at Genoa, when the courier introduced his brother, his sister, and his mother into the service of her royal highness. This, he remarked, was the natural result of the connexion between the servant and the mistress. She is willing he should bring his friends and relatives—his own child—but not the mother, the wife of Bergami; she was the last to be admitted. The learned counsel then recapitulated the facts which had been deposed to as occurring at Genoa, at Milan, at the Barona, at Balanzona, the Villani, the Villa d'Este, the voyage on board the *Clorinde*, at Catania, at Pesaro, on board the *Leviathan*, and at other places visited by the princess; and although none of these singly proved the actual fact of adultery, yet he contended they would not have taken place had not the adulterous intercourse previously existed—an inter-

intercourse, of which, he thought, no man of common sense, who had heard the evidence, could for a moment doubt. Were the intimacy of Bergami and the princess of that pure and unsullied nature which it was wished to prove, why not bring him forward to deny the facts which had been sworn to, since no one could so well give evidence on the subject? He could not, he said, help adverting to the rapid rise of Bergami; he had been two years a contented menial, in the service of general Pino: but when he entered the service of her royal highness, he was, in the course of a few months, raised from the situation of a courier, who waited behind the chair of the princess, to the rank of equerry, then her royal highness's chamberlain, a knight of Malta, count Frontini, knight of St. Caroline and of the holy sepulchre, and with property accumulated equally rapid as his rank.—The learned counsel vindicated the letters of madame Dumont, and dwelt much on the breach of confidence in her royal highness's establishment, in the intercepting of letters. These facts, he contended, unless proved to be false by his learned friends on the opposite side, and he dared them to the proof, could leave no doubt as to the alleged criminality of her royal highness.

After the solicitor general had concluded his address,

The earl of Lonsdale thought that the proper stage had now arrived for putting a question of great importance to the noble earl at the head of his majesty's treasury. He wished to ask his lordship whether, on reflection, he was now disposed to withdraw the divorce clause in the bill?

Were the answer in the affirmative, her majesty's counsel would then know how to confine themselves, in their defence, to the clause of pains and penalties.

Lord Liverpool said it was impossible to make any alteration in the bill till the case in evidence was concluded, till the bill has gone into a committee, and the clauses are under discussion. At the same time, his lordship had no difficulty in stating, that as the sole object of the bill was to uphold public justice and the honour of the country, and not, as was insinuated, to relieve the illustrious individual who might be supposed to be interested in the result, he was perfectly ready, for his own part, if there were any strong feeling, either in the house or in the country, against the clause of divorce, to consent to its being withdrawn.

Earl Grey felt himself bound to declare, that he thought the clause of divorce a necessary consequence of the clause of pains and penalties. If the queen were degraded, she could not be allowed to remain queen consort. To entertain the bill without the clause of divorce, would be to make it a bill for degrading the king as well as the queen, since the omission could only arise from some suppositions injurious to the character of his majesty.

Lord Lonsdale explained.

Lord Donoughmore thought the question of the noble earl (Lonsdale) had no other object than to smoothe the way of the bill amid the difficulties with which it was encompassed—that its great aim was to relieve the consciences of the bench of bishops, who were understood to be hostile to this part



part of the bill. He for one would never consent to any such alteration in the bill.

The conversation on this point here dropped, and

The lord chancellor proceeded to ask her majesty's counsel how they now proposed to proceed?

Mr. Brougham.—My lords, I am called upon to give an answer to a very serious and momentous question, and it is quite impossible that I can reply to it by a yea or a nay. I was about to state to your lordships the great and growing difficulties with which we have to contend, and to throw myself on your lordships' compassion.

The lord chancellor.—You should appeal to the justice of the house, and not to its compassion. The house is not accustomed to be addressed in this way.

Mr. Brougham.—Then I shall put myself on my right; I thought it most respectful to appeal to your compassion, and for no other purpose did I use the expression: however, as you will have the less respectful language I must adopt it—I ask from you justice then, that as I have had no means of preparation, while my opponents have had opportunities for months before, you will allow me till 12 o'clock to-morrow, which is all the favour I ask.

The lord chancellor.—The house wish to know if you will commence your case to-morrow, with a view to go through it, or if you intend to apply for delay?

Mr. Brougham.—My lords, if I may be permitted to say so, I feel myself in the situation of a counsel, and have a right to change my plan as circumstances may suggest. I appeal to such of your lordships as know any thing of *nisi prius* cases, whether it is not

customary for counsel to wait the effect of their defence, before they determine whether they will produce evidence or not. No counsel before was ever so placed on the rack. Permission has always been given to answer *quamprimum* the case made on the other side, and if he finds that he has not made the impression intended, he then asks leave to call evidence. He should be wanting in candour, he should be wanting in the candour and fairness which he owed their lordships, if he did not state his presentiment, and what he foresaw. He had not received—he did not say the commands of her majesty—but he would disclose that he had not received the permission of her majesty to ask for any delay at all. Standing in the peculiar situation in which her majesty now stood, having so horrible a prospect before her, and finding it attempted to prove charges of such a character by evidence of such a description as this, she must feel extremely unwilling to let the case remain so, with all the weight of the opening, all the elucidation of his learned friend who had last addressed them. In justice only, if not in compassion, their lordships must see that it was impossible to forgo the right of defence in such circumstances for two or three months. There was only one other alternative. If indeed his mouth were to be stopped if he were not allowed to exercise what he considered a right, by replying to the case on the other side—he must be content, and reserve himself for that opportunity of explanation that would be afforded elsewhere, and to which he need not now further allude. He had been taken by surprise,

surprise, in some respect, in being thus called upon to make his election. When he had preferred to-day to proceed *instantly* with the cross-examination, his most powerful motive had been that he should thereby enable the solicitor-general to sum up his case, and so far prevent the necessity, which might be absolutely fatal, of allowing two or three months to elapse before the defence was begun. If he had entertained a notion that it was intended in any quarter to interfere with his explanation, he should have thought twice before he came to a determination under that delusion.

The lord chancellor hoped that he had not been guilty of the injustice, as well as presumptuousness, of giving from the chair any hint of what might be the decision of the house. He meant simply to ask what the counsel for the queen proposed; and, when that was known, it would remain for their lordships to determine. He did not mean to call upon the counsel at this moment to make their election, unless they preferred it; they might defer their answer until to-morrow morning.

The earl of Liverpool, before he moved the adjournment, wished counsel to be informed that the question would be put to them to-morrow morning at twelve o'clock.

The lord chancellor begged further to add, in a case of this great importance, that no hasty decision on any side ought to be made; and it was better that the question should be postponed till to-morrow, than that any party should be taken by surprise. He therefore moved the adjournment.

The earl of Liverpool explained, that what he recommended

was quite consistent with what had fallen from the noble and learned lord. He wished the question to be now put to the counsel, that before to-morrow they might deliberate upon it, and then might give their answer.

The lord chancellor then informed the counsel for the queen, that to-morrow, at twelve, they would be required to state in what manner they proposed to proceed.

Mr. Brougham begged to be allowed to state, that he had a most anxious duty to discharge; all that he and his friends had hitherto done was mere trifling, mere nibbling at the corners of the case, compared with what he had yet to go through. "Suppose" (he continued) "it should be your lordships' pleasure, at twelve to-morrow, that I should proceed—gracious God! am I to go on at a moment's warning? Am I, in a case like this, not to have a single hour for reflection and consultation? To-morrow, at twelve, I am to be called in to say how we wish to proceed; and is it too much that I should then ask you for a delay until Saturday to make some sort of preparation? Is it not, then, better for your lordships to take my present answer, and to declare whether to-morrow, you will, or will not, hear me?—If your lordships say that you will, then to-morrow, at twelve, I shall be ready to open my case; but you will readily perceive that there is a great distinction between a state of certainty and of uncertainty—between knowing that I am to proceed, and a doubt whether I am merely to answer a question upon which I am not prepared. I should

should wish to know whether, to-morrow, I am or I am not to go on with my statement. In a common case, ignorance upon this point would be embarrassing and disagreeable, but in this instance it amounts to absolute injustice."

The lord chancellor did not think he had been understood. The house did not require the counsel for the queen to proceed to-morrow, but to state how they wished to proceed; they need not begin until they were fully prepared.

Earl Grey said, that the application of the counsel was to know whether he should be permitted to make his statement, reserving to himself the right of not determining, until the end of it, whether he should apply for further time to produce his witnesses.

The lord chancellor remarked, that the question so stated had many bearings, and was of infinite importance, and could not be properly discussed in the time yet remaining for the business of the day; it must be postponed until to-morrow. It was not to be understood that counsel would be obliged to proceed to-morrow, at twelve: for, if further delay was necessary, God forbid it should not be granted.

Lord Erskine thought it the best course that counsel should attend to-morrow morning, when the question of to-day might be repeated to them. He was sure that they might rely with confidence on the house, and that no such disgusting injustice would be done as to compel them to proceed without all due preparation. They had most anxious and onerous duties cast upon them, and

every indulgence ought to be extended to them.

Mr. Brougham entreated the house not to adjourn for one day unnecessarily, as, if it was now decided that he should proceed, he could be just as well prepared to-morrow, as on Saturday. He could not, however, be prepared to-morrow, unless their lordships at once decided now that he was to be heard.

The lord chancellor observed, that it followed, as a consequence, that if counsel could be ready by twelve to-morrow, they could be prepared by Saturday. The house ought to act according to its own notions of what was right, and of what would keep it right. The point stated by the noble earl (Grey) he, for one, considered of infinite importance, and the house ought to allow itself an opportunity for maturely considering it. Certain he was, that the true way for the house to maintain its high character as a judicial tribunal, was to act with caution and circumspection in its decisions. He moved that counsel be called in at twelve o'clock to-morrow.

Lord Holland asked if the house were to be called over at ten, as usual?

The lord chancellor proposed that half past eleven should be fixed for that purpose.

On the question that the house do adjourn,

The earl of Donoughmore rose, for the purpose of preventing any misapprehension on the part of the counsel, who had evidently shown that they had laboured under a mistake; or of the public, which might by the same cause be led to a wrong conclusion. The counsel had spoken as if

if something was endeavoured to be forced upon them by the house as a hardship; but nothing could be more unjust than such a supposition, and it ought not to go forth to the world. Nothing had been said from the woolsack which could be construed into a wish that the counsel should arrive at an immediate determination. On the contrary, what had been stated amounted to this—that on account of the peculiar circumstances of the case, peculiar indulgence ought to be shown; and all the house wished to know was, when the counsel proposed to proceed. Not a word had been uttered about commencing *instantly*, and he wondered that the queen's attorney-general had not been able to tell the house *in to-tidem verbis* what were his wish and intention. The learned gentleman had talked about making his statement, and then waiting for his evidence; but he (lord Donoughmore) hoped that that statement would not be merely imaginary, — that it would be founded on facts, and that those facts could be proved. Before he could offer one word of it, he ought to have decided the matter in his mind, and must have the witnesses ready to verify his assertions. In justice to the learned lord on the woolsack, he must say that every disposition to indulgence—nay, to afford unusual facilities—had been shown.

Earl Grey wished to understand whether the house adjourned for the purpose of receiving the answer of the queen's counsel to the question put to them, or for the purpose of hearing to-morrow the statement of the case on the part of her majesty.

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The lord chancellor replied, "For the former."

The earl of Liverpool thought that to-morrow the question ought to be put "Whether the application of the counsel of the queen continued the same as it had been to-day?" If, however, it turned out to be that he wished to go through his case, or that he wished for an adjournment to a future period, his lordship was of opinion that neither request ought, in justice, to be refused. If, on the other hand, a middle course were suggested, which would leave the counsel at liberty either to call his witnesses immediately, or to delay them until a future occasion, that would be a point requiring very considerable deliberation.

The earl of Rosslyn did not conceive that the learned counsel had made the latter proposition in the form of an application. He only said, that until the end of his speech he ought not to be called upon to make his motion.

Some further conversation took place, the result of which was, an understanding that Mr. Brougham would be first called upon to state the course which he was desirous of pursuing, and that then the house would take into consideration the propriety of agreeing or not to that proposed course of proceeding.

Sept. 8.—At half-past eleven precisely the lord chancellor entered the house, and prayers having been read by the bishop of Bristol, the names of the peers were called over.

The clerk then read the order of the day, that the counsel of the queen be called to state to the house in what manner they meant to proceed.

O Counsel

Counsel were then called in, and the lord chancellor thus addressed Mr. Brougham :

I am commanded by the house to ask you, Mr. Brougham, in what manner you propose to proceed with your defence?

Mr. Brougham.—My lords, it is our intention to proceed forthwith.

The lord chancellor.—Mr. Brougham, I understand that it is my duty to ask you whether you mean to proceed at once with your case, or to open your case, and then pray for time?

Mr. Brougham.—It is probable, my lords, that we shall call witnesses; in which case there are two classes of witnesses, to one of which the observation of delay applies. [Here the lord chancellor requested that Mr. Brougham would raise his voice.] I say, my lords, if I shall be advised to call evidence; and, in the second place, if I shall also be advised to call evidence not now in this country, then it will be necessary for me to intreat the indulgence of the house for a short delay, after being heard to open our case.

Lord Lauderdale, in consequence of the application for a longer delay on the part of the queen's counsel, moved that counsel be ordered to withdraw.

Lord Erskine was of opinion that the request now made by counsel ought to be granted by the house. Many and many a time it had happened to him in the course of his experience, that had such a question been proposed, he would have found it very difficult, not to say impossible, to answer it; because it often occurred that counsel might begin with a determination of calling

witnesses, and, from the impression he made upon the jury and the court, either called witnesses or not, as his discretion then determined. In all cases when a prosecution commenced, the prosecutor had a power of either putting off the trial, or withdrawing his record: but when the case was once commenced, he must go on; and the defendant was similarly circumstanced. But in these cases the accused knew, from the certainty of the law, and from the peculiar mercy and tenderness of the English law particularly, what was the nature of the crime, and the kind of evidence by which it was intended to support it; and he humbly submitted, that had the indulgence which he formerly solicited been granted, the counsel for her majesty would then be placed in a very different situation.—The noble earl stated that an equivalent would be granted her majesty for the loss she had thus sustained, that she would not be called upon to proceed *instantly* with her defence, but allowed a reasonable and satisfactory time to prepare it; indeed, how could it be otherwise? for with the little knowledge they had of the character of the witnesses produced, what could cross-examination effect to the elucidation of this case? —He conceived, then, that counsel had a full right to ask for that delay which he was quite convinced the house would never refuse. When time was solicited on the other side, though it was not deemed prudent to persist in that request, yet had that time been conceded, it would let in no new case, and the situation in which the counsel for her majesty then stood, with a whole volume of evidence

evidence set forth to the world on the other side, made it not only prudent but necessary to proceed at once with their answer to that evidence. The evidence had gone forth, not only to this country, but to all Europe; and when the noble earl, in the benevolence of his heart, had said, "God forbid that, as yet, it should make an impression upon the mind of any man!" he meant nothing blasphemous or irreverent, when he said God could not forbid it; he could not forbid what he had himself ordained—he could not alter the construction of human nature. If the evidence upon the part of the crown were not closed, why hear the solicitor general sum up? He stated, as he ought to have stated, all the evidence adduced in support of the bill; he contended that the preamble of the bill stood fully supported; he said that he could not see how the facts sworn to could be controverted. The learned counsel had in that only discharged his duty;—and surely it was not unreasonable in the counsel for her majesty to say that you should not adjourn now, with all that evidence unanswered. If an indictment were preferred against an individual, though the trial had continued one, two, three, or four days, the character of that person in the mean time the subject of suspicion, what counsel would permit the court to adjourn without an attempt at least to remove the impression? Sure he was, that never would he consent to use adjournment even until to-morrow, provided he had strength to go through his statement; and if he was prevented by the court from proceeding, he would say that the

court had not done its duty. He would say that this was not the season when the counsel of the accused should be asked whether they intended to call witnesses; they were not then called upon to say, whether or not they intended to offer evidence at all. He called upon their lordships to say, whether the bane and antidote ought not to go forth together. He concluded by saying, that he could not figure any injury from acceding to the request of counsel: on the contrary, justice, in his opinion, required that they should proceed in that course. The counsel for her majesty merely called upon the house to pause, after the two speeches they had heard, and receive their answer, before they had heard, and then they would determine whether or not they would trouble their lordships with evidence.

Lord Lauderdale said, the question to decide was, whether they were to adjourn at the close of the case for the bill, or after the counsel for the defence had stated their case. In his opinion, the present was the proper time to adjourn; and the counsel for her majesty ought to have known that this was the period at which they might expect an adjournment. It was complained that, if the house were now to adjourn, the statement of the attorney general, and the evidence brought in support of it, would be left to act on the public mind for two months, to the prejudice of the queen. But this evil, he must observe, has been counteracted by the cross-examination of the witnesses: and no fair man, nor, it was necessary to say, would any of their lordships, form an opinion on the charges

before the house, until the whole of the case for the defence, as well as the accusation, had been heard. On what principle could the course which was proposed by counsel be defended? If adopted, its first effect would be to create a prejudice in the public mind. Their lordships allowed them to open their case and to send it forth for the public to ruminate on that statement for two months. But is any one prepared to say that the evidence which may afterwards be brought forward will come up to that statement, or that counsel may not be compelled to say, that they have been disappointed in their evidence, and cannot follow up their case? He did not believe that any man would have made such a proposition, as that now before their lordships, to ask permission to state a case without having witnesses ready to support it. But more than that, it is proposed to go into a part of the evidence after the statement has been made, and then, after an adjournment, to go into the rest of the evidence. The counsel he knew were honourable men, and the house would be wrong in supposing that they would make any assertions without having evidence to bear them out. But did ever an adjournment of this sort take place in the courts below? He did not, to be sure, presume to know much of those courts, but he recollected a case in which lord Ellenborough, on counsel demanding an adjournment until the following day, told them that there were several hours of that day to spare, and that the case should go on. He also desired to know on what pretence the house would permit counsel to

make their statement now, and call their evidence afterwards. If they know how to state their case at present, they must have their evidence ready at present. It could not be their intentions to make a case, and afterwards supply the evidence to uphold it. They could not think that it was to be left to their imaginations to make a case first, and then look for witnesses in its support. If the proposition which counsel had made, was not calculated to prejudice the public mind, he must have lost all sense of what will influence human nature.

The lord chancellor never before had so important and painful a duty to discharge as in the present instance; but it was still a duty which he must execute. The question upon which the house had to decide was, whether they would comply with the wish of counsel, namely, that they should be allowed to state their case and go into their evidence, and then, if they find it necessary, that they shall have more time to bring forward additional evidence. The decision of this question is important, not only as it affects all the future proceedings of this house, but the administration of justice generally. That there is no evil attending that course which he thought it advisable for the house to pursue, he was far from asserting. Their lordships would violate all the principles of justice, if they allowed themselves to entertain any conviction of the guilt of the accused, from what had hitherto been proved, for every part they were bound to suppose was capable of refutation. But notwithstanding the whole experience of his professional life warranted him in saying

saying that the case which had been made must have left some impression, not only on their lordships' minds; but on the public, he acknowledged they were placed in a situation in which they had but a choice of evils. But in deciding how they should proceed, it was to be considered what would be the consequences in all criminal cases hereafter, if the evidence in support of the counsels' statement is allowed to be suspended. He admitted that, with a strict regard to that sense of duty which their lordships owed themselves and the country, they had no right as had been said by the noble and learned lord (Erskine) to call upon counsel to say, whether he will call witnesses or not. He should observe, however, that the proceedings of that house could not be assimilated to those of the courts below. But he would ask the noble and learned lord, if a counsel, by going into a statement of his case, did not imply that he was prepared, when he closed it, to go into his evidence, if that seemed necessary. And further, that the statement did not finish his case, but that he was ready then to continue it to the end. In the present case prejudices must operate on both sides. On the one part there is the statement of counsel, the evidence in support of that, and the cross examination of that evidence. He agreed in the eulogium which had been passed on the honour and principles of the counsel at the bar; but the principle of English law and jurisprudence gave no credit to counsel for those qualities. Now, were their lordships to do so, they might have to apply the present case as a precedent hereafter; and

they were to act not with regard to the character of individuals, but to general rules. His honourable and learned friend had said, that the present difficulties were owing to the house not having acceded to a proposition of his, and what certainly was a reasonable proposition, namely, for a specification of places and times, and a list of witnesses. But even if these had been granted, the present difficulties would have existed, for they arose out of the nature of the case, which rendered delay necessary. Before he sat down he would only say, that the great importance of the point at issue induced him to take so early an opportunity of stating his opinion on it, and that he felt it his duty not to state his opinion without assigning the reasons on which that opinion was founded. Unless he was to understand that by counsel opening their case they pledged themselves to go on without delay to the end of it, he would not consent to the proposition of counsel.

Earl Grey.—In a case of this description, of such paramount importance, not only to the present proceedings of the house, but as it regarded the future influence of its proceedings, I should consider myself unworthy the character of an honest and independent peer, however deficient I may be in talent to do justice to the question before your lordships, if I did not offer my reasons for opposing the noble and learned lord on the woolsack. The noble and learned lord has acknowledged that this is a case of great difficulties. I have always been of this opinion, and from the beginning I hesitated, I doubted what would be the best



course to pursue; and I felt that when I came to decide, I should decide in a choice of evils. The noble and learned lord has said, that the question now before your lordships has no reference to the prior proceedings of this house. I differ from this opinion, and am satisfied that the difficulty we are now in has arisen from not granting a list of witnesses, and not postponing the whole case, on the suggestion of my noble and learned friend, until the counsel for the queen were prepared to go through with her defence. But, my lords, when we look to the particular case of the accused in this instance—when we see that all these evils are of our own creation—that they have necessarily and successively followed from our own acts—from what we have ourselves refused, and which I contend her majesty was entitled to demand, then, I say, the claim which her learned counsel have now made, becomes irresistible. Recollect the course that you have pursued—that it is not on the ordinary administration of justice these charges are prosecuted. It is by a bill of pains and penalties—by a proceeding wholly anomalous—inconsistent with the spirit and practice of the law, and which, I trust in God, will never be cited as a precedent in future times—that the accused here is pursued. Since we first advanced in that disastrous course, every step has involved us in accumulating embarrassment, till at length we see in prospect no end of the evils. But, my lords, we cannot deny that we have taken this course voluntarily at our own choice; we have committed ourselves in

—that fatal bark

Built in the eclipse, and fraught with  
curses dark.

But when, my lords, you decided on that course, you then told the accused, that though you felt the inconvenience, you would remedy that by holding out to the accused an advantage which would be to her an equivalent; and yet, forsooth, when she demands that equivalent, her counsel are met by an objection which renders null and void that promised advantage. My noble friend (Lauderdale) had, in support of his view of the question, introduced the case of lord Cochrane, where, on an application from the counsel of the accused to suspend the proceeding in the defence, lord Ellenborough decided against the application. This precedent, my lords, I cannot consider but as most unhappy. Whenever I hear the name of lord Ellenborough, I feel it to be a name for which I entertain the highest respect. So long as the profession of the law is honoured in this country, the abilities, learning, and justice, of that venerable judge will continue objects of reverence and authority. But we have often heard that decision mentioned, even in the presence of lord Ellenborough's closest friends, and I believe there was not one who did not regret that decision. At a late hour of the night, the counsel for the accused, now one of his majesty's judges, and sitting at present on the woolsack, applied for time in consequence of the exhausted state, not only of himself, after the fatigues of a severe examination, but of the jury, on whose worn-out attention he feared his arguments would not, under such circumstances, make an impres-

impression, applied, I repeat, to suspend his entering on the defence until the next morning. The chief justice refused the application, and insisted on the counsel entering at once on the defence. Mr. justice Best, then the counsel for the accused, did forthwith proceed, and before the defence was terminated the court were obliged to adopt the very course which it had previously refused. This was the result; and merely to state that result is sufficient to prove that there never was a more unhappy and inapplicable precedent than my noble friend has cited. I have troubled your lordships longer than I intended; but I have been induced to do so from an imperious sense of duty. From day to day, since this disastrous proceeding commenced, we have been engaged in new difficulties, inconsistent, not alone with the rules of parliament, but inconsistent, I am sorry to be obliged to add, with the principles of justice. It is not, my lords, longer ago than yesterday, when a communication was about to be made from your lordships to her majesty's counsel, on a point preliminary to her defence, that a question was put by a noble earl (Lonsdale), founded on an understanding, which was the result of an application of a certain number of your lordships to the head of the treasury, as to a separation of the parts of the present bill. This unheard-of proposition, the recollection of which, even at this moment, shocks me, did not happily receive much approbation when explained. To-day we are called upon to make a decision on a choice of evils, all brought upon ourselves by our own acts, and any decision on

which, we have the authority of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack for saying, must be productive of bad consequences. I do believe the noble and learned lord. I do feel the character of the whole proceeding to be this—that whatever course we take, whatever decision we adopt, must be injurious to the public safety. But, my lords, in this admitted choice of evils there still is to be found a duty; and if in the exercise of a sound scrutinised judgement we can fix on that choice which is the least encumbered with difficulties, that is the decision which I think we should approve. But if the course I recommend is not less surrounded with evils, it has, in my judgement also, that powerful recommendation that, if we are so situated as not to be able to proceed without imposing difficulties on both the parties whose interests are affected by this bill, we are bound to adopt that course which the spirit of justice and the whole analogy of British law inculcates, namely, that if difficulties must be imposed, they should be rather thrown upon the accuser, and not upon the accused—they should be imposed upon those who uphold the bill with the whole influence of authority and power, rather than upon the illustrious personage against whom the whole of that influence and power is directed. My lords, this is the choice which I feel to be dictated by the principles of law and justice, and to the spirit of those principles I appeal. For my own part, I never gave a more satisfactory vote in the whole course of my political life than in support of the application this day made by her majesty's counsel.

Lord Liverpool then rose.—If the advantages in the case were equal, he would most readily allow her majesty to have the benefit of what was now asked; but the injustice would be so monstrous, if the queen's counsel were allowed to state their case now, and call their evidence at another period, that he could not for one moment accede to such a proposition. It had been again stated by the noble earl who spoke last, that the present inconvenience arose entirely from the course of the proceeding taken on the part of his majesty's government. His lordship would now, as he would always, repel that attack on his majesty's government. Towards the accused no course could be more advantageous than the present. The noble earl who spoke last would have adopted the course of impeachment; but what fresh difficulties and dangers would have encircled her majesty, if that had been the case! No precise specification of the charge would be made; the evidence would not be upon oath, and fresh and amended charges might be brought forward every day. In the present course, however, a specification of the charge had taken place with as much precision as possible, for the very individual with whom the adultery was charged to have been committed, was pointed out; and in this house the testimony was given on oath, affording an opportunity to the accused of cross examining the witnesses, an advantage which the rules of the other house did not admit of. Upon the whole, his lordship conceived, that if the house allowed the queen's counsel to break off in the middle of

his case, they would permit him to enjoy a most partial and unequal advantage, which was refused to the counsel for the bill, and their lordships would be guilty of an act of flagrant injustice. As to what had been said on the refusing the list of witnesses, that question had been decided over and over again; it was never done but in the case of treason. With respect to the delay promised to her majesty, if required, he was now ready to agree to it, as contemplated originally, and he would ask, had any man ever for a moment supposed this delay was to take place in the midst of the defence, was it not always considered that this delay, if asked for and granted, was to be between the close of the attorney general's case and the opening of her majesty's counsel? It had been said by a noble lord (Erskine) that the solicitor ought not to have been called in to sum up; but how could their lordships have put any question to the queen's counsel till the solicitor had closed his case? With respect to the disadvantage to either party, let their lordships consider it. He meant no reflection on the learned counsel for her majesty—he believed them to be highly honourable, and that they would act up to that character—but in the discharge of their duty, if they were honourable men, they must look at any thing through a medium advantageous to their illustrious client. How did the case now stand? here had been a statement on the part of the attorney general, and evidence had been called in support of that statement. That evidence had been sifted and cross examined, and the whole was before the public,

public, the evidence with all the disadvantages of cross examination; all the evidence which could be called in support of that statement, and the public would judge of it. But how could it be with the statement of the queen's counsel? It would go abroad to any extent; the colouring of counsel might give it without evidence, without cross examination, or any sifting; there would be the statement which, for the time, must go abroad, subject to no contradiction, no answer whatever. A noble earl had said he could not consent to stop, if part of the evidence should be called, although he was ready to consent to the present application. Now, he (lord Liverpool) saw no difference, and he must say he thought no course so inconsistent with justice as that now proposed could be adopted. No accusation, no defence could be subdivided; if commenced, it must be gone through with. He was of opinion, the counsel should now have his option either now to commence his case and go through with it, or ask time, if he thought necessary, to prepare his defence. By *now*, he did not mean this day, or to-morrow; if a few days were necessary, he should have it, but if he once commenced his case he thought he ought to go through with it.

Lord Lansdown did not precisely know what motion was before the house, and he requested the lord chancellor to give some information about it.

The lord chancellor.—The motion is this—That counsel be called in and informed that if they now proceed to state their case, they must, on their closing that statement, if they mean to adduce

proofs, go on with them, but if not, that the house now adjourn for such reasonable time as counsel for her majesty shall propose, in order for them to proceed.

Lord Lansdown said, that although he was not so well acquainted with the course of proceeding in the courts below, yet, as far as he knew any thing of the practice, this was the most unusual course of proceeding ever adopted in any court of judicature whatever. He would say that, if in answer to that communication, the learned counsel at the bar should state that he would enter into no such case, but that he would reserve himself open for his client to make such an application as she should think fit, at the time and under the circumstances of the case, according as the necessity shall arise, the counsel will do no more than the duty which he owes to his client; and he believed that no counsel who had ever appeared at their lordships' bar, would feel bound to enter into an engagement such as that proposed; for a more extraordinary proceeding in a court of justice he never knew or heard of. That court of justice itself interrupting the course of its own proceedings, for the purpose of entering into a treaty, and concluding a treaty with counsel at the bar. This, my lords, is the most extraordinary proceeding that ever appeared before any court of justice. For what was it that was proposed to be done? Why, it was that the learned counsel at the bar should be called on, he being ready to proceed, who states that he is ready to proceed, and who has a right to proceed. That, in the state the case is in, he shall be told

told, "You shall not proceed unless you will undertake in no case whatever, and under no circumstances whatever, not knowing what the bearing of the evidence will be on the case with which you are intrusted, to make no application to this house in whatever situation you may be placed." The house then says for itself, "We on the other hand, in return for this concession which we demand from you, will undertake to bind ourselves; and say what you will, let what circumstances will arise, let the varying forms of justice, as arising out of the state of the case, be what they may, we will bind ourselves to listen to no circumstances; to shut ourselves up, to close our ears to the cause of justice which ever way it presents itself, and bind ourselves by this most extraordinary treaty publicly between the queen's judges and the counsel at the bar." The noble marquis then proceeded to say, that they had heard too much of this case before them, and which he thought was against the character of the crown. It was a proceeding which had been the subject of much sorrow to every reflecting mind, as well as regret. As to any thing like a treaty or contract, or any thing like a protocol sort of proceeding between the judges of this house and the counsel at the bar, he should for one most strongly protest against it. He protested for one, under a deep sense of his duty, from being bound by any such intention. He for one would not call on counsel at the bar to do that which in his conscience he believed would betray the interests of his client. He agreed most fully with what had fallen from his

learned friend near him, that in navigating this sea without a chart, it was impossible to feel themselves without danger, whatever course they took, or whatever direction they preserved; and he felt these difficulties much augmented by this extraordinary mode of proceeding. If it had been proper to have some delay, it was meet that it should have been agreed to before the solicitor general had proceeded to sum up the evidence. Did not the learned lord on the cross-bench, and the noble earl opposite, and also the learned lord on the woolsack, express their earnest wish and hope that the evidence produced at the bar should not be allowed to make an impression on their lordships' minds? The noble lord opposite admitted at the same time that it was impossible but some impression must have been made by the evidence which had been laid before them. Yet, after all that, what was the proposition, after they admitted the comments of the solicitor general for the crown, the very object of those comments being to impress a bias on the minds of your lordships, and to enforce any impression which they had not already received, to point out all the strong points in the evidence, and to bring before their lordships that which was in favour of the bill, and to shut out that in favour of the queen? Their lordships have now allowed the solicitor general to make all the necessary comments for the purpose of creating a bias, if one did not exist, and they having heard those comments, a delay had been conceded as an equivalent; and if the counsel were then to apply for that

that delay, he conceived that the house had no right to refuse them. They should be prepared to perform their promise, namely, to give to the counsel such delay as the circumstances of the case, in reason, required. The present, however, was the time when counsel should be called upon to make their election. Some difficulty might arise from suffering any delay to be interposed between the hearing of one and of the other side, and for that evil their lordships alone were responsible. The evil was one of choice, not of necessity; they were placed in that situation by their own decision; but since they were placed there, they have a duty to perform. A case had already been gone through, evidence had been produced, *ex parte* evidence, it was true, and as such, by no means decisive; but it was neither consistent with reason or justice, that the impression which that evidence made, should be met by assertion, and that such assertion should be conclusive to their lordships and to the country, for months, without proof or evidence being adduced in its support. Was it not possible, was it not certain, from the attempts that had already been made in cross examination, that the case on the other side would go forth, involving in a charge of perjury all the witnesses, and many persons, high in rank and respectability, in the charge of subornation of perjury? Had they not been told, that the case on the part of the prosecution was a foul conspiracy? and could they permit a defence to be made which would rankle the public mind by such charges, for two or three months without proof

as it could only originate in an attempt—

— spargere voces,  
In vulgum ambiguas?

And he trusted, that they would never permit what could not but produce an effect upon their minds to go elsewhere, where its effect might be attended with the most pernicious consequences.

Lord Carnarvon thought this was the moment at which counsel should be called on to make their adoption, either to proceed with their defence, or to ask delay. It was possible, and highly probable, that the counsel, in his statement, might advert to facts which afterwards would fail to be made out in evidence. Had it not also occurred to their lordships, that as this case was said to be founded on foul conspiracies, it might be asserted that it had been supported by perjury? Had their lordships forgotten, that many of the witnesses who had been examined at their bar, had been forced to come there by their governments; and would it be justice to suffer a statement so injurious to those persons, and which ultimately turn out to be unfounded, to go into the world, and remain uncontradicted for weeks or months? He trusted their lordships would be careful how they granted an indulgence which might be made a vehicle for calumniating individuals.

The lord chancellor denied that their lordships were about to make themselves parties with counsel, in any contract. All that was now to be stated was, that their lordships expected the counsel at the bar to proceed in the same manner as they would do in any ordinary case.

Lord

Lord Calthorpe thought, when it was considered how sparingly the counsel had availed themselves of the indulgence granted to them, as regarded the cross examination of the witnesses, their lordships might safely extend to them the indulgence they now requested, resting satisfied that it would not be abused. He was anxious that the course now adopted should not be drawn into a precedent, and therefore he would have it stated, that the indulgence was granted to her majesty, as an equivalent for her having been refused a list of her witnesses.

Lord Redesdale was of opinion, that although the form of proceedings now before the house was new, yet that their lordships were a court of law, and must proceed upon known practice, and not upon new laws made for this particular case. He strongly opposed her majesty's counsel being suffered to open their case, and then to adjourn. He opposed it in justice to the witnesses already examined, who were entitled to their lordships' protection. No one could doubt what would be the course of the learned counsel's opening, as related to those witnesses; and whether the evidence hereafter should bear out that statement or not, the observations of the learned counsel would be before their lordships, and would have their effect to the prejudice of the witnesses already. He could not but consider that the evils which would result from permitting her majesty's counsel now to make his statement, and then to adjourn, would greatly outweigh their attending the other course, and therefore he should oppose its being adopted.

Lord Darnley was inclined to grant the indulgence, if it was any, to the accused, rather than the accuser. He considered this case as an extraordinary one, and one which should never be called into precedent in any case of inferior importance. If the queen's counsel were now called on to proceed, and to call such witnesses as he had in readiness, he thought if, at a future period of the proceedings, they should feel it necessary to ask time for obtaining further evidence, their lordships would have placed themselves in such a situation, that they could not refuse to grant the application.

The lord chancellor then proceeded to put the question for calling in the counsel, and communicating the determination of their lordships upon it. On this question their lordships divided.

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Mr. Brougham then urged their lordships to permit him to address them on the case as it now stood, pledging himself, if he were allowed to do this, not to offer a single word as to the case he should have to make out himself, or the evidence he should call in support of the statement.

The lord chancellor thought this was a most unusual proceeding, and one which could not be acceded to. The value of the learned counsel's comments would depend on the evidence they had to confirm the truth of them.

The counsel were ordered to withdraw, and lord Erskine contended that the counsel ought to be permitted to comment on the case

as it now stood, and moved that the counsel should be called in, and informed that they would to-morrow be allowed to make the comments they desired.

On this motion their lordships again divided.

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The counsel were again called in, and the lord chancellor communicated this determination to them.

Mr. Brougham then requested their lordships would indulge him till to-morrow, as he had another proposition to make to their lordships.

The application on the part of the learned counsel was acceded to by their lordships, and the house adjourned till to-morrow, at ten o'clock.

Sept. 9.—The lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at ten o'clock. Prayers were read by the bishop of Bristol, and the house was then called over. Several peers were excused in consequence of indisposition.

The lord chancellor inquired, if it was their lordships' pleasure, that counsel should be called in and asked what course they meant to take upon the bill before their lordships.

Counsel were then ordered in, and Mr. Brougham was asked by the lord chancellor, in the same terms in which the question was put to him yesterday, whether he meant to proceed directly in the defence and examination of his witnesses, or whether he meant to solicit an adjournment in the present stage of their lordships' proceedings.

Mr. Brougham replied, that in consequence of the proceedings of their lordships yesterday, he had her majesty's commands to wait upon her with his learned friends who stood near him last evening. They immediately communicated to her majesty the decision pronounced by the house yesterday, upon the application which he had had the honour then to make to their lordships. The queen then commanded him to inform their lordships, first, that her majesty was most anxious to proceed without delay to answer the charges made against her, and to tender her defence to their lordships. But as the preparatory arrangements for her defence by her counsel, and the learned persons who assisted in all the branches of the case, would necessarily occupy a few days, still her majesty wished that delay to be as short as possible; he had her majesty's commands to state to their lordships, that her anxiety to meet the charges brought forward against her, not only continued unabated, but that the occurrences of the last few days added much to her anxiety to meet the accusation forthwith. She was therefore most solicitous to meet the charge with the shortest possible delay. In pursuance then of her majesty's commands he had to inform their lordships, that he rather exceeded than shortened the period of her majesty's wishes, when he craved a delay, until about Monday fortnight, before he entered upon the defence. That was the time for which he now prayed the indulgence of their lordships.

The earl of Liverpool stated that, whenever it was determined to enter upon the defence, the time ought



ought to be such, as, in the opinion of the parties who had to make it, afforded an ample opportunity for every full and necessary preparation. That time, however, ought to be left solely and entirely to the discretion of the counsel of her majesty the queen. No personal consideration whatever ought to influence their lordships in the progress of the cause. Whatever time her majesty thought necessary to prepare her defence ought to be allowed, without reference to any consideration for the time which their lordships were under the necessity of devoting to the consideration of the subject.

The earl of Darnley perfectly concurred in the propriety of what had fallen from the noble earl on the subject of awaiting the time required by her majesty to prepare her defence; but he understood the learned counsel, when he named Mondayfortnight, to allude indefinitely to the time. Now, would it not be proper the learned counsel should state at once a definitive period? Let a day be fixed when all the preparations could be arranged, and let it be as distant as they pleased, rather than prematurely immediate. He agreed that no day ought to be named which the learned counsel did not deem perfectly convenient and suitable; their lordships were bound not to attend to their own personal convenience; but still he thought a positive day ought to be fixed.

Earl Grey entirely agreed in what had fallen from the noble lords who preceded him, and they were bound primarily to consider the convenience of her majesty the queen. He hoped, however, that it would not be deemed

indecorous for him also to put in some minor claim in behalf of the convenience of their lordships. —It was quite impossible that their lordships should not feel much inconvenience by an absence from their families at this period of the year. For himself, he attended at the greatest possible personal inconvenience; but he could never, on that account, neglect attending to discharge his public duty. What he rose to suggest at present was, indeed, of a similar nature to that which had been just so properly put by his noble friend, namely, that a definitive day should now be mentioned for entering upon the queen's defence. —If Mondayfortnight were not likely to be positively sufficient, he trusted their lordships would be allowed a much more remote day. After so long an absence from their private business, and indeed also after such an interruption of the other public business of the country, the time now fixed upon ought to be such as would enable their lordships to see when they might ultimately have a prospect of attending to their own personal affairs, or else that that opportunity should be now afforded them, before they entered further into the present business. He hoped, therefore, that Mondayfortnight would be peremptorily fixed, or that a more distant day would be decided upon.

The earl of Liverpool concurred fully with the noble earl; but their lordships must still bear in mind, that their proceeding in this stage of the business ought to be governed by the convenience of her majesty and her counsel. The idea of personal convenience  
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to themselves their lordships were bound to banish from their minds; though he was not insensible how severely this duty must necessarily press upon their lordships. Independently of the convenience of the queen, there was but one person, and one only, whose convenience he thought their lordships were bound to look after, namely, the noble and learned lord who sat on the woolsack. —The situation of that distinguished person was such as to impose upon him public duties which could hardly be said to give him any repose. His duties did not, like those of other judges, give him leisure when his court was up, for he had, even in whatever momentary retirement he could snatch, to toil over the business of his official situation. If no personal convenience was sought after by her majesty's counsel, most certainly none ought to be looked for even by the noble and learned lord on the woolsack; but if any convenience could be looked for after that of the queen, he thought it ought to be that of his noble and learned friend, at his period of life, and considering his pressing and most harassing avocations.

The lord chancellor said, he was grateful for the disposition manifested towards him, but he felt it to be his duty to state, that no personal consideration should be suffered to weigh with him for a moment in a matter of this sort. He should be ready, at the earliest period that would suit their lordships, to discharge to the best of his power the most painful duty that devolved upon him on this occasion. He could not but feel uneasiness under any

circumstances, when contemplating the business before their lordships, but that uneasiness would be augmented, if any delay in the proceedings were suffered to take place on his account.

The earl of Roseberry said a few words, and was understood to suggest, that it might be desirable to adjourn till Monday three weeks.

The marquis of Lansdown would not give his vote for an adjournment for three weeks unless her majesty's counsel stated it to be a matter of indifference to them, whether the house adjourned for three weeks or to the period which they had named.

The earl of Lauderdale thought, on an occasion like the present, it was his duty to forget all considerations of his own private or personal convenience. He was confident their lordships participated in this feeling. He wished the counsel at the bar to state whether it would suit them that the period fixed for the re-assembling of the house should rather exceed than fall short of the time that had been named.

Earl Grey suggested that her majesty's counsel should be called in and asked, whether they would be ready to proceed on Monday fortnight, without inconvenience or detriment to her majesty's interests.

The earl of Harrowby remarked the queen's counsel had asked for time till at or about Monday fortnight.—Their lordships ought to know precisely on what day her majesty's legal advisers would certainly be ready to proceed with the defence. From their having proposed that the trial should be resumed at or about Monday fortnight,

night, he was led to think that they considered it probable that they might be ready to proceed on that day, but not quite certain. In case they were not quite certain that they should be ready on that day, it might be for the convenience of the house that the period of their re-assembling should be fixed for a few days later, so that they might be absolutely certain of going on with the defence when they at length met. He did not say that it might be necessary to add a week to the delay called for, but perhaps it would be advisable to name some intermediate day.

Earl Grey begged to move their lordships that her majesty's counsel should be called in, and asked if they could state that they should be prepared to proceed on Monday fortnight.

The earl of Liverpool thought they ought to take up the learned counsel's own words, and ask, in the first instance, what had been meant by "at or about Monday fortnight." He recommended that this question should be forthwith put.

The lord chancellor then called in the counsel for the queen, reminded Mr. Brougham that he had used the words "at or about Monday fortnight," and desired him to explain what he had meant by the words "at or about."

Mr. Brougham.—We were very unwilling to take upon ourselves to fix the precise time at which the proceedings shall be resumed, wishing to leave it, as far as our duty to our client will permit, to your lordships to name that precise period which you in your great goodness shall think fit. But now, no objection being

made to our doing so, though her majesty, from motives which your lordships will know how to appreciate, is desirous of proceeding with all possible dispatch, I, as her majesty's law officer, will take upon myself to say for my learned friends, that we should wish, considering all the circumstances of this most important case, the trial to be resumed on next Monday three weeks, if that day shall suit the convenience of their lordships.

Lord Borlington and earl Grey briefly addressed the house on the subject of the proposed delay, but could not be distinctly heard below the bar.

Lord Melville could not but think that the period of three weeks was as inconvenient a term as possible. He really hoped that if the house were disposed to grant such delay, they would grant a period something longer.

Lord Liverpool conceived, that after what had been stated by the counsel for her majesty the queen, he could not think her anxiety ought to cede to the convenience of any noble lord.

Lord Darlington thought the period of postponement now mentioned was the most objectionable that was possible. The counsel for the queen, throughout these proceedings, had been continually stating that her majesty was ready to proceed forthwith: It appeared very odd to his lordship that they should have so soon changed their opinion.

Lord Liverpool could not agree with the noble lord who spoke last, in the view he took of the subject. He understood that the sole purpose for which the house this morning met, was to consider what

what delay the counsel for the queen would require. When Mr. Brougham said, that he wished the house to meet again "at or about a fortnight" from the present time, his lordship understood him to mean that was the shortest possible time, on account of the queen, that her defence should be proceeded in. But on consulting with her other legal advisers, and above all with her most respectable solicitor, he was of opinion that three weeks was a period, at the expiration of which he was more certain of being able to proceed without interruption; as such his lordship should consider three weeks the period now fixed.

Lord Falmouth said, that residing as he did at a great distance from London, and having business which made it very material to him individually, that he should be in the country at the period which had been last mentioned by the learned counsel for her majesty, he so entirely concurred with the sentiments expressed by the noble lord at the head of the treasury, as to think all private business of whatever nature should yield to the convenience and claim of her majesty, as now stated by her counsel at the bar. When he said this, however, he felt desirous of expressing the earnest hope he entertained, that the learned counsel would not ask for further time after the period in question should expire, without a good and satisfactory reason. He did not mean to say that such a reason might not arise, but he thought that it would be most vexatious to noble lords who, like himself, might reside at a distance from London, if, after having, from their sense of paramount

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duty, so readily assented to the request of the learned counsel, for a delay of three weeks, perhaps the most convenient one to them that could have been proposed, they should find the defence was not then to proceed. He therefore did hope it was to be thoroughly and clearly understood, that, without some satisfactory and conclusive reason, and one which could not now be foreseen, no further delay in the defence of her majesty was to be proposed.

Lord Lauderdale begged to remark, that as the counsel for the queen had said that her majesty was most anxious to proceed immediately, and it would better suit their convenience to have three weeks' delay, the precise period ought to be fixed.

The duke of Athol thought that whether a noble lord lived in the county of Middlesex or in the county of Aberdeen, he ought to attend with equal punctuality and without indulgence.

Lord Darlington most cordially agreed with the noble duke who spoke last.

The lord chancellor then asked the queen's counsel whether three weeks was the latest period of delay wished for.

Mr. Brougham informed the house that it was. He was aware that Monday three weeks was the first day of the sittings in Guildhall, which must render it extremely inconvenient to the professional gentlemen on both sides. Perhaps, therefore, their lordships would make it Tuesday.

The lord chancellor then put the question, that the house do adjourn to Tuesday the 3d of October; which was carried.

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Five

Five witnesses for the queen were ordered then to attend the house. The queen's counsel are then to proceed without intermission.

A discussion then arose as to whether two witnesses for the queen, (Mr. William Burrell and lord Frederick Montague,) whose health would not permit their attendance in this country, could be examined by commission on the continent.

The lord chancellor said, that in civil cases he had no doubt that the examination of witnesses in the manner proposed was occasionally permitted in the courts below ; but even this, he believed, was of very rare occurrence. In

crown cases he never knew of such an instance. It was a question of the greatest importance ; but in his view of it, he submitted to the house that such a proceeding ought not to be admitted.

Lord Redesdale concurred in the impossibility of the house agreeing to the proposed examination. The house could not in point of fact be prepared with such questions as it might be necessary to put to the witnesses.

The subject here dropped, when

The lord chancellor put the question for the adjournment of the house—"to Tuesday, the 3d October." This was carried, and the house adjourned accordingly.

## CHAPTER V.

*Proceedings in the House of Lords on the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen—Speeches of her Majesty's Counsel—Evidence in favour of the Queen—Summing up by her Majesty's Counsel—and Reply of the Attorney and Solicitor General—Debates on the second Reading of the Bill—in the Committee—on the third Reading—Bill withdrawn—Parliament prorogued—Strange Scene in the House of Commons on that Occasion.*

**H**OUSE of lords, Oct. 3.—At ten minutes before ten o'clock the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack. Prayers were then read by the bishop of Bristol. Exactly at ten the clerk called over the roll.

Counsel were then called in. They consisted of the same learned gentlemen whose names we enumerated at the commencement of the proceedings. The confusion created by their entrance having subsided,

Mr. Brougham commenced his speech to the house.

"My lords, the time has now ar-

rived when it becomes my duty to address your lordships upon this most momentous of all momentous cases. It is not the august presence of this assembly which impresses me, for I have oftentimes experienced its indulgence—nor is it the novelty of this proceeding that perplexes me, for the mind gradually gets reconciled to the most extraordinary deviations from the common course of things—neither is it the magnitude of this case that oppresses me, for I am borne up in my task by the conviction of its justice, and by the approval of all mankind.

kind. But, my lords, it is the force of that conviction—it is the knowledge of the sentiments which are universally entertained by all parties of the innocence of my illustrious client, that now dismays me, with the persuasion that my unworthy mode of advocating her cause may for the first time occasion doubts on her case, and induce your lordships to pass that judgement which the charges that have been preferred are not calculated to elicit from you. I feel, in the fullest sense, the great importance of the situation in which I am placed; and in defiance of the indulgence which I anticipate at your lordships' hands, I am still weighed down by the heavy responsibility which I have undertaken. It is no light addition to this feeling to foresee, that before this proceeding shall be brought to a close, it may be my unhappy lot, in the discharge of my duty, and which no loyal and good subject can contemplate without the most painful reflections, to make charges of a nature as serious as it is possible for any individual to stand impeached with.

“My lords, the princess Caroline of Brunswick arrived in this country in the year 1795. She was the niece of our sovereign, and the intended consort of the heir apparent, and not far removed from the heir to the crown of these realms. I allude to that period, but only for the purposes of passing over all the interval which elapsed from her arrival, to her departure in 1814. I rejoice that the most faithful discharge of my duty will allow me, at present, to draw this line; but I cannot do so without pausing to guard myself against a misrepresentation to which I may not unnaturally

be exposed, by assuring your lordships that if I did not think the evidence against the queen not only does not call for recrimination in the present stage of these proceedings, but does not call upon me to utter one syllable by way of attack or recrimination; that but for that my lips would not be closed. In the discretionary postponement of the case, of which I am possessed, I feel that I give up the right which I have, and abstain from the use of materials which are mine. And let it be remembered, that if hereafter I should find the case I rely upon fail me, I shall not scruple to avail myself of the means which at present I decline using; and let no man think, under such circumstances, that I, or the youngest member of the profession to which I belong, would hesitate to enter upon the discharge of the painful duty.

“I have stated on a former occasion, but to your lordships it was unnecessary, that an advocate, in the discharge of his duty, knows but one person in all the world—his client, and no other. To save that client by all expedient means, is his duty, and that at all risks, inconveniences, and costs, to other persons, and to himself among them; and he is not to regard the alarm, the tortures, or the destruction, which the discharge of his office may bring down upon others, but he must boldly go on, reckless of consequences, even though it should be his unhappy fate to throw his country into confusion for a season. But, my lords, at present this painful duty is not imposed on me. I feel that I ought not to touch on that case, which, under different circumstances, would be mine. If be-

fore failure, in that which I feel confident I shall not fail in, I were to take the course to which I have alluded, I should feel that I gave up the higher ground which I have a right to claim, I should give up the ground of innocence, which it is my duty to take, and seem to confine myself to the extenuation of errors, and the palliation of levities, which I stand here to deny. For that which has been said is false, and it is as foul as false on the part of those who say that their duty to God has dictated to them the part which they have taken on this occasion, and which has proved them ignorant of their first duty towards their fellow creatures—it is foul, and false, and scandalous, I say, and they know it is, to assert that improprieties have been admitted on the part of the queen; I deny the admission of any improprieties on the part of her majesty; I deny that any have been proved in evidence, and I will disprove the assertion by evidence. One admission I do make on the part of the queen, and let the learned counsel for the bill make all they can of it, for it is the only one I can acknowledge—I admit that the queen left this country, and went to reside in Italy—in the society of persons chiefly foreigners, and in society inferior to that which she once enjoyed in England. I admit that while she was here and happy, not indeed in her own family, but in the society of your lordships and your lordships' families, the queen moved in more choice, in more dignified society than she has since known.

“It is charged against her that she went to Italy, and, instead of associating with peers and peeresses of England, took to her so-

ciety the Italian nobility and the commoner persons in that country. But who are they that bring this charge against her majesty? Others may blame her choice—others may blame her for going abroad—others may blame her for not having associated with women of her own, or at least of her adopted country—others may urge these things against her, but your lordships can have no right to do it. You cannot fling this at her majesty; you are the last that ought to do it, you who now presume to sit as judges on her case; for you are the witnesses whom she has a right to call for the vindication of her conduct. You are the last that can reproach her for leaving England and forsaking British society; for you, her judges, being as well the witnesses that may be called in her behalf, are also the instigators of this her only admitted crime. While her majesty resided here, she courteously opened her house to your lordships. She graciously condescended to admit you to the most exalted society. She condescended to court you to avail yourselves of the honour, and so long as interests (not hers) attracted some of those she courted, so long as she could be made subservient to the ambitious views of others, she did not court in vain. But when circumstances were changed—when that lust of power and place to which she was doomed to fall a victim had been satisfied, her doors were opened to your lordships, and your families, to no purpose. She could no longer enjoy the society of British peeresses. She could only lower herself by courting it. She had no alternative but to do this, to court society as a favour, and  
to

to see it, if not refused, unwillingly conceded, or leave the country. Such being the facts, I say it is not here that the queen will be reproached for leaving England. It is not in the presence of your lordships that she will be condemned for having established her residence in Italy, which she would not, which perhaps she ought not, to have done, if less unfortunately situated. Afflicted by those considerations which could not but press heavily on an ingenuous mind, her majesty went to Italy.

"During the period of which I have spoken, and up to the time of her departure, she had enjoyed, not indeed the society of her beloved daughter, but the affectionate and grateful respect of her only child. An event, of all others most interesting to a mother's feelings, was about to take place in the marriage of the princess Charlotte. No announcement of it was made to her majesty. It was made known to all England; but no intimation on the subject was conveyed to her. To England it was formally announced; to Europe it was formally announced; but there was one person to whom it was not announced, and that person was the mother of the intended bride. And why was this? All she had done amounted to this, that having offended one party, her conduct had been arraigned, and she had been proved innocent; and she was no longer favoured and protected by those who had formerly made her their tool. The marriage was solemnized. Still no news of the event was transmitted to her majesty; she heard of it merely by accident from the courier who was going to announce it to the

pope, that ancient and much respected ally of this protestant country. During this period, if but a slight communication took place between the mother and the daughter, it was because powerful authority on the one hand was opposed to sincere affection on the other.

"An event now occurred which plunged all England in the deepest sorrow, and in which even all foreign nations sympathised—the lamented death of the late beloved princess. With due regard to the feelings of our allies, and even to those foreign powers which were not our allies, the mournful intelligence was communicated to them as speedily as possible by messengers sent for that purpose. That person who of all the world was most deeply interested in the mournful event—who was most likely to be overwhelmed by the shock, was left to be overwhelmed by the dismal tidings, from hearing of them by accident, as she had heard of the marriage of her daughter by accident. But if she had not heard of her daughter's death by accident, ere long she would have felt that that mournful event had taken place, as the dissolution of the princess Charlotte was announced to her by the issuing of the Milan commission, and the opening of the present proceedings.—Look at the sad fate of this princess. It has always been her unhappy lot to lose her best protectors by the hand of death; and by a mournful coincidence hardly one of them has been withdrawn whose death has not been the signal for a new attack on her honour. Mr. Pitt was her earliest and constant friend from the period of her arrival in



this country up to the time of his death. He died in 1806, and but a few weeks afterwards, the first inquiry into the conduct of her royal highness was commenced. He left her royal highness as a legacy to Mr. Perceval, her firm, dauntless, and able advocate on that occasion; and no sooner had that melancholy event which laid him low by the hand of an assassin taken place, than that attack was resumed, which his gallantry and skill, and invariable fidelity, had till then prevented. Mr. Whitbread then took up her defence; and when that mournful event occurred, which all good men had united to deplore, without any distinction of party, the grumbling storm was again heard; but it was happily then kept from approaching her majesty, for her daughter then survived, and all were willing to worship the rising sun.

"I now call your lordships' attention to that which has resulted from the proceedings against her majesty, and to comment upon the peculiar features of the story which has been got up on this occasion. I have now to remind your lordships of that which has not been brought to your recollection, but which has rather been obliterated from your memory by the evidence; the statement of the attorney general. In the words of my learned friend himself, I will bring before you the plan of his opening speech. This will be found of material importance. My learned friend did not make that general speech without book or instruction, but it was transcribed for him (and in what way it was transcribed for him, I will leave your lordships

to judge) from the mouths of the witnesses. He believed his learned friend (the attorney general), as every one must who knew his honourable nature, when he said, 'I will not state any fact against her majesty, which I do not believe in my conscience I shall be able to establish by proof; but, at the same time, in the discharge of my duty, I shall withhold nothing which can be so established.' I know that he spoke most conscientiously. Now that he failed to prove what he stated, I know equally, and there can be but one cause for this failure. My learned friend has failed, because he told you what had been copied into his brief from the mouths of those witnesses, who had sworn as falsely before, as they have done since, they were brought to your lordships' bar.

"I will now call your lordships' attention to one or two samples of the evidence given, which will enable your lordships to judge pretty accurately of the value of the whole of the testimony of the witnesses, comparing what has been stated in evidence with the facts set forth in the speech of the attorney general. For this purpose, I shall select but one or two of the leading witnesses. In the first place, it was stated by my learned friend that the improprieties imputed to the queen extended almost down to the present time. Now it so happened that the facts sworn to by the witnesses extended but to within three years of the present time, that is, over just half of the period which they were said to have filled up. I pray you to look, my lords, in the first place, at the way in which the attorney general opened his case,

case, and at the manner in which he attempted to prove it. I will show you, says my learned friend the attorney general, the clear and decisive marks of two persons having slept in her majesty's bed in Naples—I will show you that this occurred when she came home early and unexpectedly from the opera, on the second night after her arrival at Naples—I will show you that she went to Bergami's bed-room, where he then was, and that she was not visible to the nobility, who flocked to see her, until a late hour on the following day. These were the expressions used by my learned friend in his opening speech. They contained assertions rising one above another in regular succession, and each succeeding the other in momentous aggravation.

“ But when my learned friend came to his proofs, every one of his assertions not only fails him, but is negatived, we may say, by the very witnesses called to substantiate the statement. Dumont is asked, “ Did she know where the princess went on that night ? ” No, she unequivocally says she knew not the fact. Did she know where the queen went when she came home that night ? No, she knew not where. Did she know where Bergami was that night ? No, she knew not when he went to bed, or where he slept. Did she know when the princess got up the following morning ? No, she did not recollect that fact. Did she recollect the crowding of visitors to pay their respects that morning ? No, she recollect not that. So that instead of giving an affirmative to the attorney general, she gave him an actual negative in the particular question

which she unequivocally answered ; for she said that, to her recollection, she rather thought the princess was up at her usual early hour on the morning, when it was his object to show she had remained until a late hour in her bedroom. And she did not say one word about the visitors of rank who thronged to pay their respects on the morning after the princess's arrival at Naples was known to the nobility.—It was true, that neither the attorney general nor the solicitor general had gained their information respecting foreign manners from a residence abroad. Thus had they shown that they knew nothing of Italy. They had told their lordships that her majesty was black-balled at the casino at Milan, and that to be black-balled at the casino would ruin the best of characters. They had forgot that other persons, including the famous colonel Brown, had also been black-balled there. The attorney general had asked, with powerful emphasis, and becoming horror, Who ever heard of a royal princess—the wife of the heir apparent—going to a masked ball in *disguise* ? Why did she not go in her own state coach, with all her retinue and attendants, instead of going in a carriage without even the royal arms on it, and passing through a back door in the garden ? He (Mr. Brougham) wondered the learned gentleman did not add that she committed the aggravated crime of going to a masquerade in a domino. It was not from a knowledge of Murat's court, but from Dumont and Majocchi, that they had gained their information ; but those witnesses, when under examination, had fortunately re-

collected what was false and forgot what was true. The attorney general had said, that he was instructed to state that the princess had gone to the theatre in a dress so very indecent, that she was hooted from it by the audience.—Now, when he came to the proof, what turned out to be the fact? Why according to Dumont, that her (the princess's) dress was "extremely ugly"—that she wore "ugly masks." It was very strange that she should wear a mask, and that at a masquerade. Now, in my opinion, this astonishment ought not to be of long duration, for if she did not wear a mask, she had no business there.

"I should, in fact, my lords, fatigue your lordships unnecessarily were I to go through in detail all the glaring variations between my learned friend's statement and his attempt to prove his assertions by evidence at your bar.—At Messina he said he should prove that Bergami and the princess were locked up in a room together. At Sadonane, on the 12th of April, for he was always precise as to dates, he was to prove that while one of the servants was in bed in the ante-room, the princess passed through it into Bergami's room, where he was in bed, and remained there saluting Bergami for a considerable time.—What was the witness's story when he came to tell it—why that Majocchi saw the princess go into Bergami's room, and remain there on one occasion for ten minutes, and on another for fifteen—and heard them salute?—No—but only whisper. Then again look at the proof as given in Sacchi's story and the statement of it in my

learned friend's speech. Sacchi says, that one night when the courier returned late from a message to Milan, (and which courier, by the way, was Sacchi himself,) he did not find Bergami in his own bed-room, but coming out from that of the princess—that Bergami seemed anxious to explain away the reason of this extraordinary appearance, by saying he had heard his child cry, and had gone to see what was the matter. Did the witness give this account of the alleged transaction? No; for, though repeatedly urged to relate the anecdote in a particular manner, so as to suit the description of it by counsel, he replied, he had no recollection of this conversation about Bergami's child.

Afterwards came the narrative of the disgraceful scene at the Barona, so disgraceful and disgusting as stated by the attorney general, that it gave the house more the character of a brothel than that of a palace. It was this licentious conduct which even shocked her servants, and drove from her circle all society of rank. And yet, singular as it was, after this conduct became publicly known through all the servants, that lady Charlotte Lindsay renewed her visits to the princess. The servants of lady Charlotte must doubtless have communed with those of the princess, there was no step taken to keep this grave-like secret, and yet, from first to last, we hear nothing of its blasting operation upon the minds of visitors of unquestionable honour, for such were lady Charlotte Lindsay, lord and lady Glenbervie, lady C. Campbell, and the other honourable personages in her royal highness's suite. These joined

joined her royal highness after the scenes at the Barona ; some met the princess at Naples, some joined at Rome, others at Leghorn. Aye, at even much later periods her majesty was attended by illustrious company. She was received by such after the long voyage ; she was courteously received by the legitimate sovereign of Baden and the still more legitimate Bourbon of Palermo. She was courteously treated by the legitimate Stuarts of Sardinia, whose legitimacy stands contra-distinguished from the illegitimacy of the family whose possession of the throne of these realms stands upon the basis of public liberty and public rights.—She was received even by a prince who ranks higher in point of legitimacy—the bey of Tunis. She was also received with the same respect by the representative of the king at Constantinople. In fact, in all those countries she met with that reception which was due to her rank and consideration.”

The learned gentleman must now solicit the indulgence of their lordships while he looked more narrowly to the case thus opened and not proved by the attorney general.—Was it not a marvellous thing that the evidence should have fallen, not only so far short of the case as stated in the attorney general’s opening, but short even of any foundation for the charge against his illustrious client ? Was there ever a charge of criminal conversation brought forward under such auspices, or supported by such witnesses ? The very two persons, who, of all others, must know most of the offence charged—the valet of the man, and the waiting woman of

the lady—were here in the array of testimony for the prosecution.—In ordinary cases, to have even one such witness is thought decisive ; but, according to the form of proceeding in ordinary cases, it is rare indeed that the body servant, either of the defendant, in the action of damages, or of the lady, can be procured. In no case, perhaps, that ever before occurred, were two such witnesses united in support of the charge.—Consider too the imputed conduct of the parties against whom that charge is brought. If the evidence for the prosecution is to be believed, they had flung off all regard to decency, all trammels of restraint, all ordinary prudence ; they had given way to their passion as if they were in the hey-day of youthful blood, and were united by such ties as made the indulgence of it a virtue and not a vice. They sought no concealment—they courted rather observation and publicity. And yet with all this want of circumspection on the part of the parties accused, and with witnesses who, of all others, were most likely to establish guilt, if guilt there had been, was it not marvellous, indeed, that the counsel for the prosecution had not been able to prove more than the few insulated facts from which they had pretended by inference to make out the charge against her majesty ? In stating that there had been no attempt at concealment on the part of the individual accused, he had greatly understated the case ; for if the evidence for the prosecution was to be believed, they had, instead of taking every precaution to prevent, taken every possible precaution to ensure their own detection.

Every

Every part of the case was subject to this observation ; exactly in proportion as acts criminal and atrocious were to be committed, so the parties had taken care that there should be good witnesses to carry the story of their shame to their enemies. The acts are done when doors are open, at the height of the sun, where hundreds of persons are passing, and where all the world might enter if they pleased. When at Terracina, Bergami was taking his departure on some mission for his royal mistress. The whole party on board the ship are assembled on deck ; the princess and Bergami retire to a room by themselves to indulge their passion ; but, strange to tell, they must needs wait till the famed Majocchi enters, to bear testimony to all that passes !—Nay, so far is the case carried, that the queen cannot retire with Bergami into an anti-chamber to change her clothes, to strip herself naked from head to foot in his presence, she cannot commit this monstrous indecency without taking special care to have the truly silent, honest, unintriguing Swiss chambermaid, Mademoiselle Demont, placed at the door to bear evidence to the fact, that Bergami was with her the whole time !—These deeds of shame were not done in a corner, not in such hidden haunts as lust has been often known to appropriate to itself, but in places accessible to all intrusion—before observing witnesses, when the sun was in its meridian. Was ever before vice so unwary, folly so extravagant, unthinking passion so thoughtless, so reckless, so insane ?

But all this was nothing to what the case, as stated in evidence,

went to prove. Lest the precautions which the princess had taken for her own ruin should be thrown away, every person who could be of use as a witness against them is causelessly dismissed from her service, and refused to be taken back, when every circumstance combined to make it of importance to attach them to her interests ! Nor is even this all. Knowing what she had been guilty of, knowing the elaborate contrivances and devices she had adopted for her own undoing, having before her eyes the inevitable certainty of detection, and remembering the finishing stroke which she had given to this conspiracy against herself by the dismissal of the witnesses from her service, and putting them in the power of her enemy : nay, more—after being told that if she dared to come here, and face them, she would be undone—after being desired, counselled, and implored to bethink her well before she encountered so dreadful a risk, the queen does come to England, and is here this day to confront those witnesses at their lordships' bar ! She does so too in spite of offers made to her, which would have secured to her a magnificent retreat, the free indulgence of all propensities, uncontrouled licence of conduct, and even a safeguard and vindication of her honour by the two houses of parliament ! If such were the conduct of guilt, the lineaments by which vice was to be traced in the ways of men, then all that he had ever read of the human character was deception and falsehood. And yet such was the case which their lordships were called upon to believe by the counsel for the bill.

The

The learned gentleman now proceeded at some length, and, in a very happy strain of observation, to show that if there was no conspiracy formed against her majesty (which he, for one, would not say), the course of proceeding adopted towards her happened to be exactly that which persons engaged in a deep and foul conspiracy would have followed. He spoke in severe terms of the selection of witnesses from a country, notorious above all others for the perfidy of the lower orders of its inhabitants; and to show that he was not singular in his estimation of them, he read to their lordships several quotations, which showed that in ancient, as well as modern times, the Italians had always borne the same character for want of moral rectitude. He quoted in particular very largely from Rymer's *Fadera*, that part of the proceedings in the case of Henry VIIIth's divorce from queen Catharine, which related to the opinions procured from the Italian jurists respecting the legality of that divorce. Nothing could be stronger than the analogy between that case and the present. The agent who was employed by Henry VIII. to go up and down, procuring these opinions, was also one Cook; and, in a letter which he wrote to England, giving an account of the success of his mission, he says, "albeit he had not been sufficiently furnished with money, he had procured one hundred and ten opinions of doctors in favour of the divorce; but that was nothing to the number he could have procured if he had only had the means." There was a letter, too, from a bishop of Worcester to Cook, the

agent, in which he tells him "not to promise rewards but to those who expected and who lived by them;" and, alluding to the sums which had been paid, he adds, with honest simplicity, that "all this shows what prostituted consciences these Italian fellows must have, to be bought so cheap!"—"Yea," he continues, "if you had money enough, I doubt not you might procure the subscriptions of all the doctors in Italy." The learned gentleman laid also great stress on a letter published by general Acton, who was a native of Italy, and who had himself once nearly fallen a victim to a conspiracy, got up on suborned testimony, in which he says, that nothing can be more notorious than the open and public sale of evidence among his countrymen.

Mr. Brougham now commenced a detailed review of the evidence adduced for the prosecution. He would first request attention to the incident made so much of by the attorney general, the dancing exhibition of Mahomet. There was no part of the case which the attorney general had been so anxious to prove as this. He had returned to it again and again, and it was not a little curious to observe the progress which he made in establishing it. When Majocchi, the principal witness, was asked about it, he could say nothing but that he had seen the dance, and saw nothing improper in it. This was on the Tuesday—and on the Friday Perollo was produced. The dancing was witnessed by wives and daughters as pure as those of their lordships. With respect to the expression *Non mi ricordo*, so frequently used by Majocchi, and which

which had been dropped after the first day's cross-examination, and substituted by other phrases, he should say nothing—but he should briefly allude to the subject of the payment of money to those who were the props of this extraordinary case. The moment the subject of remuneration was alluded to, the witnesses were all seized with the spirit of disinterestedness. The expenses of their journey were merely paid! They had no motive for coming here beyond their duty! and they expected nothing at the conclusion of their labour, but the pleasure of going back to their own country again! One of them declared that he had got nothing here but trouble! and wrapped up his disinterestedness in an epigram.—All his reward was to be the pleasure of going back to his family and friends! But what features had this disinterestedness assumed in the course of the investigation?—One of the witnesses (Sacchi) had suddenly burst into the possession of property; he declared that he had been always in a state of prosperity—that he had been always well dressed. He must have lived in this country at the rate of 400*l.* or 500*l.* a-year, a sum equal to 1400*l.* or 1500*l.* a-year in his own; and yet before he came here to give his disinterested evidence he was affected at losing his situation of courier, and had made every effort to regain it. This was the man who denied that he had received any thing—that he had any future expectations.

The last of those general observations which he should submit to their lordships was the great blanks amongst the witnesses—the exceeding fewness of the witnesses

compared with what the public were led to expect from the statement of the attorney general. He conjured their lordships to attend to this fact, for it was of leading importance. If there were no other argument for throwing out the bill, that was a capital one. Whatever might have been the case, whether it had been proceeded in as a matter of ordinary or extraordinary character, he should still adhere confidently and steadily to that part of the case, as furnishing unequivocal proof of the weakness of the prosecution. It was a consideration fatal to the bill. The attorney general had told their lordships that there existed rumours at Naples as to the reasons the queen's ladies had for leaving her majesty. Rumours! If there had been rumours to that effect, why had not the proper witnesses been called to prove their existence? Where are those ladies? They were all persons of rank and honour, respected and beloved, upon whose characters there lay no imputations. They were the very persons who could be best of all introduced, as a contrast to those who had been already examined; why had not those been called, and the same course been adopted with regard to them which would have been followed if the case was in a course of investigation before one of the judges at the Old Bailey?—No. More elevated persons had been in the service of the queen, and might be supposed to be influenced! Was that a reason for not calling evidence which would at once determine so important a part of the case? Could their lordships act upon such a foundation? He was not here contending

ing upon the subject of a bill of exchange, or of any other case connected with the inferior courts, in which the refusal to call evidence important to the case might be considered necessary; but he was there upon a bill of pains and penalties, which their lordships might give the go-by to if they pleased. And were they not to have before them all that would tend to lead to a just conclusion, without being fettered by any of the ordinary restraints which were acted upon in other places? He would not call those witnesses. He would leave it to those who conducted the prosecution to call them; but he would leave it to them in vain, for the persons to whom he alluded did not belong to the Cotton Gardentroop, and of course did not come under the denomination to which the enemies of the queen looked with hope and satisfaction. In this sacred temple it would be a shame to permit the cause of her majesty to sustain injury, because the witnesses were not called; to allow ruin to come down upon her, because her adversaries had refused to call those from whose testimony she might receive the utmost benefit. The very attempt made to prejudice the cause, by making the assertion without bringing forward the proof, was sufficient to destroy the charge. And if their lordships meant to maintain the character of that august assembly, they would at once reject the bill, and remove the necessity of any further address from him.

[Here Mr. Brougham, evidently exhausted by the exertion, requested to be permitted to retire for a few moments. The appli-

cation was immediately acceded to.]

At a quarter before two o'clock Mr. Brougham returned, and proceeded to comment upon the evidence adduced on behalf of the prosecution, at very great length, and first upon the testimony of Majocchi. He contrasted the minuteness of the recollection of that witness as to the position of rooms at Villa d'Este, and his forgetfulness with respect to the building of a new wing at that place. In the celebrated scene at Naples he was most accurate even to minutes in his description. He had stated that the queen went twice to Bergami's room; the first time she was from ten to fifteen minutes there, and the second from fifteen to eighteen. The mean was sixteen and a half minutes. Exactly three minutes afterwards he went to the window and fired a gun. All this had been stated in the examination in chief, and it was endeavoured to give an appearance of accuracy to the whole of his testimony; but when it was found to be of no use to the prosecutors, but most serviceable to the cause of her majesty, the memory of this witness was so treacherous that he could recollect nothing. He could not remember whether it was a whole night, or for more or less than eight hours. And why could he not? He had no watch. Had he any watch when he recollected the minutes so exactly when the princess was said to be in Bergami's room? The absence of a watch was never felt, but when the evidence would have been useful to the defence. This witness could answer no categorical questions,



questions, and he could not remember whether there were two or twenty-two sailors on board the vessel in which the princess travelled. As to places, he was equally unable to give an answer; and although he slept in the hold where all the rest must have slept, yet he could not recollect whether there was any one there but himself. His evidence was varying on every occasion, and was exactly suited to the character which he was to support. It was absolutely impossible, however, that he should not have recollected the circumstances asked him if what he did recollect was true. The circumstance at Naples might be adduced as an instance of his perjury. Then with respect to Hughes, the banker's clerk, the witness equally prevaricated. At first he knew not his name or trade, and, indeed, had never heard of him; but when he (Mr. Brougham) produced the letter, then, before he could say any thing to refresh his memory, he all at once clearly recollected the circumstance, and admitted that he never could have forgotten it, giving as a reason for his momentary forgetfulness, that he was so intimate with him he forgot the name of his most familiar friend. The reason of his forgetting his friend's trade was, that he was in the daily habit of calling him brother banker.—From this it was pretty evident, that he was anxious to prevent any knowledge coming to their lordships of persons with whom he was acquainted. He (Mr. Brougham) as a further proof of the dishonesty of the witness, referred to his prevaricating testimony with respect to the mo-

ney he had received at Vienna and Milan. When laying the foundation on which the whole case for the prosecution was to be built, the witness was represented, in the opening speech of his learned friend, to know a great deal more than had been proved; and one out of many instances was, that he would prove kissing in a certain room; but it turned out in the examination, that it was only whispering that he heard. The forgetfulness of the witness perhaps arose from a knowledge of the facts and documents which he (Mr. Brougham) was in possession of; but it was more than probable, that it arose also from having forgotten his invention. A witness was much more likely to forget an invention, however cunningly devised, than truth. If the story were invented, a part he would recollect, and a part he would forget: but what actually occurred, and was submitted to his observation, was more distinctly and permanently fixed in his mind. An instance of this would be seen in a part of the testimony of the witness, wherein he had been asked, "Do you recollect, after the princess entered the bedroom, was there any conversation?" A. "Yes." Something had formerly been sworn by this witness which was considered of importance by the attorney general, and his learned friend was particularly anxious that his witness should not forget a part of his invention. The fact was, that it was expected he would swear to kissing as well as whispering. There was another part of the evidence upon which his learned friend had displayed the same anxiety. When the

the witness was asked relative to the circumstance of the princess riding upon an ass, he said that Bergami held her. "How did he hold her?" was immediately asked; and the reply was, "He held her from falling." It was stated by the witness in another part of the examination, that although the queen had free access to Bergami's room through an unoccupied apartment, she chose rather, as if to make sure of detection, to go through Majocchi's room, which was so small that she could not help touching the bed. It was added, that the queen held up the candle to the witness's face to see if he was asleep. This, indeed, could only be compared to the clumsy invention of robbers accustomed to dark lanterns. He (Mr. Brougham) next referred to the circumstance of Majocchi's not recollecting the arrival of the courier at Genoa. Afterwards being asked a question, wholly unconnected with the fact, the witness said he recollected the circumstance by the arrival of the courier; then finding that he had involved himself in a difficulty, he corrected himself and said, that he recollected it because thieves had attacked the house. There was another point in the testimony which he thought as gross and palpable a forgery as ever had been made in a court of justice. He alluded to the circumstance of Majocchi's leaving the service of the princess; and the reason assigned for it was, that there were so many bad people. He denied that he was dismissed, but yet he had asked Schiavini to be restored to her service. He admitted that he had asked Schiavini, but pretended that it had been done in joke. He denied

that he had asked Hieronymus, or any one else belonging to the queen's household, to be restored.

Mr. Brougham next referred to the evidence of the master and mate of the vessel, who were, he said, the best paid witnesses that had ever appeared in a court of justice. The sum which was given to them would make them almost the richest individuals at Messina. There 400*l.* a year was considered a handsome income, and none but the noblesse were possessed of 1500*l.* a year. These two witnesses, when they returned to their own country with such a fortune, would be considered the richest men of the earth, and hundreds would flock to see them. It appeared that uncertain profits from a royal person were more valuable than certain ones, and it was plain how these witnesses calculated. If they made out a good case, and acquitted themselves well, the generosity of the royal husband might be expected to give such an uncertain reward as would make a mere joke of the 2400*l.* a year. Besides the reward, however, there was another inducement, and they were actuated by revenge, Bergami having deprived them of 1300*l.* They had come to this country with a view to see into the claims, and no doubt would see into it better by given evidence for the prosecution. He (Mr. B.) had remarked upon the discrepancy of the evidence of the master and mate, and remarked upon the circumstance of the master cautioning the mate to quit the deck. He felt such a moral responsibility, and being actuated by the strong ties of blood, he thought it a matter of duty to dismiss the young man from

from such a scene of profligacy. But whatever mischiefs happened to the morals of the community from such representations, there was one sacred spot pure and uncontaminated, free from all those impurities which had flooded the rest of the island—he meant Cotton Garden, wheresuch profligacy was wholly unknown. If their lordships chose to believe what the witnesses from Cotton Garden said, he should be sorry to interrupt so pleasing a delusion. Believe it in God's name; but if they did not, they must believe something else; viz. that all the witnesses from that dépôt were perjured again and again.

The course of these observations had now brought him to two persons of greater importance, mademoiselle Dumont and Sacchi, whom he trusted he should be excused for coupling, united as they were in themselves by the closest ties, and resembling each other in many particulars of their history. They had both lived under the queen's roof—both enjoyed her bounty—both had been dismissed—and both wished to be taken back again. They had lived in the greatest intimacy in their native mountains of Switzerland, and since their arrival in England. They had remained here for nearly the same period of time, about twelve months, and they had used those months in a manner most calculated to fit them for the service of their employers by the study of the English language. Incidentally this gave them an advantage, since they could prepare their answers, while the questions were interpreted. The learned gentleman wished now to remind the house of what sort of

person Dumont described herself to be. She was of a romantic disposition, naturally implanted, and certainly improved by her practice in the world. She was an enemy of marriage, and did not like mankind in the abstract, though it might perhaps turn out that she was *amica omnibus quam inimica*. She had, however, one near friend, a man named Sacchi, whom she distinguished by the title of an Italian gentleman; but he, ungrateful man, would not return the compliment by acknowledging her to be a countess.—Marriage she did not like; she loved liberty, and in the pursuit of this mountain nymph, their lordships would see the company into which she had got. She was a most perfect specimen, a most finished model of a waiting maid; the writers of her country, or of ours, had been unable to draw her equal; Moliere, Le Sage, Congreve, and Cibber, had all fallen short of this perfection. As a witness, she had displayed the utmost circumspection, and a natural readiness in reconciling contradictions, though she had failed in explaining those in her letters, because she was taken on the sudden, and did not expect that they would be brought against her. Had their existence been known, she would never have been introduced to their lordships, but, like others, would have been shipped off like fresh meat, and live lumber, for their native country. But her constant practice was to use *double entendres*, and Sacchi did the same. He (Mr. B.) had heard her candour praised, because she admitted that she was turned away for telling what was false. She was also praised for being

being sincere in some of her applause of the queen, and insincere in the rest, for there appeared to be no connexion in *rerum natura* between things wrong and false and her assertion of them as true. He need hardly remind the house, or any man whose capacity was above the animals he abused by using them, what absolute nonsense it was to talk of believing a witness because she admitted that she was unworthy of belief—that she confounded truth and falsehood. Her ingenuousness in stating that she dealt in falsehood wholesale, and that not a word she uttered was to be depended upon, was to be the ground for giving her credit; yet so captivating, so seductive a blandishment was this in her, that it almost blinded some of her judges, and opened their ears to the stories of so ingenious a liar. In any body but a witness such conduct might be praised; but in this poor, dear, innocent Swiss shepherdess, the strongest reason for giving her credit was to cite her candour in admitting that she did not deserve it.

Mr. Brougham then proceeded to notice the imperfect explanations attempted by Dumont of the *double entendres* in her letters, contending that the gloss she had put upon them was insufficient, and that the key she had afforded did not fit the cipher. A plain man had only a plain story to tell, and at the time these letters were written, he was convinced that mademoiselle Dumont had no such double meaning as she invented *extempore*. He prayed God that their lordships would so believe, and that they would not stand as a solitary exception among all the rest of man-  
1820.

kind on this subject: that they would be satisfied that Dumont was sincere when she praised the queen, that she spoke the language of her heart regarding her majesty's innocence, and that she had only changed her opinions since she had been corrupted by the other side, and had fallen into the hands of the other conspirators against her illustrious mistress. Another feature was her fondness for her two sisters, one of fifteen and the other of eighteen; and was it to be believed that she would endeavour to provide for those sisters in the family of the queen, if what she now said were true, that the royal residence deserved more the name of a brothel than a palace?

Having concluded his introductory observations on this witness, Mr. Brougham went on to draw the character of Sacchi, referring to his elevation from the ranks, and to the endeavours used by the attorney general to give him a respectability, by proving him to have been a soldier under Bonaparte, and to have been promoted in the field. It showed how the age was improved, and how inferior we were growing to vulgar prejudice, when what before would have been a stigma now became a ground of approbation. A little while ago, to have served Bonaparte, that Corsican usurper, revolutionary adventurer, and tyrannical chieftain, would have been enough to prevent a man from being produced in any court of justice in any cause, especially if the soldier had come from the north of Italy. Sacchi not only dealt in *double entendres*, but he had gone under three whole names and a diminutive;

tive; and, on his arrival in this country, he had first started as a gentleman, kept his own servants, and begun his *double entendres* by stating that he had been in the service of a Spanish family. A second *double entendre* related to a supposed lawsuit, which he had endeavoured to explain in reference to the queen. Now, my lords, I take leave to ask, how he has procured the place he just now holds with a servant attending him? We must suppose he gets his money not in a very creditable way, and that he is paid by some unknown party. This same Sacchi being asked—"If he had ever said he was in a miserable situation—if he had ever taxed himself with ingratitude to his amiable benefactress?"—answered, "Never." And again, "Were you ever in a situation to require compassion?"—"Never." "Is that your hand-writing?" Answer—"Yes." Your lordships will see that, in these letters, this gentleman taxes himself with the blackest ingratitude. Luckily, he did not recollect these letters. But you shall see them. Indeed, then comes one of those providential accidents, by which chance sometimes protects injured innocence. On asking him why he changed his name? he answered—"On account of the tumult;" happily he does not recollect that he came over to this country in the year 1819, and that the tumult did not happen till the year 1820. In page 459 of the short hand writer's notes, you will find how he endeavours to get out of his inconsistency. He says, "I took this name on account of the tumult, and the danger I should have run if I had been known." The attorney general very properly did not press

him further on this point. But happily one of your lordships endeavoured to get some further explanation. There you have a specimen of the confusion, the perplexity, the shifting, the beating about the bush, which a perjured witness resorts to, to prevent the consequences of one false step. Being asked why he changed his name? he said, "that as at the time I was known in London by my own name, I thought fit to change it, to shelter myself from any inconvenience that might ensue."—From this time forward there is no more getting him out of the potential or optative mood into the proper tense and mood for expressing what has really happened, than there is any possibility of changing him from a knave to an honest man.—When he was pressed at last to say whether any one had told him that it would be dangerous for him to go to England under his own name, he said, that while he was at Calais, a gentleman whom he did not know came to him, accompanied by the well known courier Krutz, and told him that it would be necessary for him to change his name, because some tumult or trouble had happened to others on the like account. When he was pressed to explain what was meant by this, he had recourse to an answer, which I never saw any witness brought into such a corner without giving, "I have repeated what the gentleman told me." He was asked then, "Did you know any witnesses who had gone to England respecting the queen?" Answer, "I might imagine some other people might have already come to England as I was coming." I don't deny

ny that he might have imagined this, or any thing else, as he imagined that the tumult at Dover had induced him to change his name a year before it happened. But what I say is, that it is entirely incredible that for one year this unknown gentleman should have any apprehensions for the safety of witnesses in the cause of the queen. It is plain that the whole story is mere invention, to cover his retreat from the position into which he had unluckily got. It was by such circumstances as these that perjuries and conspiracies were detected. Having enforced this point at some length, Mr. Brougham noticed the nature of the testimony given by Sacchi and Rastellias to the most indecent position in which they had sworn that they had found the queen in the carriage with Bergami, on undrawing the curtains in the morning while they were asleep. He insisted that the whole story was an incredible fabrication, and that the lowest prostitute discharged from bridewell would be ashamed of the conduct thus imputed to the queen of England. What would their lordships say, when he proved, as he should be able to do, that the carriage was an English one—that the blinds could not be raised without opening the door to get at the spring on the inside—and that Sacchi was not the courier on that journey attending the queen? He also argued upon the physical impossibility of the charge, from the situation of the parties, the form of the carriage, the nature of the roads, and the rapidity of the progress. Sacchi was asked whether any person beside the queen and Bergami was in the carriage, and

for that question he provided the device of his celebrated predecessor, Majocchi, *Non mi ricordo*. Mr. Brougham remarked on the improbability of this sense of forgetfulness, but said it should not cover the gentleman, for he would prove there was a third person in the carriage. He was proceeding to comment on the evidence of Dumont regarding the transactions at Carlsruhe, when he was interrupted by

Earl Grey, who noticed that it was four o'clock, the hour appointed for adjournment, and that it might be convenient to pause here, before the learned counsel entered into a new subject.

After a few words from the earl of Liverpool and the lord chancellor, the house adjourned.

October 4.—At ten o'clock this morning, the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsock. Prayers were read by the bishop of Bristol, and the house was then called over. Several peers were absent, and sent excuses on account of ill health.

A gentleman from the treasury presented copies of all communications between the lords of the treasury and her majesty, her counsel, or agents, on the subject of pecuniary supplies to defray the charges of the queen's defence.

These accounts were ordered to be laid on the table.

Earl Darnley professed himself not entirely satisfied with these accounts. They were limited to the sums called for to meet the queen's charges, instead of embracing, as they ought, the whole cost of the prosecution. He concluded, in a low tone of voice, by intimating (as we understood his lordship) his intention, at a future

day, to call for the whole accounts.

Lord Erskine concurred in the necessity of having an account of the whole expense.

At twenty minutes after ten o'clock the counsel for her majesty were ordered to be called.

Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, Dr. Lushington Mr. Williams, Mr. Wilde, and the solicitor, were then introduced to their places.

The lord chancellor then ordered Mr. Brougham to proceed with the statement with which he had left off yesterday.

Mr. Brougham immediately resumed the queen's defence in nearly the following words :—

My lords—I ask, how it comes to pass, that with no want of care in the getting up of this cause, no want of sagacity on the part of those who had to prepare it, for I see the greatest skill and management in all the parts of it—how comes it, I say, that after all this, and with the boundless resources intrusted to them, to bring all its faculties into play, there should be one deficiency even in the arrangement of the names of the very witnesses? Why is it that there is such a want of national talent in the witnesses, such unfairness to the several states to which they respectively belong, such a contrast between those from some countries and from others; so that, though in the management I found every class in society, from the middling ranks downwards, represented, yet when I have to come to the representation of the Helvetic republic, I find only a single nymph to personate that people. When I look, too, to the whole circle of the Germanic empire, I find its representation em-

bodied in one German chambermaid. I see none from the capital; —I see none from any large states of Germany, where her majesty resided; I see none from that capital, of which she is a native; I see none from those numerous places in which she spent so much of her time, and where she must be so generally known.

All that I can find from Germany is one single chambermaid at an inn; one single cellar maid, or assistant cellar maid, or girl of all work, for it is doubtful, from the story of Barbara Kress, to which of these classes she has belonged. When I speak of the scantiness of witnesses from Germany, and when I allude to the same scantiness from Switzerland, save and except the Swiss chambermaid, I must put in a claim for two witnesses from Germany, and these shall be the first introduced for my defence. I must now begin by calling your lordships' attention to what appears in the evidence of this single German chambermaid. I must here, to do this woman justice, have recourse, as I had before, to her own statement of herself and her affairs. Kress appears then, from her own account, upon a calculation of the years she has alluded to, to have commenced, at the tender period of thirteen years of age, the reputable, unsuspecting, and inexperienced office of chambermaid, at a little German inn. The little difficulty of tracing the history of such a personage is in no small degree removed by looking close at the story of her own biography. She first tells us where she was at thirteen years of age; she was then a servant with somebody whose station and occupa-

tion

tion she shows no anxiety to disclose. It however turns out, that he was a small innkeeper, and she his cellar maid or assistant cellar maid. I entreat your lordships' close attention to the manner in which this woman gives her evidence, for the purpose of your following up, step by step, and attaching to it that degree of credibility to which you may ultimately deem it entitled. I the more particularly solicit this attention to the German woman's testimony, for you will find by her confession, that there was no lack of effort in Germany to obtain witnesses. The agents were there pursuing the investigation with their accustomed activity, their usual address, and their ordinary resources.

And here I must say that, however disgusted I feel at the conduct of some natives of my own country, connected with the business of the Milan commission, I find that there were in Germany natives of that part of the continent, who furnished me with the consolation of knowing, that they outstripped my own countrymen in the part which they thought proper to take in this business. For instance, I find there, that the baron Grimm, the minister of Wirtemberg, the minister of that power on whose throne a British princess of the royal family sat, was most active. I find this baron, with a person named Raven, who succeeded baron Ompteda as minister at Rome, and who is now there in that capacity; I find these two persons actively employed against her majesty, I find Raven treating the queen of England, when at Rome, that lady who was his queen, as well

as your lordships', in such a manner as made it impossible for her majesty, even if her presence had not been rendered indispensable here by the proceedings instituted against her station and honour, to reside any longer at Rome. These two persons I find to have been throughout these proceedings unscrupulous agents in the transactions to which I have to call your lordships' attention. I find the baron not scrupulous in throwing away, and flinging far from him, all those feelings which an ordinary man, in the common incidents of life, may not cast away, without forfeiting all pretensions to honour and respect. It may be perhaps in the conduct of diplomacy for a minister to justify himself for acts, for which, as a man, he would stand without defence—he may do in the one station what in the other he dares not, without encountering degradation; he may, perhaps, for such conduct, curry favour with the master who employs him—he may get honours for discharging duties, which, in another capacity, would obtain him not honours, but dishonour and disgrace. Perhaps, however, he acted merely as a diplomatist, to whom all things are to be equal. Baron Grimm, my lords, was living in his own apartments, when the queen arrived at the place of his residence. To compliment her majesty, and promote her convenience, he instantly resigned his own apartments: he artfully and insidiously gave them up for the use of the queen; he kindly left the principal apartment without a moment's delay, for the purpose of having it appropriated to the accommodation of her majesty. He left his



own house and encountered all the inconvenience of inferior and comparatively ill-fitted apartments, that he might show his respect to the princess of Wales, and have the honour of condescendingly contributing to her temporary convenience. Such was the baron's courteous conduct to that illustrious lady.

But what would their lordships think of his politeness and demeanour, when they knew, that on the very day, nay the very hour, on which the queen quitted the occupancy of these rooms, the baron, together with another person, whose name, though used by the witness, I at this moment forget, were seen running up and down the rooms, as the woman Kress expresses it, prying into every hole and corner, turning up and looking at the furniture which had been used by the princess, examining the beds and bed-furniture, and performing all those degrading offices, to endeavour to please those, who I know, and feel, are above sending any men to degrade themselves, by performing such mean and dirty missions. Such, however, was the conduct of these men; they demeaned themselves in the way I have mentioned, sedulously and unscrupulously, regardless altogether of their own dignity, and prying into the minutest matter that had a chance of gratifying their private ends. You have heard all this of baron Grimm from the chambermaid Kress. After all this condescension, why has not the baron condescended to be a witness at your lordships' bar? Why has he not ventured to be a witness to sustain the testimony of the chambermaid? Why has he not shown the same

boldness here in facing your lordships, that he has shown elsewhere in facing the reprobation which his conduct so well deserved to call down upon him? But here the baron was not forthcoming; here alone he was not to be found, though here, and here above all, he was, if this story of Kress be true, a paramount and most important witness; indeed the most important by far, for he actually entered the queen's apartments the moment she left them, and, if Kress spoke true, must have had an early and immediate opportunity of speaking to the thing in such a manner as directly to corroborate her evidence. The baron was absent, and the only witness obtained by all the industry, the zeal, and skill of the agent, the only one he could gather in all Germany, was this single German chambermaid. On looking at the evidence of Kress, some estimate could be formed both of her motives and of the consistency of her uncorroborated story. She swears she came over to England to be a witness by compulsion; and yet, when you come to turn over the next page in her book, you find what? That she was to be paid—that is, to get a little compensation for loss of time. She had made no terms, given in no bill, she had made no express or implied bargain, nor had she any reason to expect payment for the evidence she was expected to give. This was her story, but it soon came out that she had got a little payment, and the scale at which it was meted out to her was also observable; for it was wrung most reluctantly from her. Look at her examination.

Were

Were you ever examined before?  
Yes.

Where? I was once taken to Hanover.

What had you for going there? I don't recollect—it was little, so little that I don't recollect.

She, it seemed, did not, and could not, recollect this remuneration, because it was so little. But it subsequently turned out that it was not because the reward was so little, but because it was so great, she could not recollect it. —What if it was larger by five times, by ten times her ordinary wages at the inn? She was asked —what if it doubled her whole year's salary, wages, perquisites, and all, at the inns of Frankfort? Still she could not recollect it. When this payment doubled that annual sum, will any man, my lords, of plain and common understanding, pretend to say he can believe this woman, when she states, she does not recollect such a circumstance, when the amount paid for a six days' journey so far exceeded her annual profits? Was it possible, after such a confession as this, to credit her belief? Could she be depended upon in her memory of facts, who did not recollect receiving for a trip that, from beginning to end, did not cost a fortnight's time, more money, by a great deal, than she could earn in a year, and did not recollect it, because the amount was so little, so very little? How can any man, then, I say, place reliance on a story coming from such a source? Now, my lords, we must again cross the Alps in pursuing this strange history, and dismissing the testimony of the witness whose testimony I have just noticed, all the rest of the persons brought

forward are but mere make-weights, persons who are liable to those general observations which I had yesterday the honour to submit to your lordships. The facts to which they swear are such, that it is utterly inconceivable they can be seen by mortal eye. Can it then be supposed that such things would have been suffered to take place with such publicity, that they must be exposed to the observation of a number of persons in the lowest ranks of life, of the humblest, and some of them even degrading occupations, and whom, after all the pains taken with them, it had been found impossible to clothe with even ordinary respectability? It is impossible that any person, retaining ordinary sense and understanding, could allow such scenes as had been described to pass in the presence of eleven men. Why had not more of the crew who were on board the vessel been called? It is strange that the witnesses never mentioned what they had seen. One who had been on board, when asked if he had ever told of what he had witnessed, replied, "Yes, once." When asked on what occasion it was that he so mentioned it, he replied, "To the commission at Milan." The question was then put, "Did you never mention it before?" and to this the reply was, "Never."

And thus it is with them all. When Rastelli swore to scenes too disgusting to be detailed—when he swore to abominations having taken place in the face of day which could not be described, and that too in a situation so unsheltered that it was impossible for him to turn his head without seeing them, he, like all the rest of the witnesses to these abomina-

tions, as if the relation between cause and effect in this singular case was wholly suspended, had never opened his mouth on the subject; his lips had been hermetically sealed till he had been called on by the commission at Milan. Through ten long months that witness was silent. Was he a hermit all this time? Was he living the life of a recluse? Was there no mortal ear in which he could mention it? Was there no man, woman, or child, to whom he could whisper it? To the latter, perhaps, he might not be expected to mention it, but had he no friend, no brother, no mistress, no common passenger, to whom he could mention it? I know that the boatmen on the lake Como have been corrupted in many instances by the fondness of the passengers for gossip, and who, finding they got paid for their stories, have got into the way of entertaining them with tales which have no foundation whatever in truth. Is it, I say, credible, that knowing what he had sworn to, this man should have whispered to no one the strange sights which he had seen? How many are there of your lordships, who, unaccustomed to the habits of official life; who, not being under those restraints imposed upon the limbs, the tongue, and the minds of those connected with the courts of law; how many are there of your lordships such as I have described, who, having seen these things, would not have mentioned them to some friend or acquaintance? He believed there were few gentlemen, who, having witnessed such scenes, not being under the seal of secrecy—not being in any way bound to silence—would not

have spoken of them to some one. Yet, here were these low persons, so different in their conduct from the upper ranks of society, so much more discreet, so much more on their guard, and living with persons of such purity, that the mention of such facts would at once have crimsoned their cheeks with the glow of offended delicacy, that in no one case did they pretend to have revealed what they have sworn themselves to have witnessed to any living being.—Is this probable—is it that which can be credited? The princess was described to have been seen kissing Bergami on the lake of Como as often as the wind blew on it. She was seen riding in a carriage in a situation which cannot be mentioned without a blush. The facts witnessed were so striking, so unheard of, so frightful, so portentous that, if really seen, it was impossible for the beholder to remain silent a single day. But days, weeks, and months passed away, and nothing was said on the subject till the parties were called before the Milan commission. It was then, for the first time, that the lips of these persons were unsealed. I do not believe that they concealed for days or hours what they have sworn to. I believe that they only concealed from the ear of their neighbours what they have now stated from the time, when, learning that others had been largely paid for their better slanders, they determined on imitating their conduct; from the time when it first crossed their imaginations to act this part, till they had passed over to Milan and obtained the reward of perjury.

My lords, you will see that in this instance there is no variation  
in

in the conduct of the witnesses at all; but in other instances there are variations of importance. Do you recollect—but can any one ever forget the waiter from Trieste, who appeared at your lordships' bar? Does he not rise before you at this instant? Does not his aspect recall him to the memory of many of your lordships who have forgotten his name? Do you remember those eyes, that nose, that lecherous mouth with which the wretch stood here to repeat the falsehoods to which he had previously sworn at Milan? Do you remember that pander from Trieste? Do you remember that lechery—lechery which seemed that of an inhabitant of the infernal regions—do you remember the gloating mouth with which he told his falsehoods? But I can contradict him. He at least will not go unpunished. I can contradict by other witnesses the facts to which he has sworn. I can contradict, and I can bring to punishment other witnesses, but he *shall* not escape. I will show you by undoubted, unquestionable, unimpeachable evidence—by evidence above all suspicion, that he has sworn falsely; I can prove by the room itself, and by the position of the door, that he is not to be believed. I will do more; I will prove, from what he himself has stated, that his evidence cannot be true: I will show that the queen was at Trieste but one night in all her life. She went to the opera, as he has stated, and that is the only instance in which this witness spoke truth, and the next day, I will prove, that she went away, and never afterwards crossed the threshold of the gate of

Trieste. Of the filthy cargo brought over on this occasion, I think the sample which I have brought before your lordships is pretty well enough. I know not whether this Iachimo be the legitimate descendant of the Iachimo of Shakspeare; but in mind your lordships can hardly doubt that he is own brother to this and other witnesses who have belied the lady princess of the fair isle, and they may say

———“mine Italian brain  
'Gan in your duller Britain operate  
Most vilely; for my 'vantage, excellent;  
And, to be brief, my practice so prevailed,  
That I returned with simular proof  
enough  
To make the noble Leonatus mad,  
By wounding his belief in her renown  
With tokens thus, and thus; averring  
note  
Of chamber hanging pictures, this, her  
bracelet,  
(O, cunning! how I got it!)”

I should not sufficiently discharge my duty if I did not call your attention to the several heads or charges contained in the strange indictment brought before your lordships in the form of a bill of pains and penalties. Your lordships will recollect that the first scene is on Neapolitan ground. At Naples, the party are described as first coming together, and there the adulterous intercourse is alleged to have taken place in the course of ten days, or at the utmost a fortnight after they first met. Your lordships will see that from the statements of these witnesses it appears that the princess of Wales acted the part described, having theretofore been a person of unimpeachable character and life—having been proved to be so by much stronger

evidence than could have been adduced on her behalf, had she never been suspected. That her character was unblemished, is proved, if there is truth in evidence, if there is benefit in acquittal, if there is justice in the world—it stood higher than if she had never been accused, as she had two solemn acquittals after two solemn inquiries into her conduct. So much on those occasions had been proved in her favour, that when one set of ministers had found her guiltless of the charges preferred against her, and recommended that she should be merely censured for some acts which were called levities, their successors in office, not satisfied with this, had recommended that the censure for levities should be discharged, and that her king and father should receive her to his affections as the purest princess that had ever adorned the walks of life. This character, so supported, so vindicated—coming out of the trial purer than if it had never been called in question, as it seemed to the ministers of that day, who were among those that now favoured the present charges, her majesty, in so short a time, had been represented to have thrown away, and to have demeaned herself in a manner that would have disgraced the most profligate of her sex. It seems that she hired a menial servant, and of him I shall say a few words hereafter. She then moved towards Naples, and in a few days, in less than a month, all restraint was laid aside, and the mistress of the servant was represented to have made herself the mistress of a menial lover. The whole of the case must fall to the ground

if your lordships should not believe that the alleged intimacy between them had commenced on the second night after the arrival of the queen at Naples, as this necessarily results from what has been sworn to by the witnesses Majocchi and Dumont.—It appears that little caution was thought necessary; but I would now call your attention to the manner in which the room in which the queen and her lover are described to have slept was prepared for their reception. One small iron bedstead, of dimensions hardly sufficient for one person on a voyage, is represented to have been placed in the room of Bergami; and on this bed it should seem the parties had slept, though a larger and more comfortable bed was in the chamber of her royal highness, and in every chamber of the house.

The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment on the inconsistencies which appeared in the evidence of the witness Dumont, as given at different times. Billy Austin, who had been stated to have been excluded from the room of her royal highness on the night referred to, he could prove had slept in another apartment for some time before, in a room adjoining that of her royal highness, to which he could have access at all hours. Yet this witness, with all her senses about her, at the time my friend was examining her, would not speak so positively to the bed being tumbled; but she swore positively to its bearing the appearance of two persons having slept in it. Is not that then more abundant than the expectations of my learned friend could have wished? My lords,  
another

another scene, she would have you believe, took place at Naples, to which, however, she will not venture to apply a time. She was aware of the danger that would accrue, had she done so. She would not run the risk of being sifted and exposed on that point. She would not run the risk of contradiction, because she well knew, if she fixed it earlier or later in the week, so long as she did but specify a time, contradicted she certainly would be. Some night, however, during her royal highness's stay at Naples, she saw Bergami come out of his room naked, except as to his shirt, without even stockings—without even a night-gown, moving towards that part of the corridor into which the chamber of the queen opened. She did not start back—she did not retire; but moved on in a direction towards Bergami. And Bergami did not start back; he did not retire; but seeing her, and without making any excuse, he continued his course towards the queen's room. She continued going towards him, and then made her escape. He perceived she saw him, you are to believe; and still he makes no excuse, but moved on to the accomplishment of his guilty purpose, with a greater degree of alacrity, and a greater steadiness of step than a husband would adopt in going to the bed-chamber of his own wife. Your lordships will find all this in page 251 of the printed evidence: but I do not stop to refer you to pages, or turn to the precise and specific spots of evidence to which I call your attention; I merely draw your mind to the main and leading facts; and I am sure they

cannot possibly escape the recollection of those who heard the evidence as given at your bar.

Let me now remind your lordships of what is said to have taken place at Catania; and observe that here two witnesses might have been called to this transaction, if it really did take place, both of whom are mentioned by the attorney general, but only one of whom is called. "Two maids," says he, "were sitting in the next room to that of Bergami; both saw the princess come back from that room at an early hour; they both heard the child cry in the countess of Oldi's room;" and they must both have known all that really took place. The attorney general not only does not venture to call both, but only one; but he does not venture to state that those two had ever communicated together from that day to this upon a tittle of what has passed. They never did communicate, they could not communicate together; nothing of the kind had passed. The thing was false; but Dumont alone is called, and what is the story as she tells it? I now pray your lordships to attend to it; and let me ask you, notwithstanding all the multiplied improbabilities of this case, can there be any thing more improbable than this? Bergami usually slept not only not near to the queen's bed room, but on the other side of the court which formed the centre of the building, while well; but he became sick. He was seized with a severe fever, and brought over from his usual room into another room belonging to the countess of Oldi, I believe, and there he was when he was sick. Now, is it not, my lords, a little

little extraordinary, that the scene of this amour—I won't say is ordered to be, but is laid at a time when Bergami was in a fever, and not when he was in good health? Well, there he was lying, more as a patient than as a lover. And she is particular (for that is what is meant to be understood) that he should be placed there. And the situation in which she was placed to go to his bed-room is to be sure the most difficult and embarrassing that can well be conceived, for she must go through a room where two maids are sleeping, before she can by any means reach his. The queen, too, slept in a new room, and what had been Oldi's room now became hers. The child was also removed, and the witness tells you she undressed the queen, and her majesty went to Bergami's room every night and returned every morning. Now is it not extraordinary, that for the accomplishment of her design, if such design she ever entertained, she did not make an alteration in the bed-rooms of those maids, rather than expose herself to the risk of discovery? Is it not curious that she labours under the same risk both at Milan and at Naples? All she had to do was to make a different disposition of the rooms; to place the maids in Bergami's room; and then he could have slept in the room next adjoining. It is most wonderful that all the witnesses in this case would impute to her majesty that it was the uniform tendency of her tactics to multiply damning proofs against her own character, and to destroy every happiness and comfort which can be dear to her! This is the plot; and she is never to do

any one act which can injure her without providing ample proof and evidence against her. And now I am told that this will be contradicted by Mariette Grimm (Dumont's sister) being called. Why do you not call Mariette Grimm? You opened her evidence; you asserted she was present; you told us what she saw—and yet you will not call such as are in your favour. I say she is your witness. This is a criminal—it is worse than a criminal proceeding; it is of a nature higher, at least, in its exigency. I say, a bill of pains and penalties ought to be supported by evidence, better, if possible, than a proceeding which is to take away life or limb. I say, she is your witness, and not ours, and you ought to call her. You have not called her: in this overwhelming charge then I say you have not proved us guilty; and, therefore, if justice reigns here, we ought not to be called upon for a defence.

If I am accused of the lowest crime of the law, proper evidence must be produced to prove my guilt before I can be called upon for a defence. Suppose, my lords, a highway robber is called upon for his defence, and a Bow-street officer or a spy of the most degraded and contaminated character is alone put forward to prove the sufficiency of the charge, his friend—his relation, his servant, any one but his wife are ready to confute the accuser. I say, my lords, unless the case be first clearly proved, it is unnecessary to produce one of these for a defence. Common justice, common sense, approves that every man should be considered innocent till the charge of guilt is fully substantiated.

ated. My lords, the queen is in that situation that she must open her mind to suspicions of the most painful nature, and perfectly alien to her unsuspecting breast. But a long, unremitting, unrelenting course of persecution has inured and familiarized her to suspicion. The uninterrupted malice of her cruel enemies, and their spies, has opened her mind to feelings that nature never planted in her bosom. The life her majesty has led—all that she has seen in Italy, and since her return to England—listening daily to the inconsistency of the evidences attempted to be proved against her by Dumont, awake suspicions, I say, otherwise foreign to her innocent and unsuspecting heart. Her long life, pursued by enemies very little scrupulous, persecuted by Ompteddas of her own and other countries;—perhaps, in the sister of the above-named countess, she is harbouring this moment a second viper. You know they have corresponded together, if we believe Dumont. (For my part, I don't credit a tittle of her evidence.) Perhaps she told her suspicions as a duty. I say, why don't you call this waiting woman. We, her majesty's counsel, have felt it our duty to awaken in her bosom a careful circumspection of this woman's conduct; as suspicion, when properly applied, is equal to all the ramparts the hand of man can raise up to protect the feeble. 'Tis that mistrust which nature, for wise purposes, has implanted in the bosom of human creatures, to guard against the attempts of the Grimms, the Ompteddas, the Douglasses, the Ompteda of this country. But, my lords, the queen has hitherto had no reason to part

with this faithful sister. She has never known any thing prejudicial to her character. I shall, therefore, present her to your lordships, assuring you that it is perfectly gratuitous on her part; and in order to prevent any person from supposing that there exists a witness we dare not call. The story told at Charlitz seems to have made some impression. Dumont said she could swear within half an hour of the time, and on her cross-examination, within three hours. Now, my lords, the moment the passports could be procured, she set out, allowing time for changing of baggage, paying of bills, &c. During that period, her majesty lay on a bed in a riding-dress she had worn all day, prepared (if passports could be procured at that late hour, it being one o'clock in the morning,) to set out immediately. All this time her room door was open for the egress and ingress of every gentleman of her majesty's suite—not confining it to one particular person. When Bergami became ill at Carlsruhe, the queen was at a music party at the mansion of an illustrious relation; at the hour of ten, she retired to Majevini, and the sister and the child of Bergami returned home in the carriage with her. All this I can prove.

Some have been so very inattentive to details, that they say witnesses ought to have sworn to acts unequivocally committed. Let them recollect, the safest way of laying the foundation of a conspiracy is to build the fancy upon that which exists in nature—never having two witnesses to swear to the same facts; as it is a very dangerous confirmation, which, upon  
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cross-examination will fully be contradicted. It was stated, my lords, that her majesty, who was nightly seen in the king's box at the theatre of Naples, was, for indecency, hissed out of that theatre on one occasion.—Now this is a circumstance, which if it happened, could be easily proved. Could such a thing as this have been masked from any one? Would it not the next morning be all over Naples? And yet, my lords, but one witness has sworn to it; and I defy them ever to double that testimony. Why are there no witnesses produced to swear as to the beds, or to the linen? Why, I ask, my lords, are such witnesses not brought forward? What is become of Anne Prison? She was here, as was got out of one of the witnesses, and yet she was not called. Was it because she was not an Italian? And what are the reasons why she should have been called? Why, they are evident; as to marks—she was the princess's maid;—as to beds—she prepared them. Where was the washerwoman? she must have proved the case, if Dumont spoke truth, and yet she was not called. The prosecutors were well practised in examining washerwomen—they had been examined in lady Douglas's conspiracy; but then they did not prove much; and why were they not produced now, if it were not known that their evidence would break down? I say, my lords, you ought not to call upon me to contradict the evidence which has been given; for if the witnesses are to be believed, as plain a case of adultery has been made out against her majesty, as ever was proved in Westminster hall. If you believe Sac-

chi, Bergami was seen to go into the princess's room twice at night, and not to return. If you believed all that has been sworn, the queen was as bad, nay worse than Messalina.

I have another observation to make, my lords. I have heard it said that the testimony of the witnesses has not been damaged by proving that they had sworn to falsehoods on unimportant points. This remark must have come from the lay part of the community, for it could not proceed from any person calling himself a lawyer. It is quite enough, my lords, if I show that the witnesses have, in one part, perjured themselves. In no case can it be allowed to pick and choose out of the evidence, to select what is not contradicted, and reject what is evidently false. A witness may, to be sure, swear falsely, through ignorance; but if he swears to an invention, to a lie, and still he is to be credited, there is no safety for human nature from the toils of the conspirator. Suppose, my lords, any of your lordships had the misfortune—that greatest of misfortunes which can happen to an amiable mind, and which, even to suppose possible, must shock every delicacy of our nature—I say, my lords, if any of your lordships were charged, by some malignant wretch, with having been guilty of such a horrible crime as I allude to—what safety should you have unless the perjury of the villain, who prefers the charge, in unimportant matters, invalidates his whole testimony? No prying into the main circumstance—no ingenuity of counsel, can avail, if, as the conspirators in this case have done, one person is produced to swear

to each separate fact, and times and places are chosen when you may have been alone. But if contradiction were proved in one part of the evidence, you must be acquitted.

For the queen, I ask no other safety than that which your lordships would have in any court of justice. My lords, I am told that Bergami was promoted from an humble sphere of life, and that his promotion is a just cause of suspicion. I should be sorry, my lords, ever to see the day when, in this free country, deserved promotion would become a cause of suspicion. Let me observe however, that the rapidity with which Bergami was promoted has been greatly exaggerated, and that it took place in a manner which could not have proceeded from love. If you believe the evidence of Majocchi and Dumont, Bergami was but three weeks in her royal highness's service when he was raised to her bed. How was it, if this were so, that he still continued a courier, and dined with the other servants?—Nay, he even continued a courier after he had once dined at the table with her majesty; and it was only when setting out on the voyage which has been mentioned in evidence that he ceased to be a courier. When he first sat at table with the queen, it was during a long journey; and he was all along promoted but by degrees, being allowed to ride in a carriage instead of on horseback, and so on, until after a considerable lapse of time he was made chamberlain. This treatment was any thing but consistent with what was alleged to have taken place at Naples; this is not the rapidity with which love

promotes its favourites. But, my lords, he was promoted, not from affection, but for merit. He was, as you will find, not, as has been asserted, of low origin; his father was what is called a considerable proprietor in the north of Italy; he had, however, the misfortune to get into difficulties—a misfortune, my lords, which has befallen many honourable men,—and his son sold his estates to pay his father's debts. Bergami was thus reduced; but he was a reduced gentleman; as such, too, he was considered and treated by all who knew him. When in general Pino's service he dined at the general's table, while the latter was commandant of Milan. During the Spanish campaign he was highly respected and esteemed—he was encouraged because they knew his former pretensions and his present merits.—When he was hired, he was proposed by a nobleman in the Austrian service as courier to the queen, and was hired by her chamberlain without the knowledge of her majesty; and the nobleman said, if he behaved himself well and faithfully, he hoped he would be promoted, because he had seen better days, and his manners and information were beyond those of the situation he was about to fill. I do not dwell on this as important to the case, because I consider I have already disposed of the case in the course of this appeal to your lordships: but as the conduct of the queen has been so strictly scrutinized, I wish to show that impropriety existed not where guilt has not been proved. If the queen had ever stooped from her dignity, or had been worthless, I could have stood on higher grounds, by appealing to her former

former life, when she was under the protection of you, my lords, and under the most powerful of all protections—that of our late venerable sovereign. I am sure, my lords, you will not weigh, without the deepest sense of its importance, the melancholy truth, of how she had been used since. I hold in my hand a document; and know the feelings, the honest, manly, and intelligible style of which will excite in your breasts the sad recollection, that the author is now no more. Mr. Brougham then read a letter of the late king to his daughter-in-law, then princess of Wales, upon the subject of the charges then brought against her.

After commenting upon this letter, he proceeded to say, I might now read to your lordships a letter from his illustrious successor—not certainly containing professions of the same tenderness, or of the same regard, but not indicative of any want of confidence in her fidelity. The learned gentleman then read the celebrated letter from the prince of Wales to the princess, in which he promised her tranquillity. I do not, he continued, call it a letter of license, as it has been called, but I call it such an epistle as must have rendered it a matter of great wonder to the person who received it, that her conduct should afterwards have been made the subject of such unscrupulous and unsparing scrutiny. Such, then, is this case; and again let me, even at the risk of repetition, beseech your lordships never to forget the two grand points upon which I rest this defence; first, that the witnesses within their reach have not been called; and then that of

those who have been called, the credit of every one has been injured. Plots can only be discovered by the application of these principles; nay, some have been discovered by the second, after the first had failed, namely, by the evidence breaking down, in some weak point which had not been sufficiently strengthened. There was an example of this in the sacred writings, when we are told that the ancient judges of the land and the elders had joined in a plot. They had hardened their hearts, and turned away their eyes, that they might not look upon the light of heaven, or receive the truth in their breasts. But they were discomfited, and the victim rescued from their gripe by a trifling contradiction of the witnesses. Such is the case before your lordships; and let no man call the contradiction it contains the effect of accident; they are the dispensations of an all-wise providence, who wills not that the guilty should triumph over the innocent. The evidence here was unable to prove—it was impotent to injure, it was scandalous to asperse, it was monstrous to ruin the honour of a British queen.

Mr. Brougham, in conclusion, implored their lordships to pause—they were standing on the brink of a precipice.—He conjured them to reflect upon the judgement which they were called upon to pronounce—a judgement, which, if pronounced, he had no hesitation in saying, would fail in its object—and would return upon those who gave it. He called upon them to save the country from the horrors of such a consequence—to save themselves from the risk of losing their situations in

in a country of which they were the ornament, but in which, when no longer served by the people, like a blossom cut from the root, they must wither and die. He called on them to save the crown, the people, the aristocracy, and the legislature. The king had willed that the queen should be left without the solemn service of the church, but she needed it not, for in its stead she had obtained the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wanted not his prayers—but he now most solemnly prayed to the throne of mercy to pour down that mercy on its people in a larger proportion than the merits of their rulers deserved, and that their hearts might be turned towards justice.

At half past twelve Mr. Brougham concluded his address. A short pause ensued; during which many of the peers quitted the house, and the counsel retired to take refreshment.

At twenty minutes to one o'clock Mr. Williams advanced to the bar, and was proceeding to address their lordships, when

The lord chancellor observed, that, as it appeared to be the intention of Mr. Williams to follow Mr. Brougham in a second address, he must remind their lordships, that it was at their discretion whether to admit the course contemplated by the counsel for the defence; but he was sure the house would agree with him, that in so important a case that discretion would be best exercised by permitting it.

This suggestion was unanimously acceded to.

Mr. Williams, accordingly, under this permission, proceeded to address their lordships. He felt

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the difficulty of following his learned friend, in commenting on a case which had already been torn to pieces, mangled, and laid quivering before their lordships, by the powerful machinery which the eloquence of his learned friend had brought to bear upon it. He would not repine at this circumstance, but rather rejoice at it. His humble office should be to collect the scattered fragments which his learned friend had passed over. The first point to which he would advert, was, who were the parties in this case. Some difficulty had existed to ascertain who was the party opposing the queen; but it was plain, his royal mistress was opposed by some body or other. The royal name of the king, like a tower of strength, stood on the front of this bill; and it was plain the government were some how or other involved in it; and although there was no party distinctly named, yet, under these circumstances, her majesty's opponents might not be less formidable. Except for the intervention of the judges, there was reason to fear, that owing to the different situations of the parties, impartial justice might not be done between them. Much had been said in the course of the proceedings, of adhering to the rules of the courts below; and in pursuance of that rule, as laid down by their lordships, he would call on them to come to no conclusion on information derived from any source, except that of the evidence laid before them on both sides; and on this subject, he would be bound to say, that the queen was placed in a situation of perplexity and difficulty, under which no accused, at any bar of any court of

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justice in England, ever stood before. For instance, was there any instance in the history of the law of England, in which an accused had before been kept in ignorance of the nature of the charge to be brought against him, or of the time and place of committing the offence imputed to him?

The learned counsel then proceeded to detail the course of proceeding adopted in criminal cases generally. In such cases, there was always a previous hearing of the witnesses, by which the accused would be enabled to learn the nature and extent of the charge brought against him, and would be put in possession sufficiently to enable him to contradict the charge, if false, and to defeat conspiracy, if any such existed. Had not her majesty reason to complain that she was denied this justice, and that all the information she had was, that some charge would be brought against her for something done in some part of three quarters of the globe, and at some period within a space of six years, without any intimation of specific time or place or of the nature of the offence. He would ask, why had this charge been so long delayed? was this a circumstance which would be passed over by a judge, even in a common case? If a charge was brought against an individual at a distance of six years after the alleged offence was committed, the judge would in such case say "Do you, gentlemen, expect a miracle to be wrought in favour of this defendant? Had this charge been brought in reasonable time the defendant might have been able to answer it; but at this distance of time, his witnesses may be dead, or dispersed

over the world, and his defence rendered impossible." In such a case, a judge would require the clearest proof of the charge, and the purest evidence in support of it; and if the prosecutor failed in either of these points, what judge would advise a jury to entertain it?

He claimed of their lordships to extend the same rule to her majesty's case, and require the clearest evidence in support of the charges now brought against her. The assumption of his learned friend who had gone before him, that the case on the adverse side was founded and bottomed in perjury, was an assumption, he thought, which could not be denied. It was not only in the capital of ancient Italy that a rabble might be found, who would desire to trample on the friends of Cæsar, when Cæsar himself was down. The rabble of modern Italy would be equally happy to trample on their superiors, or those of noble birth and illustrious qualities; and whatever might be the characters of the individuals composing the extraordinary commission at Milan, was it surprising that, when it was found the princess of Wales was persecuted by wealth and power, wretches should be found ready to come forward to claim the rewards which the liberality of the commissioners held out? And it would be seen that so great was the influence that liberality had obtained, that no less than a brace of barons and a brace of ambassadors were engaged in packing off the scum of Italy, to land them, with their filthy slanders, on the liberal and grateful shores of this country. It was plain her royal highness, whether she thought right

right or wrong, believed herself watched by spies and enemies; and could it be credited that her royal highness, under this impression, would have studiously laid herself open to her enemies, and have laboured incessantly, as the witness had described her to have done, for her own destruction? He was certain their lordships would never credit the stories, the gross, the improbable stories, told by these persons. Adverting to Majocchi's testimony, the learned counsel particularly alluded to that part of it which described her royal highness as passing through the cabinet in which he was sleeping, in her way to Bergami's chamber, although she might have gone by another passage, and have avoided all probability of discovery. Who could believe such testimony as this? In his examination in chief he stated that the sleeping rooms of the princess's suite were distant from those of Bergami's and her royal highness; but in his cross-examination, he said he remembered where her royal highness and Bergami slept, but had no recollection where the rest of the servants were lodged. In one of these answers, he must be perjured. At Charnitz, where her royal highness was described as going to bed, the imputation was, that she had undressed herself in order that the adulterous intercourse might be the more complete; and Dumont was examined to this point. Her evidence was, that her royal highness went to bed, and that she, Dumont, went to bed in the same room, and at the same hour; and here the evidence stopped. Why did it so? for had it proceeded, it would have appeared that her royal high-

ness was no more in bed in the common acceptation of the term, than he (the counsel) was at the present moment; for, pursuing this subject in the cross-examination, Dumont was obliged to confess she did not know her royal highness was undressed; so in the visit to Aum, page 209, Dumont stated, that she went to the tent to assist in undressing her royal highness, and left her in bed; Bergami was under the tent. Now, pursuing the subject to pages 320 and 321 of the printed evidence, in cross-examination, she said, I remember being under the tent, but I cannot say whether she was undressed or not. Now, had she been examined before, or not? It appeared she had. Was it then just to her royal highness to leave it standing for a moment that she was undressed? When pursuing the subject, it would appear that her royal highness had done no more than taken off her upper travelling dress, and put on another.

He called on their lordships to pursue this subject; he requested it not for himself; he demanded it of them, on behalf of his royal mistress. At Naples, as appeared in page 253, the same subject was renewed; viz. the furnishing an inference of the same kind. Did she change her dress entirely? Yes.—Did you assist her? I did not.—Then how did she know any thing about it, as she was not in the room? The expression *entirely* was intended to convey an impression which he need not pursue further; but that she did change her dress entirely, there was no proof. On the contrary, the next dress might, for anything which appeared, have been put on over her former dress. Yet this fact had

been worked up by his learned friend the solicitor general, not merely with the ingenuity of an advocate, but also embellished by him with something of the fiction of poetry. So also, as regarded Majocchi; who, till after the close of the cross-examination, had the most distant idea that the shores of England had been before honoured with the presence of this illustrious foreigner, whose name would never be forgotten whilst England was remembered? But at the very close of the examination it was accidentally discovered that he had been at Gloucester, and other parts of the kingdom. These omissions might be inadvertencies; but it was singular, that they should be all operating against her majesty.

Again, with respect to the state of her majesty's bosom when she changed her dress, how had it been treated by the solicitor general in his summing up? The solicitor general, dwelling on the words *entirely* changed her dress, added, "and the waiting woman continuing in the ante-room, the courier entered the bed-room, and remained whilst her royal highness *entirely* changed her dress." Now, here were two assumptions; first, that there was an entire change of dress; and secondly, that the change took place in a bed room. This was a strong commentary, and the latter part of it wholly without proof. Here was, as he supposed, another inadvertence; but an inadvertence bearing against the queen. The dress of her royal highness had also been described as indecent and disgusting; but could it be believed, that at this assembly, where the most respectable and illustrious families

were present, her royal highness would have attempted to exhibit herself in such a dress? His learned friend examined to this point, when it entirely failed him, and he was obliged to abandon it. At page 256, was stated what happened, when they got into the pit, at the opera house; and here Dumont was again questioned as to the indecency of her royal highness's dress. Her reply was, it was ugly,—but was ugliness indecency? certainly not. Then the stating it to be indecent was another inadvertence, operating against her royal highness.

Instances were stated by his learned friend (Mr. B.) of the very extraordinary nature of Majocchi's memory. He must agree with them Majocchi's memory retained the most minute circumstances on one side, but nothing on the other. When he thought it would do her royal highness a disservice to recollect that Dr. Holland was with her, and attending Bergami, he well recollected the circumstance; but when his presence was to do her royal highness a service, his answer was *non mi ricordo*. Quitting this *non mi ricordo* witness, he would call their lordships' attention to the *double entendre* lady. After talking on the first day of her *double entendre*, and having an interview of two hours in a room near the house with some person whose company was so agreeable that she could not recollect whether it was two hours or two minutes, she came down the next morning prepared to explain, in a long speech, the meaning of her *double entendres*. The ingenuity of this lady was indeed great, and no commission would in future be without a waiting maid; but still her

her cunning was not sufficient to blindfold their lordships entirely; it could not conceal from them her trifling, when she said she did not recollect whether the expression in her letter, "capital of Europe," meant London, or her native village, Colombier. He then proceeded to comment on Dumont's celebrated letter to her royal highness. He had heard it said by a celebrated orator and statesman, that her royal highness was the ornament of polished society and the life of all around her; and if her royal highness was worthy the praise of this eminent statesman, she was surely deserving that of her waiting maid, however accomplished that waiting maid might be, and there he must consider the letter as speaking madame Dumont's real sentiments.

The attorney general, in his opening, declared, that all the evidence, whether for or against her majesty, should be elicited by him as far as possible. He (Mr. Williams) hailed the declaration of his learned friend with the highest satisfaction, but a declaration sounded only on an empty space, and produced nothing. Where was Dr. Holland—where were the respectable ladies of her suite—where was Brunet and many others who might have been called?—The declaration of the attorney general had been confined to words, and now, with all the littleness of a *nisi prius* case, they were told the queen might call them on her side.—What doctrine was this?—the queen had no side—the prosecutors of the bill should have called every one who could have given any information on the subject, and the individuals whom he had named, not having been called

spoke volumes of evidence in her majesty's favour. The rules of a *nisi prius* case might very well apply to an action for cheese or butter, for money had and received, &c. but in a criminal case, every one ought to be called by the prosecutor who could give any information on the subject, still more should such a course be adopted in the present, which involved the fall perhaps of kingdoms and of empires, and it was this consideration which induced him to entreat their lordships to pause before they called for further proceedings. The solicitor general said, I defy my learned friend to call Louis Bergami if he dare.—If he calls him, Louis can contradict Majocchi's evidence as to her royal highness and Bergami breakfasting together. He could not, till human nature changed, call Louis without subjecting him to suspicions at least of partial testimony, and involve him in suspicion. The present question was one rising far above the technicalities of law. It was a question, whether this important bill should pass or not, and the question was pending before a tribunal far superior in rank, dignity, and importance, to any other court in the empire. Their lordships would consider the whole case with a view to do justice to the illustrious parties concerned and to the country. He had said every witness not called was a witness for her majesty; and with that observation he thought the case might safely be left to their lordships; but the challenge thrown out on the other side should be met—they would call witnesses.

October 5.—Mr. Williams commenced. There was, he said, no



subject connected with this case, to which his learned friend and himself had directed their observations more frequently, or with more force, than to that part of it which regarded the deficiency of witnesses for the prosecution, by which her majesty's counsel would have been prevented from the necessity of calling witnesses at all. Their lordships would permit him to commence his statement this day by noticing one or two facts illustrative of the difficulties under which her majesty laboured. It would be remembered that the general nature of the evidence of Kress was as to her seeing the queen and Bergami together in a bed room, and the arm of Bergami in a certain position, &c. &c. Now it was necessary that all the information that could be collected in Carlsruhe, where that circumstance was said to have taken place, should have been brought forward. It happened that a chamberlain of the grand duke of Baden had been in attendance upon her majesty during her whole residence there. Upon the propriety of calling such evidence it would be needless for him to expatiate; and measures were taken to procure the attendance of a person so important to the case. Her majesty wrote a letter with her own hand, and sent it by a most respectable person, the brother of the queen's attorney general, to secure the attendance of that chamberlain. That letter did not obtain the production of the witness. She then wrote another to the chamberlain, and another to the grand duke, but without success. Three special messengers failed in producing that witness, who was himself most anxious to come;

and who, on the last occasion, declared, with tears in his eyes, that he had orders to the contrary. There was another instance of difficulty. A woman was compelled to embark upon the opposite side, by those who had refused to permit the chamberlain to appear. Again, it appeared that the queen had seen a palace at Rastadt, of which she wished to become the occupier. The grand duke had at first no objection. The treaty on the subject was allowed to go on so far, that the chamberlain had gone the length of purchasing furniture to equip the palace, but suddenly intimation was given to her that her residence there might not be agreeable, and the palace was refused. Again, it was not an immaterial fact in the view of the queen's counsel, that no evidence had been adduced on the part of the prosecution, with respect to the character and conduct of Bergami, while in the service of general Pino. An application had been made, at an early period, to general Pino to appear upon this occasion. But some communication, it was believed, took place between the general and the Austrian government, in whose service the general was, and it was intimated to him, that if he came to England, he could not come in his uniform. This intimation appeared rather extraordinary, and the general wishing to know whether, if he came, he should lose his commission, no answer was returned, and general Pino did not and would not come. Nor was it without cause that the queen's counsel had stated, that a vigorous demand would be made of every witness to be produced on the other side. Did not those things

things furnish powerful argument upon the part of the queen, upon a subject which, without facts, could not be argued upon at all? There were other persons whose presence here was interdicted—physicians and lawyers—who remained at a distance, because they were under apprehensions from the power of the Austrian government. There were others, too, whose evidence it was not yet known would be wanted, who were kept away by the interference either of high or low allies.

This statement he made to their lordships as auxiliary to the most powerful facts stated by his learned friend, and reasoned upon with such irresistible effect. Having done so, he trusted their lordships would permit him to make a few general remarks upon the case. If, as the adverse supposition was, the crimes of the queen were of an open, undisguised, notorious description, and therefore of a nature derogatory to the government of the kingdom, and to the kingdom itself, how happened it that the charges were so long in being proved? If a man assassinated another at Charing Cross, in the day time, there would be evidence enough of the fact. It was the time at which such crimes were committed, the darkness of the night, that rendered that difficult of proof. Now, if the imputed conduct of the queen had been so open and profligate, how happened it, he would ask, that the evidence was drawn from apocryphal and doubtfully existing key-holes?—that evidence which had been given by Cochet, who should not escape from the general punishment that awaited the perjurer. If this was an open undis-

guised course of profligacy, why had there been so little of that kind of proof, with the exceptions of that stated by Dumont, as to the bed-room, which nine times out of ten, obtained in cases of *crim. con*? How was it that none of this sort of proof had been adduced, and that there was a total blank and silence upon it, and that, too, when the counsel for the bill were in possession of Pryson, the chambermaid to her majesty? That person was present at the time when the passion, if it existed, was in its hey-day, and still not only no proof had been given, but no witness had been called upon so important a subject. That witness had been in that celebrated Eden, Cotton Garden, yet they dared not call her. Whence all this delay? Why was it, that in a case that had an immediate analogy to high treason, there had been a delay until the time elapsed when an acquittal upon a charge of high treason, if such had been made, must be pronounced, the statute of king William the Third having interposed that limit? Why, then, if those facts existed, were they allowed to slumber? Could it be said, or pretended, that it was to this nation immaterial what the consort of the first executive magistrate of the nation was doing abroad? Could it be pretended that it was not material because the first executive magistrate was not on the throne? Why then had the delay taken place? It must operate most powerfully in favour of the queen, that those charges had slept for three years. It was for the promoters to explain this, not for him.

The learned counsel proceeded to show the difference between the

evidence as given at one time and at another. He particularly pressed upon the attention of the house the manner in which she had been led to exaggerate each time, until at last she gave a perfect answer. At one time she said that the bed was a little deranged. When pressed further, she said it appeared to have been occupied by two persons; and when pressed still further, she declared what she had not communicated before, that there were stains upon the linen. Again, she in her first examination said nothing about the locking of the bed-room door when she saw Bergami naked; but upon being reminded of her duty, she asserted that the door had been locked when he passed in. Now this was an example of the amendment of evidence which could meet with no contradiction.

Now, as to the case that was to meet that of the prosecutors. It might be supposed the queen was not prepared as those against her were. In addition to the fact that all difficulties had been thrown in her way, it would be considered that her evidence was only in a state of being collected. He believed that a longer period would have been granted, but a longer delay could not be taken. The queen had patience and fortitude. She had given full proof of the possession of both; but she had not patience or fortitude to let it slumber in the unfortunate equilibrium with two speeches and a press of evidence in one scale, and not even a whisper or breath in the other. There was the bane, but no antidote. So regular a detail could not, under such circumstances, be expected, as that which opportunity, and time, and influ-

ence, had contributed to render it no matter of difficulty for the other party to make. The time was now arrived when it became his duty, by allusion to the particular branches of the case, to show the strength of the adversaries, and to state what he hoped to be able to prove. He then said, he should advert to what had taken place on board the polacre—a subject upon which his learned friend had accidentally omitted to speak, but which he, and the rest of her majesty's counsel, thought of the first importance.—Majocchi says that the bath was made in the cabinet, but Dumont says she only knew of its being made in the dining-room. So far, therefore, as Dumont's testimony is not confirmatory of Majocchi's, it is virtually a contradiction of it. But the case did not rest there. It would be proved that this bath was nothing but a tub, because her majesty had nothing better on board; and that the cabinet alluded to was so small, that with the bed and other furniture in it, there could not have been room for the tub.—The thing was physically impossible; the laws of nature were against the evidence of Majocchi. It was like all the rest of the charges, a false, abominable, malicious imputation against the queen. Again, Paturzo, the mate, says, that when Bergami had changed his sleeping-cabin, it was possible for a person sleeping in Bergami's bed to see the person sleeping in the queen's bed. To this they would give a peremptory contradiction, and show that the situation of the beds rendered such a thing impossible.

It was said, moreover, that the sleeping-cabin of Bergami had been

been changed in order to afford him an easier access to the apartment of her majesty. But mark how a plain tale would put the slander down. At Tunis a surgeon was taken on board, and from want of room in the vessel, and solely for his accommodation, the change in question took place, without the least interference on the part of her majesty. It was done, in fact, by her majesty's attendants, without any concert with her. With regard to sleeping under the tent on deck, it would be proved that at half a yard from it was stationed the steersman, who was constantly on the spot. Why was not this man called upon? If Majocchi could, when below, hear, as he said, a noise of a particular description in the tent above, why was not the steersman called, who was within half a yard of the tent, and must have heard it infinitely better? It would, besides, be proved, that the whole crew of the vessel were in the habit, at all hours, by day and night, of passing close to the tent, and that an officer who had the charge of the vessel, and who was generally on deck at night, used often to communicate with her majesty during the night, as to the state of the weather and the progress of the vessel; on which occasions he was always at liberty to put aside any part of the canvass of the tent he chose, in order to speak to her majesty. The queen did not sleep in bed under the tent in the sense usually understood; her majesty merely reposed under an awning with her clothes on. It would, he said, be further shown, that the communication by the hatchway between the deck and the dining-room be-

low was continually open, and also that there were several nights during the voyage when Bergami did not repose at all under the tent.—Yes, that there were several nights during the voyage on which Bergami did not repose at all under the tent; for it was necessary to observe, that after certain events which had happened in Italy, and which had caused an apprehension in her majesty's mind for her personal safety, she had never afterwards taken repose without some person to guard and protect her. Why, then, were not some others of the crew, and above all, why were not the steersman, and the officer who had the charge of the vessel, called as witnesses, who must have known so much better than Majocchi what did actually take place?

The learned counsel next requested the attention of their lordships to the events at Naples. On the eventful night when the adulterous intercourse was said to have commenced—the bridal night—it would be proved that the queen did not, as sworn by Dumont, return early, but remained till the spectacle was over, about one o'clock in the morning; that young Austin had been dismissed to sleep in a separate apartment weeks before that time; and that the masquerade dress, in which her majesty appeared as the genius of history, so far from being indecent, was what the character required, chaste, sober, and demure. The course of evidence now brought the learned gentleman to Carlsruhe. Barbara Kresse had laid the time of the incident she swore to at between eight and nine o'clock in the afternoon; but it would be proved, that at no time during

during the queen's stay at Carlsruhe had her majesty and Bergami an opportunity of being together at that period of any night. The learned gentleman said he would not only prove the dress of Bergami to be such as he had stated by two witnesses, but he would adduce evidence respecting Kress, which would prove, her not only unfit to be credited to deprive a queen of her rights, but even to strip the wing of a sparrow of a single feather. He would take the circumstance respecting Bergami going to Inspruck for a passport, and he would prove that the queen did go to bed, but in all the clothes she had on during the day, and that on account of the little German inn being blocked up with snow. He would prove by a witness who accompanied Bergami, that on their return they were both busily employed in preparing for the journey, and that the witness was more than once in the room of the queen to receive orders. He would prove this by four witnesses, all of whom could speak to the fact. He would now take the foul assertion of Sacchi as to what passed during the journey, where, he said, he had two or three times looked into the carriage, as if to make "assurance doubly sure" as to the indecencies he had detailed. Now he would prove, that the queen on that very occasion travelled in a landau, that there were no curtains to be drawn belonging to it; he would further prove that Sacchi was not the courier on that journey, but that another person, who would be brought forward, was the courier; and this would be corroborated by a person who was in the carriage at that very time, and

would also negative those indecencies which he would not name.

He next would notice Dumont's assertion as to the bed-room being changed at the villa d'Este, changed of course, as all was wished to be proved, for the purpose of furthering the adulterous intercourse. He would prove that the bed-room used by the queen smoked so much in winter as to be insufferable, and that it became necessary to provide another, which was found at the very utmost extremity of the sitting apartments the queen usually occupied; in consequence of which the queen was obliged, in going from her bed-room to her sitting-room, to go the whole tour of the house. To obviate this, a door (not a new door, but an old door) was opened, which rendered the communication ten times nearer. With respect to the bathing in the Brezzia, which he scarcely thought it necessary to notice, the Brezzia was a mountain stream, dry in summer, and rapid in winter, and it would be proved that in winter it would be as agreeable for bathing as in the current at London bridge, and in summer like attempting to bathe on the top of it.

He would only notice one case more, and it was one which his learned friends had challenged him to rebut; it was the antediluvian story of Raggazoni. He would prove that, situated as this man was when he said he saw the queen and Bergami amusing themselves so indecently with the statues of our first parents, he could no more see them, than he (Mr. Williams) could, from the place where he then stood, see into the interior of St. Paul's. He would prove that this fellow Raggazoni, like his partners

partners in crime, was guilty of perjury.

The counsel then animadverted on the whole evidence, which, he said, was completely shaken, and unworthy of the slightest credit. The journal kept by the scheming chambermaid, during travels of the queen, had furnished the data on which the superstructure of falshood and perjury had been erected. He would call the attention of their lordships to two witnesses whom he would draw from the quiver of his opponents. He would call captains Pechel and Briggs, two gentlemen whom their lordships must believe. Captain Pechel, with some slight grounds of offence between the queen and him, spoke nothing against her. Captain Briggs spoke decidedly in favour of her. And was it to be believed, if this passion of the queen was such as had been described, a passion which sought its gratification in the market-place and on ship-board, that the queen should have passed three weeks on board the ship of the gallant captain without betraying it? He begged their lordships to consider the present state of the country, in which disaffection stalked abroad unmasked, and not to cast a lighted fire-brand of anti-monarchical tendency into a magazine ready to explode. The learned gentleman concluded by expressing a hope that these disgraceful proceedings would not be pushed to their utmost extent, on such tainted, perjured evidence as had been adduced at their bar; but that the judgement of their lordships would be such as to remove animosities, and, peradventure, by good fortune, still maintain the

peace of the country. This (said the learned gentleman) is the second wish of my heart; the first is, that at all the hazards, and regardless of all other consequences, the cause of substantial justice may triumph.

Colonel St. Leger, chamberlain to the queen, the earl of Guilford, and lady Charlotte Lindsey, one of her majesty's ladies of the bedchamber, were first examined: they bore evidence to the propriety of conduct of the queen and to the respectable character and manners of Bergami.

October 6.—Lady C. Lindsey, on her cross-examination, admitted that she had heard reports injurious to the queen's character; and that a letter to her from her brother lord Guilford on that subject, had had some influence over her, in inducing her to leave the queen. This letter she could not find.

Lord Landaff was next examined: while he visited the queen in Italy he saw nothing improper in her conduct.

The honourable Keppel Craven, vice chamberlain to the queen, spoke strongly in favour of Bergami's propriety of behaviour; and stated expressly that he never saw any thing unbecoming pass between the queen and him.

Sir William Gell, another of her majesty's vice chamberlains, gave evidence to the same effect.

The character given to Bergami by sir William was one highly honourable to him. He described him as a man of the most gentlemanly manners, modest, unassuming, and unobtrusive in his conduct, and as a person with whom he (sir William) felt not the least objection to share the duties belonging to the office of her majesty's chamberlain.

berlain. The countess of Oldi also came in for a share of sir William's commendation. He described her as a woman of interesting manners, very lady-like, modest, and by no means vulgar. All the witnesses spoke in the highest terms of the general conduct of her royal highness, and strongly denied that the least unbecoming familiarity had ever existed between her and Bergami.

October 7.—W. Carrington had been valet to sir W. Gell nine years. He attended sir William to Naples in 1814, and lived in the queen's house. He knew Majocchi, and heard him speak of baron Ompteda's plots. In consequence of this, Majocchi underwent a severe cross-examination, in which he stated that he did not remember having told Carrington, that baron Ompteda had employed persons to get possession of the keys of the princess, in order to have false ones made, nor any thing to that effect; nor that a person had been discharged out of the princess's service for having confessed that he had been employed for that purpose; and that he had never told any person that, were it not for the prohibition of the princess against taking any notice of Ompteda, he would have killed him like a dog. Carrington was then called, and directly and positively contradicted Majocchi, stating, that all this conversation thus denied by Majocchi, had taken place between him and witness.

John Whitcomb was valet to Mr. Craven, had frequently been in mademoiselle Dumont's room by her invitation, no other person being present, and the door locked and bolted. Witness remembered the

situation of the queen's and Bergami's rooms at Naples. He said that the queen's room was at the distance of twenty yards from Bergami's, and the only communication between them was a passage in which were the rooms of Dr. Holland, Hieronymus, and Mr. Austin.

John Jacob Sicard had served the queen 21 years as cook, and went there by his present majesty's orders. He appointed the room in which Bergami slept at Naples, without the knowledge or interference of her majesty, whose manners towards her servants were kind even to a fault, and extended to all. He had occasion to walk with the queen many a time, when she was most condescending.

October 9.—This day were examined Dr. Holland, who left England with her majesty in 1814; Mr Mills, a resident at Rome in 1817, who frequently visited her majesty; colonel J. Toulrier, on the staff of the viceroy of Italy; Carlo Forti, courier to her majesty in 1817; and lieutenant John Flynn, R. N. who had the command of the polacre in 1815. They severally testified to the propriety of her majesty's conduct. Carlo Forti, in referring to the evidence of Sacchi, stated that on the journey from Rome to Senigaglia, Sacchi set out two hours before her royal highness. His business was to order horses and pay for the horses. Witness always travelled on horseback, and rode close beside her royal highness's carriage. On the journey to Senigaglia no one accompanied her royal highness's carriage but witness. In this journey the landaulet was occupied by the princess, Bergami, countess Oldi, and

and little Victorine, who sat very often on the knee of the princess. The countess of Oldi sat in the middle; but falling ill at Loretto, her place (in the middle) was taken by Dumont. After leaving Rome, Oldi was always in the carriage with the princess, and always in the middle. Witness never saw Bergami kiss the princess on taking leave, or any thing of that sort. On such occasions he would kiss her hand (as witness and other members of the suite were accustomed to do) with much respect. Lieutenant Flynn also said, that he remained on board the polacre the whole of the time with her royal highness. He knew the bed-rooms of her royal highness and Bergami. It was impossible for persons lying in the beds in those rooms to see each other. Lieutenant Flynn, in his cross-examination on Tuesday, hesitated and prevaricated very much, and at last fainted away. On his recovery his examination was concluded. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, were occupied with the examinations of lieutenant Hownam (who joined the party of her royal highness in 1815), and Giuseppe Gaolino. The former spoke very much in favour of her majesty, and denied the contiguity of Bergami's room to that of his royal mistress, either at Villa d'Este, or on any other occasion. He however, after some hesitation, admitted that Bergami slept under the same tent with the princess of Wales on board the polacre. He never saw her royal highness sitting on a gun with Bergami, or Bergami's arms round her royal highness; never saw the one kiss the other. He recollected a dance

performed by Mahomet; it originated in a sort of quarrel that this Arab had with the doctor. He was sick on board, and the doctor wanted to give him some physic, and he would not take it; and afterwards he used to laugh at the doctor and ridicule him in this dance.—There was nothing indecent in this dance more than in a Spanish bolero, or in the negro dance. Evidence was adduced in contradiction of the story told by one of the witnesses against the queen, respecting the Adam and Eve scene in the grotto at Villa d'Este. It was asserted, that those figures were not visible to a person standing in the position which the witness stated himself to have occupied; and that, in fact, they had been removed to another part of the building, and the whole of the alterations in the grotto completed, ten days prior to the return of the princess from her Levant voyage. Giuseppe Gaolino, master mason at the Villa d'Este, attested to the becoming conduct of her majesty.

October 14.—This day, Mr. Powell, of the Milan commission, assistant solicitor to the agents for the bill, who had admitted the day before that he had sent off Rastelli, although he had been present in the house when an order was made that none of the witnesses should be sent out of the country, was further examined as to the circumstances under which Rastelli was sent off. Besides the object of quieting the fears of the friends of the Italian witnesses, it appeared from Mr. Powell's evidence, that Rastelli was also sent as a courier, to get some papers legalized which were to be produced in support of the bill of pains and



and penalties. Mr. Planta, of the foreign office, was subsequently examined as to the passport granted to Rastelli.

The examination of the witnesses for the defence having been resumed, Felipe Pomi, who has lived for several years at the Barona, deposed to his having been tampered with by Rastelli, to induce him to appear against her majesty. Rastelli visited the place in company with Dumont, and commenced his practices upon Pomi with giving him a gratuity of 40 francs. It was proposed to examine the witness as to similar offers having been made to him by a person named Ruganti; but this was objected to.

October 16.—Mr. Brougham proceeded with his evidence in contradiction of Rastelli. The examination of the witness Pomi was frequently interrupted by the objections of the attorney and solicitor general, as to the declarations of Ruganti; and, in general, the house decided in favour of the objections taken by the learned counsel. October 17 and 18. The proceedings were exclusively confined to a discussion as to the admissibility of evidence respecting acts of corruption alleged to have been committed by Vilmarcati and Ruganti. Two questions on this subject were referred to the judges.

October 19.—The opinion of the judges as to the evidence offered with regard to Ruganti and Vilmarcati, was adverse to its admissibility, under the ordinary rules of evidence observed in the courts below, in cases of a criminal prosecution. With regard to the question proposed, as to general evidence of a conspiracy,

which might, in its results, implicate a principal agent, the judges were of opinion, that such evidence would be admitted in the courts below, under a strong probability of the conspiracy being ultimately so brought home.

Pomarti, clerk to Codazzi, her majesty's advocate, deposed to having, at different times, furtively supplied Vilmarcati with papers relative to her majesty's affairs; that the last paper he so furnished was a list of the witnesses for her majesty's defence; and that he had, at various times, been rewarded for his corrupt services. He further stated, that, having confessed his iniquity, he had been turned off by Codazzi, and that he now spontaneously came forward to give evidence, as the only means in his power of compensating for the injury which her majesty might have sustained from his infamous breach of trust. Another witness, Antonio Maoni, was examined as to further alleged corrupt proceedings on the part of the Milan commission, or its agents.

October 20 and 21.—The chief part of Friday was consumed in discussing points as to the mode of future proceeding on the subject of the bill of pains and penalties. The judges having decided that evidence as to the declarations of Sacchi could not be received unless Sacchi was first called back, and Mr. Brougham now declining to call him, he closed for the present this head of defence. The marquis of Lansdown proposed that their lordships should direct Mr. Powell to produce the correspondence between himself and colonel Browne, on the subject of Rastelli's mission, when a division took place,

place, and the motion for the production of the papers, and referring them to a select committee, was carried. After some further discussion as to points of form, Mr. Brougham called colonel Oliviere, who for some time was joint chamberlain to her majesty with Bergami; his examination occupied the remainder of the day. This the latter gentleman confirmed the assertion of Carlo Forti as to having been the courier.

October 24.—Mr. Denman rose to sum up the defence:—

My lords—in the conduct of a case of as great importance and magnitude as ever fell to the lot of an advocate to conduct, it is very necessary to request a great portion of indulgence. An ample share of that indulgence, of which I stand so much in need, might possibly be afforded here, from the somewhat sudden manner in which I am called upon to my very arduous task. Certainly, after the proposal of my learned friend for delay, until the arrival of colonel Browne, I had no reason to expect that, besides that gentleman, but one solitary witness would be produced, and was therefore prepared rather to keep my attention close to adverse testimony than for so sudden a commencement of my present address. I, however, render no complaint; because, from the time which has elapsed since this important case was opened, I should have been deficient indeed, if I had not paid great attention to the proceedings, and reasonably prepared myself for the task assigned to me. Therefore, with your lordships' leave, I will proceed to recapitulate the facts which have been advanced in evidence; but I cannot do this

with satisfaction to myself, my lords, without expressing my earnest hope that all unusual warmth of address, or too great vehemency of expression, may be attributed to the right cause. There may, perhaps, have been a tone and a temper occasionally apparent which can be excused only by the extreme importance and magnitude of the case. We have sometimes been accused, my lords, of extraordinary and unnecessary imputations, and illiberal insinuations; but it is impossible to conceive, that in the interlocutory protests and debates which have passed in the course of these proceedings, there should not have been introduced a tone and a temper for which some apology was requisite; but no other was required than the great magnitude of this important case, and the tremendous consequences to the individual and the country, and the deep anxiety which an advocate must experience in coming to it.

We have been charged with making use of invective, declamation, and violence, for the purpose of producing an effect, not in, but out of doors; nay, I must beg leave to state, that my learned friend seemed to think, that on some occasions we had borne too hard upon him; but I must disclaim all intention of bearing upon him, or casting any imputation upon his honour and character; and, therefore, if from what fell from me yesterday, he seemed to think that I questioned his veracity, I beg to say, that if any thing which dropped from me could be clothed with such a supposition, and could seem to warrant such an assertion, I unequivocally retract it

it before the assembly, in the face of which it was made; and I am sorry that any language of mine should have led to such a mistake. I have no intention of giving uneasiness in any quarter; but I must say I have felt it deeply, and often, in the course of this proceeding. Therefore, it is impossible for a man not to ask indulgence for any warmth he may have expressed, because our illustrious client has, from the moment of her first setting foot in this country, been the victim of the most cruel oppression and the most dreadful and irreparable wrong. That galling recollection has attended us through the whole of these proceedings; it must be our excuse for any warmth into which we may have been betrayed, and, therefore, without any further apology, we shall proceed to the consideration of the case. But, my lords, while I disclaim all personal imputation on my learned friend, I claim the right of adverting to his conduct as an advocate, for, from the conduct of the advocate, we collect not only the impressions of his mind, but also the nature of the instructions under which he was acting, and the spirit under which the prosecution is conducted; and I must here call your lordships' attention to the spirit of the case which my learned friend has the misfortune to direct—the weight of which has more than once pressed him down; a case which nothing within the scope of purchase—nothing within the scope of human ambition—could have induced me to purchase. I speak of the office which my learned friend has undertaken in the prosecution of the bill of pains

and penalties, to divorce and degrade the wife of the king of England.

In order to see the nature of the proof brought forward in support of this charge, we must look to the nature of the charge itself. I must therefore again refer to the mode of the indictment. [The learned counsel recapitulated here the preamble of the bill.] I am aware, my lords, that you are under the second reading of this bill; and that I, in addressing your lordships, have merely to apply myself to the nature of the proof brought forward in support of the allegations laid in that preamble. It has been stated, and the whole preamble goes to charge it, and it has indeed been proved, that Bergami had been in a menial situation in the service of her royal highness, and had been afterwards promoted. It is true also that several of his relations were taken into the service of her royal highness. It is true, too, that Bergami received several marks of favour, bestowed both upon himself and his family.

In the preamble of the bill you are told that he obtained titles and orders; but it should have been shown that these titles and orders had been procured for him by her royal highness. All that you have heard is, that at one period he was without titles, and that at a subsequent one he possessed them. But there has not been a tittle of evidence to show how he obtained them, or that her royal highness was, in any way, instrumental in procuring them for him, except, indeed, that she conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which she is said to have instituted without any legal right

right or authority so to do. But, my lords, I think, before this part of the preamble was charged as a crime against her majesty, we ought to have heard something to prove that none but royal persons had a right to institute orders. In my inquiry I have found that many persons have done so, not possessing sovereign power. In France it has been done by individuals not so gifted; and there was, I recollect, an order instituted by three brothers who were Italian merchants (their names I cannot now recollect); all which goes to show that there have been precedents of this nature established by persons below the rank of royalty. I treat this part of the question with seriousness, my lords, because it is so treated in the preamble of the bill. It is charged against her royal highness as one of the acts of invasion of the royal authority. When this is the first instance within six centuries of a European princess visiting the holy sepulchre, there can surely be no crime if she, delighted with the adventure and struck with the novelty of all around her, does that which the duke of Orleans and the duke de Bourbon have done before her—institute an order of knighthood to reward those who accompanied her. I can hardly suppose that this can be visited with any peculiar severity against her royal highness, though it is the charge against her, which has been best proved.

My lords, I believe that I have dwelt longer on this point than it required; but as it is alleged as an offence that my client instituted an order, I thought it my duty not to slightly handle this charge,

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but to satisfactorily show to your lordships, as I trust I have, that the charge ought not to have been in the preamble of the bill.

Now comes, my lords, the charge of adulterous intercourse; and the real question for your lordships' consideration is, whether an adulterous intercourse has taken place between her majesty, the queen of this realm, and Bartolomeo Berf gami; and also whether that adultery took place under such circumstances as to bring scandal and disgrace upon the royal family in the eyes of Europe, as is alleged in the preamble of the bill. You know, my lords, that when the bill was brought in, we were left totally in the dark as to the place where, and the time when, this adulterous intercourse took place, and I had no other guide but the attorney general's opening speech for the specification of the charges, for it was impossible I could learn any thing from the bill itself.

I shall now, therefore, my lords, apply my arguments and observations to that speech, and I shall compare the evidence offered at your lordships' bar with that statement, and show how far it has been proved or disproved. The first count, my lords, or rather the first overt act of high treason, set forth in the preamble of the bill, is that of adulterous intercourse. In the opening the attorney general entered into a series of charges, applying epithets to her majesty, and to her servants, likely to affect and make a very strong impression upon the minds of their lordships. And what was his undisguised statement of her majesty's conduct on the first night that she arrived at Naples? He said that on that night he should prove

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to the satisfaction of the minds of their lordships, that adultery had been committed by her majesty with Bergami. I will give you his own statement: "On that night," said the attorney general, "her majesty ordered her paramour to sleep in a room adjoining to her own, that she might have easy access to him, he having up to that time always slept at a distance from her. William Austin, a child about seven years of age, who till that night slept in her majesty's apartment, was removed to another room to sleep, to enable them to carry on the adulterous intercourse now the subject of these proceedings. Her majesty returned early that night from the opera, and was seen going to the room of Bergami; and she was noticed by her female attendant (Dumont) to be extremely agitated; and next morning it was observed that the bed of her royal highness had not been slept in." This was not all, he further said "And her majesty next morning did not leave her apartment till it was very late, but was shut up with Bergami in the cabinet; and although persons of rank called upon her, yet they were turned away without seeing her, they were refused admittance to her presence."—This was the statement the attorney general ventured to make, and he added to it this also—"Now, my lords, if such are the facts which I shall prove in evidence,—and I have no doubt but I shall,—I say, my lords, if I prove these charges in evidence, there is only one conclusion to be drawn, and that is, that on that night an adulterous intercourse took place."—Your lordships will see presently how these charges

have been proved, or rather disproved. If these facts had occurred—if Bergami had been permitted to enjoy the unlawful embraces of his royal mistress, would, my lords, his behaviour have been what it has been proved to be afterwards towards her majesty? The gentlemen who have been examined on the part of the queen, sir William Gell and the honourable Keppel Craven, have both sworn that his behaviour was becoming the situation he filled; that he was respectful to her majesty, and that his demeanour was as proper as it could possibly be. If this person had done that with which he was charged, would not he have been forward, impudent, and familiar? His behaviour to her majesty alone gave the lie to the foul charges.

But, my lords, if I shall show that it has been proved, that instead of her royal highness's ordering Bergami's bed-room to be next to hers, the arrangement of the rooms was made by the steward Sicard; and that the alteration was afterwards made in consequence of the great inconveniences to the suite, the house being too small; and that Bergami was placed near the window leading into the garden, on account of her majesty entertaining apprehensions of danger, and for the purpose of protecting her; if it is proved that the boy was not removed to allow the criminal indulgence charged in the bill, but that he was removed in consequence of his age, which was fourteen years, and not seven, as the attorney general said, and that her majesty had been remonstrated with on account of his sleeping in her room, and that before her majesty's arrival at Naples he had

had slept in another apartment whenever there was room for him —if it be also proved, that instead of her majesty returning early from the opera, she returned very late, and that sir William Gell accompanied her to her bedroom; and if there is no proof of Bergami being shut up with her majesty next morning, or that he was in the same room during the night; if it is proved that no person of rank visited her majesty next morning, who were kept waiting, and refused admittance to her presence; then, I ask your lordships, where are the proofs of criminal intercourse?

I ask your lordships to dismiss the evidence of Dumont altogether. I ask your lordships, when you find all her evidence, which is known to other persons, completely disproved, to refuse to give any credit to her assertions, which rest solely on her evidence, and are not confirmed by the testimony of others; for it is impossible I can bring evidence to show the falsehood of charges which she says occurred when no other person was present. Dumont said that her majesty, on her return from the opera, was agitated; it was what any person might have said, without fear of contradiction; but the inference to be drawn was, that her majesty was so in love with her courier that she returned early from the opera to gratify a criminal passion that night. My lords, it is my intention to refer to the evidence and statement of the attorney general, distinctly point by point, and I shall think it a serious favour of any of your lordships, if I should pass over any fact without explaining it, that you would call back my attention to that

part; of course, my colleagues will render me any assistance; but this is a case of too much importance to allow one single point to go unexplained or unproved, where it is capable of disproof. I shall now attempt to show how false, how incredible, how unworthy of belief, are the facts charged to have occurred on the night of the opera at Naples.

But, first, I call your lordships' attention to the evidence of Siccard. He proves that the alteration in the rooms was done by his sole direction. Mr. Craven states, in pp. 537 and 543, that Austin was removed from her majesty's apartment before she arrived at Naples. In pages 535 and 554, sir W. Gell states that he did not return from the opera till one o'clock in the morning, and he saw her majesty to her chamber; and Dumont says in her evidence, that it was early when she returned from the opera, not more than eight o'clock. There is, my lords, no proof whatever of Bergami being locked up next morning with her majesty, or of his breakfasting with her, but the contrary. There is no proof of any adulterous intercourse having taken place on that night, but the contrary was most clearly established. What did Mr. Cravensay in his evidence? He was asked by a peer—

"Were the manners of Bergami the manners of a gentleman?"

His answer was most proper: he replied—

"When he was a courier he acted becoming his situation; and when he was chamberlain he acted as properly in that capacity."

Now, my lords, as to the state of the beds, which has been dwelt upon so much by the other side.

In page 253, Dumont says, that no person slept in the travelling bed, but the great bed, on the following morning, was rumpled. Now, my lords, it is curious to know, and I should like for Dumont to state, where her majesty slept, for the great bed had no sheets upon it, and it could not be supposed that her majesty slept all night outside the counterpane, and the travelling bed was not slept on at all. My lords, when Dumont states, that for two months the little bed was not slept upon at all, it is so incredible that I am sure your lordships cannot give credit to it; for her majesty must have slept in a bed somewhere; and if she slept in Bergami's bed all that time, is it likely, I ask, that a female would be so foolish to let her chambermaid know it? For what more could Dumont know unless she had been present at the time she was in bed with Bergami, when her majesty suffered her bed to be unruffled for two months together, and for no other purpose but to show her guilt to her chambermaid? But this evidence rested solely on Dumont's own testimony, and was completely without corroboration; and after she had been contradicted by credible persons in all the main points of her evidence, would their lordships believe that evidence, which was of that nature that it was impossible to bring evidence to contradict it? On the cross examination of the witness Dumont, by Mr. Williams, she spoke of nothing more than the derangement of the bed; this was in page 314.—But, my lords, my learned friends must have been instructed by Dumont that an adulterous intercourse had taken place, though

she did not venture to swear it.—My learned friends in favour of this proceeding apologised to your lordships for not proving the facts at first, but their apology was ludicrous; they said it was owing to the difficulty of proof in such cases. Your lordships know, that on the fourth day of the examination of Dumont, a question was put by a noble lord to her, as to the bed, which, on the first day, she said was rumpled. She then, for the first time, said that there were spots or stains on the bed!

Now, my lords, I am convinced that you cannot possibly believe her evidence.—Why did not she state this fact on the first day? But do not let me forget, my lords, that when she saw the spots on the counterpane, to show her modesty and ignorance of such matters, she added, that she did not know what the spots were! My lords, I believe there never yet was a case in which the charges were so completely, so effectually, and so utterly destroyed and disproved. Although there were such numerous facts opened, and such numerous circumstances against the queen disclosed, yet it was three weeks before they could make the least impression against her. (The learned counsel then referred to an article from the *Quarterly Review*, just published, which was most applicable to her majesty's situation.) My lords, the infamous and diabolical intentions against her majesty, and the wicked reports circulated, have had their effect; yet I trust, and sanguinely, they will be disproved, to the entire satisfaction of your lordships; yet the vile reports, the infamous insinuations and abominable charges, however satisfactorily cleared,

cleared, existing will be a punishment to her majesty, which no time and no circumstance can completely eradicate. To continue: On the arrival of her majesty at Naples, it was said that her majesty retired for one hour and a half to a small cabinet with Bergami. There was no proof of this, and in summing up, the attorney general said, "Can any one doubt that an adulterous intercourse took place?" The fact was, that the charges had been completely refuted; and never was a case brought into a court of justice that was shown to be so entirely false and wicked.

I am, my lords, surprised that my learned opponents should cling still to this case, when all the charges but one have been shown to be utterly false; and that one charge is such a one that rested solely on the evidence of persons whose evidence could not be believed, unless confirmed by good testimony. At the masked ball the attorney general said that her majesty went into a room with Bergami to change her dress, which was very indecent and disgusting, to another Turkish dress; that Bergami was dressed as a Turk, and that they went again to the ball in these dresses; and that Bergami returned soon after, dissatisfied at something which had taken place, and her majesty soon followed quite disconcerted, and appeared to be hurt at the way in which Bergami had been treated. This, my lords, is incredible, and is not to be believed; if a female wished to act criminally in the manner alleged, would she have taken her servant maid, Dumont, to have witnessed it? If she wished to retire from a ball privately, would

she have taken a servant maid to become an evidence of her guilt? I cannot disprove that Dumont did not go up stairs, as she says, because she has sworn that no other person, except her majesty and Bergami, were present.—If she was on the stairs, no evidence has been brought to confirm it; and, if false, no one can be brought to disprove it. After Dumont's three years' rehearsal it was not to be supposed that he should cross examine her to any other facts than those which she had sworn to on her examination in chief. The fact was, that like a friend of his, who framed an anecdote of another person, so Dumont framed this story of her majesty, and it was impossible to draw any thing but falsehood from so impure a fountain; and the more she had been examined, the more she would have invented and sworn against her majesty. Dumont swore her majesty's dress was indecent, and yet in pages 552 and 553, sir W. Gell and Mr. Craven swore that the dress was not at all indecent; and if it had been, they must have observed it.

Much was said about Bergami being dressed as a Turk; it was proved, however, in page 571, that all her majesty's domestics formed a group around her in the same dress at the ball. There was no proof of Bergami returning disappointed and mortified, though the solicitor general noticed it in summing up; but sir W. Gell's servant, W. Carrington, proved that Bergami was late at the ball, with other servants, assisting the company to refreshments, and walking about. And as to her majesty's Turkish dress in the trowsers, how was that explained?



It was sworn by sir W. Gell, that the trowsers were nothing more than her usual dress sewn through with thread at the bottom, and not any thing at all indecent. Next comes, my lords, the walking arm-in-arm with Bergami in the garden at Naples. Majocchi is the first to say that Bergami kept a key of the garden; but at first he did not see them walking arm-in-arm. Some time after, in page 255, he is again asked as to the walking in the garden; and then he says he saw them walking arm-in-arm. Dumont is the next person who states, that they were arm-in-arm in the garden; and this garden, my lords, is supposed to be a dark mysterious place, concealed from the view of every eye. Sir W. Gell and Mr. Craven say, that the garden was seen from every part of the mansion; it was open, and sir W. Gell says that he saw her majesty, on one occasion, in the garden, and Bergami walking at a distance, and he cautioned her majesty, for he knew that spies were about, and her conduct would be misconstrued; and he proves that her majesty had Bergami with her to give orders to the workmen in Italian, because she spoke it indistinctly.

My learned friend states, that he feels no interest in the issue of this case; that he was ordered to attend by their lordships to support the bill, and that he is the minister of substantial justice. The fact was, he (the attorney general) was an active partizan, and he knew that his case was bad—he knew that he had been deceived—his clients had been deceived—his instructors had been deceived—and their employer and the witnesses had deceived them. Those

who had ransacked every foul clothes bag, and every sink of calumny, who called a noble lady to speak to her husband's distresses and to betray the secrets of private life, had stopped at the very threshold of their case, which amounted to a complete acquittal of the queen. There was a fact at Catania, as it was opened by the attorney general, which required observation. On the evidence of Dumont, her majesty had to pass through her bed-room to Bergami's; but though her sister could have corroborated this, as she slept in the same room with Dumont, she was not called to speak to the fact; it was all left to the assertion of this witness alone, and was one of the mere inventions of this miserable woman, who does not strengthen Majocchi, nor he her. They charged that their client was intended to be the victim of perjury and conspiracy, by the employment of Italian witnesses, at a vast expense, to make out a case which could not have been supported against a married woman in her circumstances in any court, had she been even guilty of the charges.—A charge of conspiracy was abhorrent to the feelings, and was even thought to be foreign to the character of Englishmen; but since these proceedings had been instituted two cases had occurred which showed the contrary. He instanced the case of miss Glenn's perjury against the unfortunate Bowditch. The other was the case of a number of persons who had conspired to get a sham commission of bankruptcy; the evidence showing that these were persons who made perjury a trade at a trifling expense. The next was

was the case of the king v. Cohen; and he also alluded to those of Kinnear and others, and of Elizabeth Canning, Titus Oates, &c. These were perjuries in England. He also adverted to the case of James, duke of York, whose friends offered to prove adultery, when he was thinking of getting rid of his wife, the daughter of lord Clarendon. And was there not a conspiracy to convict Anne Boleyn of incest with her brother, because the king wanted to get rid of his wife? He made no application of those times and circumstances to the present. Similar attempts were made against her majesty in 1806, and there were suborned traducers at that time; but it was thought fitting for the privy council to pronounce a verdict of acquittal, lest the prince of Wales should be suspected of having been concerned. Such things had taken place in England, and was the contrary to be expected from witnesses brought from a country where, on account of the superstition and darkness which prevailed, perjury might be purchased, and persons found who would do or say any thing when large rewards were given to them?

The attorney general had, in his opening, talked of adultery at Varces, Lugano, &c. but not a word to prove it. He believed the attorney general had been so instructed, and that there was but one witness, Dumont, by whom he could have been so instructed. Sometimes one could not go on without one's witnesses; but could that be the case here? His learned friends had had their Milan and Hanoverian commissions, with six weeks to collect their witnesses,

and yet their case had totally failed. He quoted Roger North's account of the opinion of his brother, sir Dudley North, respecting witnesses in Turkey. He came to the conclusion, that a false witness, if used to his trade, was better than a true one. Wherever our immortal bard had to find false witnesses to betray or slander an injured heir, he took them from Milan or Venice or Messina—whether he was an Iago, an Iachimo, or a Don John, they were all from Italy or Sicily. He quoted very humorously the charges of Dogberry against the false witnesses of Don John, and declared it most applicable to this last act of this new comedy of "Much ado about nothing."—He then went into the scene on board the polacre, and the kisses and embraces sworn to. These were what the captain and mate were to receive so many thousands of dollars from the British government for swearing to. He could almost fancy he saw the letter from the captain to his nephew, saying, Come to this country, you have only to swear you saw them kissing and hugging on a gun, and your fortune is made; you may then marry and settle where you please! But some of the crew should have been called, especially the steersman, who had a better opportunity than all the others to see the facts sworn to; and these men had not been called.

He would say, and their lordships would say also, that there was a complete end to this part of the case. When this case was got up, then should have all reports been dismissed from it, and captain Flynn should have been first examined: for, if that had been

done, his English testimony would have driven away all that of the Italian and Swiss, in which it would have been impossible to have placed any credit. Majocchi swears, that at Ephesus her royal highness slept on a sofa with Bergami; but it was remarkable that neither Dumont nor Geroff was called to corroborate his testimony, which was utterly denied by Mr. Hownam.

Mr. Denman, about two o'clock, stated, that he felt considerable exhaustion, and begged their lordships would allow him to retire for an interval.

The lord chancellor observed, that he was sure the request of the learned counsel would be met by the unanimous concurrence of their lordships, and he was satisfied that the house would willingly adjourn till to-morrow, if Mr. Denman wished it.—He, therefore, had only to make his election whether he would resume again this evening or to-morrow morning.

Mr. Denman said, that he should be sufficiently relieved by a short pause.

After a pause of about half an hour, Mr. Denman resumed his summing up, and adverted to the period when her majesty was on board the polacre on her voyage to Jerusalem.—At that time she was living upon terms of what might be called delightful familiarity with those who attended her person. In the tent she reposed at night, finding that the more agreeable place for sleeping, on account of the inconveniences which she felt in the cabin below. This was one of the facts in which it might be thought not improper in him to advise their lordships to be cau-

tious in what point of view, and in what manner, they considered the evidence relative to this particular fact. He would maintain, and he believed that every honest mind would agree with him, that there ought not to be the least suspicion of guilt upon her majesty, when the whole circumstances of the case were reflected upon. It was in proof that Victorine, that Dumont, and many others of her royal highness's suite, were continually in the tent with her majesty. Lieutenant Hownam had also, in the course of his evidence, stated, that her majesty was frequently very much fatigued and oppressed in the course of the voyage. Under these circumstances, was it possible that there could be a mind so uncharitable, so uncandid, so unjust, as to adhere closely to the mere words in which the fact is related, and to lose sight of the *bona fide* intent of the assertion? He defied any honest man to lay his hand upon his heart, and declare that there adultery was committed. It was said that the beds were regularly prepared, but it appeared afterwards in evidence that those beds had no bed clothes; and it afterwards came out that those two parties who were said to have this criminal intercourse were both of them, with little alteration, in the same dress as that which they wore by day. The witness Dumont had laid great stress upon the dress of the parties in her examination in chief; but in her cross examination, it appeared that there was not the slightest foundation for her gross insinuations. If the whole of the disgusting scenes at Naples were negatived, and the facts were proved to be untenable,

untenable,—if it was perfectly clear that the imputations were founded upon facts which did not bear them out, and that the worst of all falsehoods had been practised by giving the appearance of truth to that which was known to be a lie, her majesty's innocence would appear to every one of their lordships. It was utterly impossible for their lordships to consider the fact of Bergami's promotion and elevation as sufficient to decide the case against her majesty ; because, if it were, the whole of the inquiry might have been dispensed with, as their lordships would have been wasting time unnecessarily, improperly, and indecently. He had a right to say, if there was truth in argument, or justice in inference, that her royal highness slept on board the polacre without the slightest stain upon her character.

And if their lordships were satisfied that neither before nor after her royal highness went on board this polacre, there was the least proof from whence to draw the inference of guilt, he called upon the house to consider whether, in a case of such importance—dethronement and degradation—to the highest individual in the kingdom, and where the evidence ought to be clear in proportion to the weight of punishment, the circumstances which took place on board the polacre were of themselves sufficient to make out the case of adultery. The cause of her majesty's sleeping on deck, as has been proved in evidence, was the noisome smell of some animals in the ship. He put it to the good sense of their lordships, whether, if her majesty had been the blind victim of this man, such

a step would have been taken. Was it to be believed that she would have withdrawn herself from his secure embraces, where no eye could have been her, and that she would have transferred herself to the public deck, in the immediate neighbourhood of the steersman, and subject to the constant interruption of the crew, if she were really guilty ? But was it in a military tent in which her majesty had placed herself ? No ; it was the mere awning of the ship. It hung loosely and formed a large room upon the deck. There were two beds placed at a distance from one another, and the hatchway was always open. It was singular that this fact appeared not in the examination in chief, but in the cross examination. Their lordships had been told the awning of the tent had been let down, and that intercourse had taken place during the day. This was a gross calumny, and there was not the least proof that adultery had been committed. From the 20th July to the 17th August her majesty was on board the polacre, and during the journey she was extremely annoyed, and was much oppressed by fatigue. It was found absolutely necessary that some one should attend upon her ; and who could be more fitted for that duty, to protect her during that long, tedious voyage, than the person she had appointed as her chamberlain, to attend constantly upon her person ? There was only one occasion in which there was the least attempt at proof, that her majesty and Bergami were sleeping in the tent, and they were then both in their clothes. If he were to resort to Old Bailey verdicts ; if, indeed, a comparison might

might be formed between them and this important case, he was prepared to maintain that there was no proof that these parties actually slept on the deck, and the fact was only to be inferred from the statement of lieutenant Hownam. He did not mean to contend that Bergami might not have been reposing in the tent, and, as Mr. Hownam has very properly stated, there was no mystery, there was nothing which called for concealment. Her majesty, unprotected as she was, was the boldest female of the party; and although she thought proper to sleep on deck, amidst the crew, it was absolutely necessary that some one should be appointed to guard her.—He called their lordships' attention to the manner in which the witnesses for her majesty had been cross examined by the counsel on the other side. When lieutenant Hownam had stated his belief that these two parties might have slept together in the tent, there was a triumphant echo about the town, and their lordships' attention was to be fixed upon this solitary circumstance, forgetting all the other important testimony which that witness had given at the bar. If the counsel for the crown were to be allowed to make out their case by calling persons of the lowest description, coming, God knew from whence, they surely were not to be suffered to attempt to strengthen that case, by picking out of the evidence for the queen an inference of a belief upon which they were to rest a case of the highest criminal nature.

He next alluded to the evidence of lieutenant Flynn, who he observed had not been called by the

other side, as might have been expected. This gentleman had not been summoned to give evidence for her majesty, but, without the smallest connexion with the queen, he had voluntarily come over and had given the most important testimony, which his residence in Sicily had enabled him to afford. This brave, honourable, and gallant man had not, like many of the witnesses for the crown, waited for their bribes, but, observing by the public papers that proceedings against her majesty were about to be instituted, he instantly came to this country to depose to facts to the best of his memory and belief which had occurred long since. It was quite evident that this gentleman had never before been in any court of justice, and, as their lordships must have perceived, he returned answers which he never intended to have given. When asked whether certain papers were faithful copies, he stated that they were not, when he meant to say that they were. A more nervous witness he had never seen in any court of justice, but he had given more accurate evidence with respect to his belief than any witness that had yet been examined.—He had described the situation of the bed-rooms, and stated that when he passed through the dining-room he knew that Bergami was in bed, and frequently spoke to him behind his screen, and received his answer. A more clear and satisfactory account never was given by any witness. He made no alteration in the beds, and never interfered, and therefore it was quite out of his sphere to make any observations on this subject. His evidence was therefore completely distinct; and when pressed

pressed upon the subject of his belief—a belief which might be founded upon mere hearsay,—he looked to the facts themselves from whence he gave his belief. But it was unnecessary to enter into these points. He was sure their lordships, and no man who was present could forget the mode in which this gallant officer had been cross examined. He (Mr. Denman) was the last man who would undervalue the splendid talents of his majesty's attorney general, but there were many different modes of cross examination. He (the learned counsel) loved to see the advocate who could drag the reluctant proof from its lurking place, and show it to the light, when the reluctant witness was anxious to preserve it in darkness; but he held that man in contempt who attempted to betray a witness into some little error, and who would take advantage of the alarm and nervousness evinced by the witness under examination. No man could disbelieve the general effect of his testimony, that no such exhibition, such indecent familiarities as had been sworn to by the captain and mate of the *polacre*, had in fact occurred. The evidence had completely broken down under the statement of the attorney general respecting the licentious display of his person by Bergami; the captain had only called them apish tricks, and lieutenant Hownam swore that Bergami only put a cushion or two under his dress to imitate and ridicule some pompous personage. The conclusion from the whole of the evidence on this part of the case was, that if the princess and Bergami had intended to commit adultery, they would have done it

below and not upon deck in the view of the captain, mate, and the whole crew of the *polacre*.

Supposing then every crime charged before this tent scene, and every indecency after it, disproved, was the house or any man prepared to say, that that alone was sufficient foundation for this bill? The queen was on her trial for an offence of the highest magnitude; and he hoped their lordships would not make any unworthy compromise, or adopt any middle course, because the charge did not actually amount to high treason. It was not because the punishment was lighter that the evidence to warrant it should be lighter.

For his own part, without any affected sentiment, which, perhaps, in an advocate, might be allowed, he would say, that he would much rather see his royal mistress tried at the bar, like Anne Boleyn, for her life, than in the more perilous situation in which she now stood;—he would much rather have to hand her to the scaffold, where she would lay her head on the block with all the firmness and magnanimity belonging to her illustrious family, than witness her present condemnation under the heavy charges which would render her indeed an object of general pity, but of more general scorn—who could not be looked upon but as one who was entitled to compassion, having fallen by the misconduct of those who afterwards brought her to punishment, but who, at the same time, must be regarded as a most deplorable instance of degraded rank and ruined character. The house was bound therefore to try the queen as if the commission of an act of high treason had been charged on board the *polacre*;  
and

and thus viewing it, what would be the language of any judge regarding a prisoner who, having been acquitted by the evidence of a great number of false and important charges, was at last accused only of one single and comparatively insignificant offence? Would not the judge declare on the instant, in a case like the present, that no proof existed of criminal intercourse, that the main fact had been disproved—that though the parties had perhaps been shown together in the tent, and though there might be surmise or suspicion of guilt, because one of the witnesses had hinted at such a situation, yet that all criminal intent was negatived, and that the excuse for the situation was given under the same oath that had sworn to it? A judge, who, under such circumstances, did not declare that a prisoner ought not to be instantly acquitted, would deserve to be impeached at the bar of this house, for a gross and infamous dereliction of his duty. The learned gentleman then made various remarks on the evidence of Majocchi and Dumont, upon the complete contradiction given by lieutenant Hownam, and upon the evidence of the kiss given by the princess to Bergami, on his going on shore at Terracina, and upon his visiting Messina.

He afterwards referred to the different transactions at the villa d'Este, dwelling most forcibly upon the conduct of the two discarded servants, Sacchi and Rastelli. He then proceeded to observe, that he had heard examples similar to the present quoted from English history; but he knew of no example in any history of a christian king, who had thought himself at

liberty to divorce his wife for any misconduct whatever, when his own misconduct, in the first instance, was the occasion of her fall. He had found, in some degree, a parallel in the history of imperial Rome; and it was the only case in the annals of any nation which appeared to bear a close resemblance to the present proceeding. Scarcely had Octavia become the wife of Nero, when almost on the day of marriage, she became also the object of his disgust and aversion; she was cast off, repudiated, and dismissed, on a false and frivolous pretext. A mistress was received in her place, and before long she was banished from the dwelling of her husband. A conspiracy was set on foot against her honour, to impute to her a licentious amour with a slave; and it was stated by the great historian of corrupted Rome, that, on that occasion, some of her servants were induced, not by bribes but by tortures, to depose to facts injurious to her reputation; but the greater number persisted in faithfully maintaining her innocence. It seemed, however, that though the public was convinced of her purity, the prosecutor persevered in asserting her guilt, and finally banished her from Rome. Her return was like a flood: the generous people of that country received her with those feelings which ought to have existed in the heart of her husband.

But a second conspiracy was afterwards attempted, and in the course of that inquiry she was convicted and condemned; she was banished to an island in the Mediterranean, where the only act of mercy shown to her was putting an end to her sufferings by  
poison.

poison or the dagger. The death of her father and mother had deprived her of her natural protectors, who had stood as a shield between her and misery. The learned counsel at some length pointed out the striking analogies between this case and that of her majesty, noticing the desertion of her illustrious friends, and the death of the king, and also of her daughter, in November 1817.—It was a singular fact, that in that very month, Dumont, Sacchi, Majocchi, and Rastelli, had been dismissed her royal highness's service. He dwelt also on the debates on the bill to render adultery a crime, and quoted with great emphasis the words of Mr. Burke regarding the testimony of discarded domestics.

He put it to their lordships, whether if any man should dare to charge the noble consort of any one of them with a crime like this, and support it by the evidence of a servant, who swore that he had seen the lady through the key hole or the aperture of some door creep to the bed of some menial servant, they would give credence to a story contradicted by the whole course of an irreproachable life, while the malice of the party betrayed itself even in the foulness of the charge. He made a number of strong remarks upon the volunteer evidence given by Sacchi, who, for a base and sordid purpose, had pretended to disclose the confidential secrets of his mistress, when in fact he had committed the grossest perjury by the invention of the most detestable calumnies. He likened him, with great force, to the most infamous of all traitors, the first apostate to christianity, who had betrayed his saviour

with a kiss!—The letters of mademoiselle Dumont, and the very sincere testimony she had there given in favour of her beloved and injured mistress, were next remarked upon; the learned counsel contending that the evidence those letters contained was of itself sufficient to warrant the rejection of the bill. He next adverted to the reasons which had induced the counsel for the queen to over-rule the wishes of her majesty, in not exposing to cross examination, after the memorable failure of lieutenant Flynn, certain witnesses whom it might be expected they should call. Perhaps too great a compliment had been paid to the case on the other side by calling any witnesses at all; but after the defence of her majesty was complete in the testimony recently produced, he thought it would have been more than needlessly injudicious to have submitted the sister of Dumont to the possible treachery of her sister, and to the perils of a cross examination, where, perhaps, some trifling forgetfulness, or some innocent delusion, might destroy the benefit otherwise to be derived from her testimony. He thought that in this respect the queen's counsel had exercised a sound discretion. Had the case for the bill been more perfect, or the answer to it less complete, a different course would have been pursued.

Mr. Denman was then proceeding to other parts of his subject, when the earl of Liverpool observed that it was four o'clock; the house accordingly adjourned.

Oct. 25.—This morning the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at five minutes before ten o'clock. Prayers were read  
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by the bishop of Bristol. On the list of peers being read over, excuses were admitted for the duke of St. Alban's, the earl of Oxford, and lord Somers.

Counsel were called in at twenty minutes past ten o'clock.

Mr. Denman then rose, and resumed the summing up of the defence :— My lords, in referring to the evidence which has been produced in support of this bill, I am naturally brought to that individual whose name forms so prominent a part in the charges which have been brought against her majesty. And certainly no person ever entered into any situation with better character, with a fairer claim to promotion, or better entitled to hope for success and advantage. Mr. Craven states, that the marquis Guisiglieri treated Bergami on a footing of equality, and recommended him to her royal highness as an individual who was deserving her confidence and patronage; that he was of a respectable family, which had suffered in its fortunes during the French revolution; that he had served in the French army, where he was admitted to the society of persons of rank and distinction; but that now, in his humbled fortune, he was compelled to accept of a situation below his rank, or his deserts. Sir W. Gell stated that the marquis Guisiglieri, so far from treating him as a menial, or one of mean origin, saluted him in the manner in which the nobility salute persons of equal rank; and the French colonel Oliviera, who knew him at general Pino's, speaks of him in the highest terms. I am not, my lords, defending Bergami, nor is it necessary that I should do so; but I cannot advert to the

manner in which he was introduced to her royal highness, without declaring my firm conviction that he was a person worthy of patronage.

Bergami entered the service of the princess in the year 1814, and in the following year he was promoted from the situation of a courier to that of a page. I may here observe, that a courier to a royal personage, though wearing a peculiar dress, is not to be considered as an ordinary livery servant. In the course of that year, I believe, he became her royal highness's chamberlain. I will admit that it was desirable that her majesty should place in that situation a person of high rank; but we must consider the circumstances in which her royal highness was placed, and what hope had she that any young nobleman would enter her service when likely to incur the displeasure of the court at home? At this time Mr. Craven had left her royal highness, on account of a domestic misfortune, and sir Wm. Gell had also left her on account of his health. I therefore do not know that the princess could have done better than binding a man of honour and fidelity to her service, by conferring on him those offices and those honours which it is the privilege of royalty to bestow. And when a royal personage does confer rank and honours on an individual, he who is thus distinguished becomes what royalty chooses to make him. I do not blame captain Pechell for refusing to sit down at the table with a man who had waited behind his chair; but no individual would degrade himself by yielding respect to those whom royalty delighteth to honour. Mr. Sicard says, he considered

dered it necessary that the princess should have a guard near her person; and that at Naples, he placed Bergami in the cabinet, near the garden, without the knowledge or participation of her royal highness, and without any interference on the part of Bergami, who thus discharged a most important service to her royal highness: for no one can doubt that the princess was surrounded with spies from the moment she quitted this country; and when Bergami had faithfully discharged the important duty of guarding her royal person, was it not natural that, on Sicard quitting her royal highness, she should prefer him to the offices of page, and master of the household? Sicard left her royal highness because his pecuniary affairs required that he should come to England, and Bergami was then promoted to his situation; for let it never be forgotten, that we are speaking of a man of good manners, who might be received into the first society, and who never betrayed meanness or servility, although his fallen fortunes had doomed him, for a short period, to serve in a very humble capacity. It was natural to suppose that the other persons in the service of her majesty should have been indisposed to speak with kindness of one whose merits had raised him so much above them in the estimation of his mistress. The very circumstance of his having discharged his duty with zeal and fidelity was sufficient to excite against him the evil thoughts of those whose ambition received a check in its flight from their unworthiness. Whom could her majesty have promoted with so much propriety?

But it appeared that the virtuous feelings of this illustrious but unfortunate lady were all to be turned into crimes. Amongst other causes of censure was her fondness for young children! In Genoa, the infant Victorine was thrown in her way, and she felt for it the affection of a mother, for she presumed that it was without a protector. There had been no evidence to the contrary. At the former period of persecution, a similar circumstance had taken place. It was then a charge which demanded investigation, for the succession was concerned; but now that no danger of that description could be apprehended, it was thrown in as a supplement to the other proofs, which were dwelt upon as evidence of a gross and criminal appetite. If Bergami was promoted to the situation of chamberlain by his royal mistress, was it a proof of guilt that he was publicly declared to be so, that he should appear in the proper rank, and be introduced to her majesty's visitors as a person filling a situation to which his talents and fidelity entitled him? What would have been said if he had skulked into the kitchen? Would it not have been hinted that then, indeed, he was kept for the gratification of a criminal passion? What if, when on board the *Leviathan*, his situation had been concealed from captain Briggs? What if, when upon going on board the same ship afterwards, his royal mistress had deposed him from her table, from the apprehension of being seen by captain Pechell in a station to which he had before been elevated? This publicity, so far from raising a presumption of guilt, was the

the most indisputable proof of innocence. Then it was said that he had been loaded with honours! But their lordships would recollect that Italian baronies were not like those which were possessed by the heroes of Runnimeade; they were purchaseable by a few hundred livres; and, in that country, where they were so easy of attainment, they were absolutely necessary as an appendage to a situation of such importance as that to which Bergami had been raised. Indeed, the honours of rank were, in Italy, considered of such consequence in every respectable employment, that many persons in this country had received letters from thence, in which they were addressed as lords, without having any other claims to the title than their worth as private individuals. Mr. Vizard, the amiable solicitor for the queen, had recently received a letter from that country, which called upon him to take lodgings for a family as near as possible to his lordship's palace!

There was another crime with which her majesty was charged, to which he thought it necessary to call their lordships' attention,—the introduction of Bergami's relations to the service of her majesty. Could any thing be more natural in a dependant than to serve his own family? It had not appeared that her majesty knew of the relationship, but certainly he was doing no more than his duty, although, by doing so, he raised a prejudice against himself and his mistress in the hearts of those who were discarded. From the period of their arrival at Naples and their going on board the polacre, he officiated as chamberlain, and without disguise; and

was it not rather too much, from that circumstance, to infer the consequence stated in the preamble of the bill?

The learned counsel then referred to the evidence of Majocchi, as what had taken place on board the polacre, and repeated the evidence in contradiction to the calumnious statement of that witness, who said he had heard the princess and Bergami together under the tent, while he was lying on a sofa in the cabin below. This abandoned wretch, he said, introduced what he heard as a parallel to what he had seen, when he was half asleep, and must, if he had lain on a sofa at the time, have gone into another cabin, and taken a sofa and brought it to that which was under the tent where the queen lay, for the purpose of lying upon it, to hear what was going forward between her and Bergami. The evidence of Patuzzo, of capt. Flynn, and of lieutenant Hownam, gave the lie direct to this abominable fabrication. It was too much to infer, from the mere circumstance of Bergami having been seen handing her royal highness down from the deck to the cabin below, on the occasion of a squall which occurred during the night, that he must have slept under the tent with the princess. The whole of Mr. Hownam's belief on this subject was founded on mere hearsays, which were as applicable to other persons of her royal highness's suite as to Bergami. What was more natural or likely, than that when the weather was fair, some of the female attendants of her royal highness should remain with her under the tent; and, on the contrary, when the weather became

became rough and squally, or when there was an alarm of pirates, that she should be rather attended by some of the male persons of her establishment?

It had been asked, whether lieutenants Flynn or Hownam could not have performed this duty as well? Mr. Hownam, when a question to this effect was put to him, had said, most properly, that he trusted they would. But Mr. Hownam and Mr. Flynn had other duties to perform on such occasions. In the case of a squall, they must have been employed in attending to the ship, and giving that aid of superior seamanship, which English sailors possess in so superior a degree beyond the sailors of any other nation in the world. It was in evidence, moreover, that during the whole of the voyage homewards, her royal highness had never once undressed herself at night, but had reposed in the clothes which she wore during the day: and even admitting the possibility that some male person might have also occasionally slept in his clothes on the bedstead, which stood at right angles with the sofa on which the princess reclined, was the fact of criminal connexion the only inference that a reasonable, candid, and generous mind could draw from such an accidental, perhaps unavoidable, position of the parties? But the fact was, that there was nothing in the whole evidence—nothing but the belief of lieutenant Hownam, which was no evidence—to negative the presumption that Bergami had slept on the voyage home in the same place where he had slept in the voyage out—namely, in the dining-room.

A great deal had been said about 1820.

the bath scene; but nothing could be conceived more absurd and ridiculous than the premises on which the conclusion of guilt here rested. The learned gentleman referred to those parts of the evidence of Paturzo and Garguilo, which proved the dimensions of the cabin, and the impossibility of its containing the bathing tub the princess was in the custom of using. The whole of the bath story rested, in short, on the evidence of Majocchi and Dumont, and it was of a piece with the whole of the evidence of these persons,—a piece of invention as absurd as it was incredible.

The learned counsel begged now to direct their attention to the next case of inference which the attorney general had stated in his opening, namely, that when Sacchi arrived in the night-time with a dispatch from general Pino, he saw Bergami coming, as the attorney general had affirmed, out of the room of her royal highness.—Without saying any thing at present as to the credibility of this witness, he would ask, how was the statement of the attorney general borne out by the evidence of Sacchi? He does not state that he saw Bergami coming out of the room of her royal highness; he saw him coming out of a room, but he neither knows who occupied that room, nor the room beyond it; and, what is more important, he does not even know where the room was situate which was occupied by her royal highness. As Sacchi had thus flatly negatived the allegation, there was, of course, nothing in his evidence on this point to corroborate; but it might not be amiss to observe, that if there had been any thing

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to confirm, neither of the two servants of Bergami, with whom Sacchi communicated on that occasion, had been called.

There were in all sixteen overt acts alleged in the opening of the attorney general, of the first three of which Naples was the scene—namely, the first, or bridal night; the masked ball at the theatre of St. Carlos; and the meeting on the corridor: these depended on the evidence of mademoiselle Dumont alone. Then there were the two occurrences at Varresse and Lugano; neither of these had been attempted to be supported by any evidence whatever. The case of Catania depended on Dumont alone; that of Zavoan, on the evidence of nobody! The incident at Ephesus had been attempted to be proved by Majocchi alone; and all that he asserted was contradicted by several unimpeachable witnesses. Sacchi's arrival in the night time with the dispatch from general Pino was a story which, like Majocchi's, he had also entirely to himself. Next came the case to which he had now particularly to direct the attention of their lordships, the case of Charnitz, which also rested on a single witness, and that witness Dumont.

The learned gentleman proceeded to contrast the statement of this case, as made by the attorney general, with the case as proved by Dumont's evidence. In her examination in chief, she endeavoured to show that the princess was undressed; but in the cross examination, the facts come out, that the princess was dressed, and that she reposed on a bed in a travelling cap, and a dress with much fur on it, until Bergami returned with the

passport, and then she put herself in motion. Dumont was also compelled to acknowledge that she herself, was lying on another bed in the same room.

He (the learned counsel) would here advert to the letter of Dumont, insinuating that persons were ready to pay her for giving evidence against the princess, and that she was ready to disclose or conceal all she knew, accordingly as the princess treated her. This was the construction his learned friends opposite must put on that letter; and, if that was the case, it was a threatening letter; and her majesty showed her own innocence, and the consciousness that Dumont could not with truth speak one word against her, by not even noticing it, much less endeavouring to conciliate her good opinion, or purchase it as a guilty person would have done.

In regard to the affair at Charnitz, lieutenant Hownam states, that it was necessary to go to Inspruck for passports, and that Bergami and Vassali went for them, and returned very late. Vassali says he returned from Inspruck about two or three o'clock; that he immediately went into the room of her royal highness, whom he found on the bed, ready dressed for her journey; that Bergami was in the room, and the little Victorine was on the same bed with her royal highness. This fact Dumont artfully and wickedly concealed, although she was in the room at the time, and must have known it. Vassali further stated, that he was frequently in the room during the night, and that the rest of her royal highness's suite were passing in and out of it the whole time, before they

they set out on the journey.—It was worthy of notice that Sacchi was also at Charnitz, and yet the learned counsel opposite did not dare to question him in confirmation of the evidence of Dumont. He now came to the affair at Carlsruhe; and it was impossible not to look back on the just grounds of complaint which that illustrious lady has had to make. She knew that she was surrounded by persons who were anxious to destroy her, and although, in the course of her journies, she exposed herself at no less than fifty inns, yet no attempt had been made to impeach her conduct at any of them, except by that veritable witness Pietro Cuchi, and that worthy lady Mrs. Barbara Kress! It could not be doubted that the princess was watched by persons of high authority; if not, how came an Hanoverian minister to be at Rome? What connexion was there between that protestant and this papal state? Majocchi had been instructed by some one to say that he did not know this Hanoverian envoy, Ompteda, but that his name was as strange to him as that of one of the chiefs in the Sandwich Islands; and Dumont, though not denying a knowledge of his name, says she never heard of any improper conduct on his part, or of any picking of locks. Sacchi, an active agent of the Milan commission, says he accompanied Mr. Cook, the head of that commission, to Frankfort, to get the evidence of Maurice Credi—that Maurice Credi, who, Mr. Hownam states, was employed to steal the keys of her royal highness's cabinet by Ompteda. Why, then, was not Credi called? He lived with the

princess at the time, and might, no doubt, have been a good witness for the prosecution; but he would have been unfortunately compelled to acknowledge this important fact. The fact that Credi was examined at Frankfort, and had not been examined here, was in itself of no small importance.

He would now call their attention to the witness Carrington, and he could not do so, without noticing, that no sooner had this witness left the bar of their lordships, to the satisfaction of every one who had heard his testimony, than materials were laid for his cross examination by the first lord of the admiralty; books were searched, and his captain brought to town to be examined. The character of this witness rose higher from every cross examination, and his testimony could not be shaken. The learned gentleman then proceeded to notice how the evidence of this witness overturned the testimony of Majocchi, as to baron Ompteda, at whose conduct he (Majocchi) felt so indignant, that he said, if he met him, he would kill him like a dog! After Carrington had been cross examined so frequently, a paper was at last produced, which proved that he had been rated as a midshipman on board the Poitiers, and sir John Beresford said, he never parted with any one with so much regret, as he was a most excellent sailor. He could not but notice how differently situated the counsel for the queen were to their opponents. Her majesty's counsel had no admiralty books to refer to—no means of getting witnesses to come, or of compelling the production of a

single paper. But, fortunately for her majesty, every witness against her had been confuted out of his own mouth by his contradictory testimony; for Dumont and Majocchi, notwithstanding the evidence they had given at the bar of that house, had acknowledged that the princess was surrounded by persons anxious to betray, and who distorted every action of her life.

In respect to Carlsruhe, it appeared that not fewer than three ministers had been employed to get evidence against the princess. One of them received her royal highness at the inn, and gave up his apartments to her; but no sooner had she quitted them, than he was seen running from room to room, to get some charge against her royal highness. He thought he had caught her in a trap, and, with the aid of Barbara Kress, would complete her ruin. This chambermaid had insinuated that a large bed was placed in her royal highness's apartment by the order of Sacchi, but Sacchi denied it; and, if any alteration had been made in the beds, it was much more probable that it had been done by baron Grimm, to enable him the better to make out his case. Kress had sworn that in going into the room of the princess with some water about seven o'clock in the evening, she saw the princess sitting on the bed with Bergami, and her arm round his neck; but, from her cross examination, it appeared that she did not know whether it was the princess or countess Oldi who was on the bed. The learned counsel then passed on, after a few observations upon the circumstance of the finding of a cloak in her roy-

al highness's bed, which Kress afterwards saw upon Bergami, to that part of the testimony which related to the stains in the bed. The period at which those stains were said to have been seen was not at all stated; and the cross examination of Kress completely disproved her formed assertions. It was worthy of observation, that this witness had said, on her cross examination, in answer to a question relating to the stains, that she had not examined them; that she had no thought of it. Why then, if she had no thought of it, had she been brought here to give evidence at such a vast expense to the nation? Did this declaration arise from her modesty? Was she upon her cross examination visited from the first time with a fit of modesty? No, her agitation and her blushes were caused by a very different feeling—by the struggle between truth and perjury. The evidence of Mr. Hownam, which proved the whole course of the princess's conduct at Carlsruhe, gave the lie in the most positive manner to all the assertions of this abandoned woman. Every thing that had taken place at Carlsruhe was fully accounted for, not only by the evidence of lieutenant Hownam, but by that of Vassali, who proved that this lady, who had been represented as the most profligate of the species, had been constantly in the society of the highest characters.

But if the conduct of this female waiter was worthy of execration, what could be said of that of the male waiter, who was celebrated for having placed his eye to the key-hole, and for having seen Bergami go into her royal highness's bed-room, three or four several days, undressed? What would

would he said of Cuchi, who had sworn that her royal highness had delayed six days at an inn at Trieste, for the purpose of making the case complete against her?—Kress had been contradicted by Mr. Hownam and count Vassali, and Cuchi was contradicted by every body! That most worthy person swore that he saw Bergami go into her royal highness's room three or four days successively in a state of undress; when it appeared, upon the acknowledgment of all, that her royal highness was at Trieste but one day! The villain who had thus perjured himself should not escape with impunity; another court should see him if he still remained in Cotton-Garden,—if he had not been sent away to bear joyful tidings to the relatives of those inestimable persons who were still doing honour to this country by remaining in it! For the sake of the English nation—for the sake of human nature—this culprit should be shown that he could not calumniate the character of an elevated person without incurring some danger.

The learned counsel (Mr. D.) then read long extracts from the evidence of Mr. Hownam and count Vassali, to prove that the delay of her royal highness at Trieste was but one day. The counsel for the bill (the attorney general) had stated, that her royal highness exhibited disgraceful proofs of want of taste, as well as of morals, by the company with which she had associated at the Barona—that, in fact, the Barona was rather a brothel than a palace—that the balls had been given to persons of low character, and so on—and that the greatest licen-

tiousness had been carried on there, to the knowledge of her royal highness. It would appear from this statement, that a poor negro, who had been mentioned in the most contemptuous manner, was the master of the revels. But it had come out in evidence, not only that her royal highness was not a witness to such scenes of licentiousness, but that no such scenes had taken place. It had been said by Sacchi, that, at first, people of frank attended those balls, but that they were compelled to absent themselves in a short time, in consequence of those immoral proceedings. Now if this was the case, why had not some of those high characters been called? It was false to say that there was any thing in the conduct of the princess to her domestics that was not constantly to be seen amongst the first families in England, the ladies of which were delighted with the opportunities of rendering their servants happy by occasional familiar intercourse. Lieutenant Hownam and count Vassali give in detail precisely the same description of evidence with respect to the character of the entertainments given at the Barona, and establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, that there was nothing in them either improper or indecent; not an individual of the female sex, who had not had her natural protector or guardian with her. It was mere trifling to talk of these occurrences as affording any ground for imputation against her royal highness; but for that very reason they became most important facts in the case for the queen, since they showed how the most innocent actions of her life were



attempted to be perverted to her prejudice. As Dumont had said, it was the misfortune of that illustrious lady to be "constantly beset by spies, to be hated where she ought to be cherished, to have every action of her life distorted and misrepresented." Not a virtue which she possessed but was contrived to be set in array against her; her kindness, her affability, her love of children—a love almost inseparable from open and generous natures—were converted into imputations of the grossest description. But it was a fact on which he reflected with proud consolation, that in every instance in which the witnesses to this case of artifice and treachery could be contradicted by other witnesses capable of speaking to the same facts, they had been contradicted in the most positive manner—their testimony had been cut in pieces. It still remained to speak of the exhibition of Mahomet. Did their lordships wish that he should detain them a moment on this disgusting part of this most miserable case?—Majocchi, who had not been properly drilled as to the complexion to be given to this incident, had unsuspectingly declared that he saw nothing in the dance which made it unfit to be seen by either man or woman. Could their lordships believe, that if there was anything in this exhibition of the abominably filthy description represented by the opening case of the attorney general, it could have escaped the notice of a man of Majocchi's turn of mind? Out of the mouth of their own chief witness the allegation stood completely refuted. But without resting on the testimony of any man so

tainted as Majocchi, their lordships would find in the evidence of Mr. Hownam, of captain Vasali, and of Mr. Granville Sharpe, the most satisfactory refutation of the case as put by the attorney general.

There was yet one case more, and he was happy to say it was the last to which he had to call their lordships' attention; it was the notable discovery averred to have been made by Sacchi, on the journey from Rome to Senegaglia. —The learned gentleman proceeded to read from the minutes that part of Sacchi's evidence which related to the position in which he had seen the hands of the princess and Bergami, on drawing aside the curtains of the carriage, in which he affirmed they rode together. He animadverted on the unblushing coldness with which the witness had described a scene which must have been revolting to the nature of every one who listened to his foul recital, and on that convenient forgetfulness, as to other particulars, not to be forgotten, by which he may probably have saved himself from that punishment for perjury which he so richly deserves. When asked if there was any other person in the carriage at the time, he answered that he could not recollect. What! was it impossible not to recollect whether the sister of the man who was in the criminal situation he had described, was present or not? Could human nature believe it? This answer alone, said the learned counsel, is to me the most unquestionable evidence that the whole story is a vile invention of the witness's own. But to go to direct evidence on the point, the statement

statement of Sacchi had been contradicted in a manner that must deprive this infamous gentleman of all claims he may ever have possessed to that character.

The learned counsel now read, from the evidence of Carlo Forte, those parts which showed that Sacchi had preceded her royal highness on the journey to Senegaglia, and could not possibly have seen what he pretended to describe : next, the evidence of lieutenant Hownam, which proved that the carriage in which her royal highness rode was one with spring blinds, which could not be opened except from within ; and, lastly, those parts of the evidence of colonel Oliveira and captain Vassali, which went to confirm, as they did most unequivocally, the statements of Carlo Forte and Mr. Hownam. This counter testimony went to the entire destruction of the possibility of Sacchi's having seen what he alleged. And, if this were false, what became of the whole of his evidence ? what became of the whole case, of which such a witness was the chief support ? The learned counsel now adverted to a point which had before escaped his notice—the reported blackballing of her majesty, when proposed as a member of the cassino, at Milan. If it was so, he would fearlessly ask the reason ?—Was it because she was known to be the wife of the prince regent of England ?—because she was his persecuted, calumniated, and exiled wife—because she was condemned to wander over the face of the earth, friendless and alone—because she had no home in that country which had become her own ;—or was it because she saw those, who had

been her advocates, ranged in the ranks of her enemies, and now in a situation which he would not trust himself to name ?

There was another circumstance to which he had not yet adverted,—the bathing in the Brescia. It so happened, that the fact was impossible, for the Brescia was either dry or a cataract. Lieutenant Hownam said it was a stream in which no navigation could take place ; and the counsel for the bill have Italians enough acquainted with the Brescia to contradict this statement, if it were not true. Four persons are stated to have seen this indecency of the princess, and yet only one is called to depose to it. Another witness had sworn, that in taking the princess and Bergami to Como, he saw them kissing no less than four times ; this was even oftener than Majocchi and Dumont had sworn to have seen it in three years ; but the boatman he called, who had the best opportunity of observing the conduct of the parties, gives a direct contradiction to the statement. These might appear trifling circumstances, but they were important—falsehood had been grafted on truth, so that profligate minds saw nothing but culpability in the conduct of her royal highness.—When we discover falsehood, we must look to the motives which have prompted it ; and the evidence of the witnesses against the queen, unsupported as they have been by collateral testimony, is not entitled to the slightest credit. Sacchi has sworn that he assumed the name of count Milani in consequence of the Dover riots, and yet he is proved to have gone by that name twelve months before they occurred, and when no

one dreamed of the present trial but those who were collecting the materials for it.—But the most important personage was Giuseppe Rastelli, one of the most active agents of the Milan commission.

Much had been said of the high character of the individuals who formed that commission. With respect to Mr. Cook, he never heard any thing against him, and was disposed to think favourably of him ; but that disposition met with a severe check, when he found him accepting this commission. That he was a man of very considerable talents and legal knowledge, he readily admitted—but of all the names in Westminster hall, he did not believe there was one more unfit, for the sifting of evidence, or the detection of false testimony. As to colonel Brown, it could be no offence to say that, as he was a military man, he could hardly be expected to give any useful assistance. The only real and efficient commissioner was Mr. Powell, now the solicitor to this prosecution ; it was he who had been able to get evidence, by the compulsory power which he possessed, colonel Brown using his influence with the foreign courts to assist him. This was the first instance he ever heard of an attorney forming the sole commissioner. Mr. Powell possessed great advantages in Rastelli's knowledge of the witnesses. It was the object of Rastelli to beat up for recruits, not only to support his own testimony, but to ruin his royal mistress—an object his whole soul seems to have been engaged in. He had said that he never offered money to any witness, but that assertion was also refuted.

But the most important fact

connected with Rastelli was, that he, a witness, who had stated the most infamous fact with which the princess was charged ;—that he, the agent, courier, and clerk of the Milan commission ;—that he, whose testimony had laid him so completely open to a prosecution for perjury, which would have been instituted ;—that he, after a pledge given that no witnesses should be withdrawn, had been sent to Milan to pick up new facts, to suborn new witnesses, and thus bolster up a case which the prosecutors found had completely failed. It had been admitted, that the not being able to examine this man at the time he was called was an irreparable injury to her majesty ; but he had disappeared, had been sent away on the 14th of September, and now it was the 25th of October, and there was no probable conjecture as to the time of his return.—The counsel for her majesty had much to complain of, and it required all the good character which some persons boasted of, to shield them from censure for such an act. If Rastelli could have been examined when called, it would not have been known but that he had been in Cotton Garden all the time ; but he had fled, and the object for which he had fled could not be doubtful—it was to evade justice himself, and to pervert justice, in procuring more false testimony against that much injured and illustrious lady, the queen of England.

The lord chancellor here suggested to Mr. Denman, whether he ought not to have a little respite. The learned counsel thanked his lordship for the indulgence, and retired.

In half an hour Mr. Denman returned,

returned, and resumed the subject. Particular stress had, he said, been laid upon the performance of Columbine and Harlequin at the theatre. He should only say, with respect to that charge, that those characters on the Italian stage were quite different from the characters of the same name on the stage of Covent Garden or Drury Lane. All their lordships knew what they were on our boards. In Italy they were speaking characters, and Harlequin was not the lover of Columbine. This was so well known, that it would be almost unnecessary to mention it, had not the circumstance been mentioned as an additional proof of the gross familiarity between her royal highness and her menials. This was the vile construction placed upon the talent which her royal highness exhibited, in common with many other of the highest characters of this country that of mixing familiarly with her domestics, without, in the slightest degree, derogating from her rank or dignity. The learned counsel (Mr. D.) next called their lordships' attention to the consideration of the Milan commission. He joined his learned friend (Brougham) in the opinion, that if a conspiracy did not exist, the symptoms of it were strongly discernible in the conduct of the agent of that commission.—Perhaps it would be impossible to prove the existence of a conspiracy; but whether or not, the symptoms were such as could not be mistaken. Why had all those witnesses come to this country? This government could not compel them. They must, then, have come over without the hope of profit, without clothes, merely from

tender regard for the dignity of the crown, and the moral interests of the people, if they came to give disinterested evidence. Those moral feelings were indeed but badly consulted by the individuals who had set on foot these nefarious proceedings. Whatever might be the moral effect of them hereafter, very little doubt could be entertained of their mischievous tendency now—of their unfortunate effect upon the mind of society; for the most innocent transactions of life became mixed up and involved with the most atrocious crimes; and even if it had been proved that the illustrious defendant was guilty, there might be lurking in the minds of the public, that dangerous casuistry which was ever ready to set up the vices of one party as a counterbalance to those of the other; and which, in his opinion, was productive of the most deplorable consequences to the moral character of the nation. This supposition arose from the idea of the guilt of her majesty. But she is not guilty! The facts stated against her were odiously false!

He begged the attention of their lordships to the evidence of Mr. Powell, who stated that Rastelli had been sent out of the country in order to afford comfort to the friends of the witnesses in Cotton Garden.—If letters had been written, why had not another courier brought them over? Were the families of those gentlemen such nice sticklers as not to believe the hand-writing of those beloved relations, without the asseveration of Rastelli to that effect? and yet it is admitted that Rastelli knew nothing of them. Mr. Powell, in giving his testimony upon this subject,

ject, expressed himself confident of the immediate return of Rastelli. Although that immaculate person had fallen ill, and been blooded, and dosed, such was his anxiety to return, in Mr. Powell's opinion, that he would, notwithstanding this visitation of providence, which had so conveniently interposed—"take up his bed and walk." Soon after, however, Mr. Powell's reliance upon the return of this favourite was shaken; for in the letter of colonel Brown it was stated, that he was shuffling, it was to be feared, and preferred staying at home. No doubt it was the fear of the pillory, which was still kept for people of that description, that interfered with Rastelli's sense of duty.

The learned counsel then proceeded to show the discordant parts of Mr. Powell's evidence; and called upon their lordships to decide, whether the evidence of the gallant lieutenant Flynn, timid and nervous as he had been, and confused under the powerful cross examination of the counsel for the bill, was not in every respect more to be depended upon than that of the agent who had sent Rastelli out of the country! What would not such a witness as Mr. Powell have suffered under a cross examination of such a description?—Here the learned counsel took the opportunity of noticing a vile attack upon lieutenant Flynn, which appeared in a paper of no character, either as to talent or principle. That paper represented, also, that a witness who was examined the day before, had admitted that her husband was a bankrupt.

A peer.—"What paper?"

Mr Denman.—"The Morning

Post."—What compensation, he begged to know, was to be given for the absence of Rastelli? Would they give Cuchi as a compensation? He was not wanted. Would they give Raggazoni, or Dumont, or Sacchi? They were not wanted. They were all gone. Their plans had been all destroyed, and the difficulty was, where to find in the 500 pages of evidence an atom of respectable evidence to compensate for the absence of that villain. The learned gentleman then spoke in severe terms of the absence of colonel Brown, who had acted as commissioner, attorney, and collector of witnesses.—The learned counsel then proceeded to comment on the improbability of lieutenant Hownam, who was the *protégé* of her royal highness, presuming to give her advice; if he had declared this to captain Briggs, it was one of those *confidentials* which are usually confined to the quarter-deck. He commented in severe terms on the conduct of the prosecutors, who, if substantial justice was their object, ought to have called those respectable individuals who were acquainted with the conduct of her royal highness, and not the wretched and degraded animals who had been brought in accusation against the queen of England. When he looked at the substantive case which had been proved for her majesty, and the wretched, broken down case against her, he felt confident that this bill could not pass, if there was justice or common sense in England, notwithstanding the witnesses which the bloodhounds of Milan had hunted out to appear against her! It had been stated at the commencement, that all the witnesses for

for the prosecution would be examined, and his learned friend, on the other side, had prayed for the success of the queen, though not that she might triumph over all her enemies, though he must own that was likely to be the case.

The learned counsel then contrasted the witnesses that had been called on both sides, and contended that the witnesses for the charges had been found not entitled to the slightest credit. Witnesses had been obtained in a way unknown to a British court of justice; discarded servants and domestics had been suborned for the corrupt purpose of destroying the character of their benefactress. If the queen had been the degraded mistress of a menial, would she have refused the splendid provision offered her? Was it possible that if she had sacrificed all that could make life valuable, or character dear, she should so boldly face her accusers? The learned counsel then remarked with much feeling on the persecution which her majesty had undergone. "The death of the princess Charlotte," said the learned gentleman, "was the signal for the foul conspiracy against her majesty; and the death of her last friend, our late much revered sovereign, was not announced to her in a letter of condolence, but by cardinal Gonsalvi stripping her of rank and dignity, and giving her a passport, not as the queen of England, but as the princess Caroline of Brunswick. The accession of a sovereign to the throne of these realms, that period which is marked by the extension of the God-like attribute mercy, by the pardon of the criminal, and by the liberation of the captive, was marked by the degradation of the

queen of England, by striking her name from the liturgy, and attempting to deprive her of the prayers of the people, which prayers she has from the hearts of millions. As to this bill, the divorce part of it no longer exists; the fact of the parties living in foreign countries six years, and the letter of license granted to her majesty, have put an end to it. If, my lords, you go on with this bill of pains and penalties, it is at your— if, I say, it is your pleasure so to do, you must do justice to the accused. I have heard, my lords, that while we are defending her majesty, there are persons, not in a low capacity, not of the public press, but who have seats among your lordships, who are industriously circulating injurious reports against the queen. Could I, my lords, call on that individual, I would say, 'Come forth, thou foul slanderer, and meet me face to face: if you do not, thou art worse than the Italian who gives a perjured, but an open testimony, while thou pourest thy infectious calumnies into the ears of thy brother judges, and plungest into the breast of a royal victim, a poisoned stiletto, in the semblance of the sword of justice?' Were it possible that any of the blood royal could do this, I would say that he had done more to degrade himself from the succession to the crown, than my royal mistress could have done, had every charge been proved against her. My lords, the whole generous population of England is in favour of her majesty; and nothing would be hailed with such universal joy, as your lordships' pronouncing a verdict of Not Guilty! During the whole of these proceedings, her majesty's  
counsel

counsel have had the proud gratification of fighting the battle of morality, of Christianity, and of public justice; and although I cannot compare myself to that warrior in the cause, who has fought so nobly, yet I, perhaps, may claim the humbler merit of having discharged a few loose arrows at the champions of this degraded bill. It was for their lordships to decide if they had taken effect. His illustrious client stood in need of all the talent of my learned friend, for her uprisings and downittings have been watched. Not an action, a word, or even a look of hers has been suffered to pass, without being made a subject for calumniating her fame. This, my lords, is the highest tribunal on earth—it can only be exceeded by that where all the world shall be judged, and the secrets of all hearts laid open. I invoke you, my lords, therefore, to imitate the justice and temperance of that high and sacred authority, who said to the woman brought before him, ‘If no accuser come forward, neither will I condemn thee—go in peace, and sin no more!’”

Mr. Brougham said, his learned friend having concluded his address, he now wished to ask the attorney general, when it was his intention to apply to their lordships for more than one counsel to be allowed to speak in support of the bill.

The attorney general did not bind himself as to the course he should pursue.

Mr. Brougham said, he should then ask their lordships to hear doctor Lushington in behalf of her majesty.—Adjourned.

Oct. 26.—The house met this

morning at the usual hour, and the usual preliminaries were gone through in the ordinary form.

Counsel were called in at twenty minutes past ten o'clock.

Dr. Lushington addressed their lordships.—“My lords, if I had been left to my own discretion, and to follow the dictates of my own wishes, I should not now have risen to address your lordships. But in the discharge of my duty to my illustrious client, I am delegated by my learned friends, who think this case so important, and so extensive, that, after all their exertions, some facts yet remain to be stated. Your lordships must feel that my task is not an easy one, and that I come to the performance, surrounded with difficulties beyond all measure. But, my lords, I have one consolation, a consolation that, in the judgement of all my friends, this case stands on a foundation so firm and secure, that even the treatment of an unskilful advocate cannot injure it. I have the consolation to feel that the more this case is scrutinized the more will the innocence of my royal client appear.

“I will, in the course of my address to your lordships, avoid repetition, where repetition can be avoided; but your lordships must feel, that, were I gifted with the most powerful eloquence, my observations can have no weight, except taken into consideration with the circumstances that have already taken place. It becomes more immediately my duty to make one or two observations on the subject of the charge in this bill. I have in the whole of my professional life been engaged in cases of divorce; but there are circum-

circumstances in this case unprecedented in the records of past times, and, I thank God, without an example in the present age. It is not, my lords, that the tribunal is new, or that the government is implicated in the cause; but there are other circumstances without a parallel in the page of history. I will first notice the age of the party accused, and I affirm to your lordships, that there is not a single instance, in modern or in former times, where a husband sought to divorce his wife, by accusing her of adultery at the age of 50. It is a circumstance well deserving the most serious consideration—a wife separated from her husband, scarcely living a single day with him after her marriage—she is sought to be divorced at the age of 50; where there is not a single instance, even where the parties had lived together, of a divorce being sought, where the wife had attained the age of 45. But there is another point. The husband of the lady accused has been twenty-four years separated from his wife—separated by his own act and by his own choice—separated not in consequence of the misconduct of his wife, or of the breath of suspicion having tainted her character, but separated in the wayward indulgence of his own pleasures and his own passions. Now, my lords, how stand I then? Lives there a man in the world who is so bold as to come before your lordships, and say he has cause of complaint—he has injuries to be redressed, under such circumstances? But although kings are in many respects above the laws of man, who dare impiously affirm that they are above the laws

of God? Is there one divine law for kings, and another for man? Are the vows of the altar to be binding on the peasant, and to be violated with impunity by the prince? Is there one God for the poor individual, one divine law for him, and another for the sceptred monarch?

“What was the object of the sacred contract of marriage, but the happiness of the individuals? But where, my lords, shall I look for the happiness of the illustrious accused?—where shall I find one trace of comfort during the whole of her married life? Shall I look to 1806? Shall I look to 1813? or to the time when the intercourse between the mother and the child was forbidden? Shall I look to the time when that mother was exiled from her country and friends and when the spirit of persecution followed her every step? I know, my lords, that the agitation of this subject shakes the crown, and the dignity of the monarchy; but it is in the faithful discharge of a solemn duty that I have been compelled to advert to these painful circumstances; and I have done it with all the delicacy I have been able. It is hardly possible to show the difference between this case and the proceedings in the ordinary courts. But what should we say of a husband, insensible to his own dishonour—of a husband offering fifty thousand pounds a year, not to restrain his wife from an adulterous intercourse which he believed she was carrying on, but to permit its unrestrained indulgence? What should we say of an individual coming to claim justice, who had said to his wife, “Go thy way,” not in the language of the Redeemer, quoted  
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by my friend Mr. Denman, yesterday, "Go thy way, and sin no more,"—but "Go, indulge thy criminal passion, revel in all the pleasures of adulterous intercourse, and you shall be furnished with the most ample means!"—I am happy, my lords, to be able to say, that I shall not be under the necessity of introducing another topic. It has been considered by my learned friends unnecessary to say one word in recrimination. This house, my lords, has the power to pass this bill; but, unless you are prepared to violate the laws of God and man—unless that bench, which forms a part of the constitution, is prepared to abandon the tenets of the gospel—you cannot, and you shall not, pronounce for this divorce! Before I enter upon the short examination of the evidence, which it is my intention to pursue, permit me to say a few words as to the principle by which you are bound to be directed in your judgement upon this case. It is not to ask you to acquit the defendant upon a point of law, that I address you on this point, but to prevent those of your lordships who are not conversant with that way of considering the case from being misled by the learned counsel for the bill. The solicitor general, in his summing up, quoted the decision of the learned judge of the consistory court, in the case of Loveden against Parker. Now, though to the talent—the matchless talent—of my learned friend, no man bows with greater deference than I; yet I am surprised that he has extracted a principle from a particular part of that case, and applied it as a general principle."

Here Dr. Lushington read the passage quoted from sir W. Scott's decision, by the solicitor general. It stated, that it was not necessary to prove the direct fact of adultery—a thing, in most cases, impossible. It is sufficient to have incidental circumstances, leading to a conclusion of guilt, not to a rash conclusion.

"What," said Dr. Lushington, "do you think was the situation in which sir William Scott was placed, when he delivered this opinion? The case was under discussion and argument. He said this: 'Here are acts of indecent familiarity proved by witnesses above all exception. Here are intercepted letters from Mrs. Loveden to Mr. Parker, of such a nature and character as many a woman who would enter into a brothel would be ashamed to mention. I should not read those letters, but they contain the most positive evidence that the fact had taken place.' Those letters had not been given in evidence, but a verdict was given in the king's bench for the defendant, although it was proved that he had passed the night in Mrs. Loveden's chamber. In another case, that of Mortimer v. Mortimer, on the 12th of July 1816, the learned judge insisted, when the counsel were on the point of giving up the idea of arguing, upon hearing the argument—and it fell to my lot to argue upon the case; although convinced of the guilt of the woman, the learned judge ordered additional evidence; for, said he, 'I may have a formal conviction of her guilt; but no judicial proof.'—But, (continued doctor Lushington,) I am not to be supposed to ask for your verdict because there

there is no legal proof, but because there is no proof which could in any case influence a person of integrity, judgement, and diligence, to suppose that there was the slightest foundation for those charges. The case, as I understand it, is this:—Here is an ample opportunity—here are circumstances coupled with the opportunity, which lead to a demonstration of guilt. Now that the opportunity of committing adultery should be considered as a proof of it, there is not one of your lordships so ignorant as to allow.

“I admit that if there were evident familiarities of an indecent nature existing between the parties, and that opportunities of guilty enjoyment were sought after, it would be unnecessary to go any further; but the circumstances must be in the same degree of certainty as the opportunities. If I were arguing this as an ordinary case, I’ll tell you how I should treat it. I should show you Dumont, and Sacchi, and Rastelli, to be perjured; and then, if you would not stop me before the end of my argument, I should throw up my brief.—What! when I had proved that the four principal witnesses against my client were perjured, to permit me to proceed! Gracious God! where can be the security to life, and character, and property? If, when I show you, that one, two, three, four, and five of the charges are supported by perjured witnesses, are you to say, ‘Unless you prove the sixth and seventh to be false upon the same grounds, I shall deliver a verdict of guilty?’

“It is the order of divine providence that we are enabled to de-

tect foul conspiracies, by bringing to light circumstances which prove the perjury of those who support the charges; but that power has limited the means of elucidating the truth, and has not permitted us to follow it beyond the bounds of necessity. The plaintiff in an action is bound to establish his case upon the most indisputable evidence; much more is it incumbent upon the man who aims at taking away the life or character, to fix the guilt by unsuspected testimony. He should say, ‘Thus far will I go, but no further;’ not that ‘you, the victim of my revenge, shall at least go with a stain upon you, which nothing can efface!’ Dr. Lushington continued:—“My lords, let us in the first place inquire what was the conduct of the queen towards Bergami?

“The attorney general told your lordships that he would show you that she was so much under the power of this domineering passion, that his will and pleasure were hers, and that there was such a consummated familiarity between them as could only be accounted for by the last favours having been conferred. Now, my lords, I undertake to demonstrate, by the evidence produced, that no such familiarity, no such intimacy existed; that there was no want of proper respect in the one towards the other—no want of regard to all the decencies of ordinary life. I am sure your lordships would feel that I did not do my duty, after making so broad an assertion, if I did not point out the evidence on which it is grounded, and by which, I say, it is indisputably proved. First, then, my lords, let us look to the proof of

of the queen's adversaries; let us see what it is, and how it deserves to be looked at. Foremost you have that memorable witness Majocchi, and what does he swear? That 'Bergami had more authority than the other persons of the household'—that there was 'rather a familiarity between her royal highness and Bergami.' Good God! my lords, what a phrase after such an opening of the case—there was '*rather a familiarity*' between them! What a phrase from so chosen a witness; from one who has been so nurtured to the task of ruining his royal mistress; from one whom I may call the *elite* of the prosecution! What an answer to give, when we consider, moreover, that my learned friend the solicitor general put all his questions so ingeniously, that the witness could in no instance help understanding fully how much was expected from him, and how far he was hired to go! After all this, what a sum total of evidence!—'There was *rather a familiarity* between them! We come next, my lords, to the evidence of mademoiselle Dumont. She says that, on one occasion they were 'very familiar,' and that on another, she 'made no observations:'—although your lordships will perhaps agree with me, that if ever there was a witness more likely or more disposed to observe any thing which might operate to the prejudice of her majesty, it was this woman. My lords, except in the evidence of the two masons who were working at the villa d'Este,—most admirable judges truly of the conduct which a queen ought to observe towards her chamberlain, and who swear no more than that they walked

together, like two friends, like husband and wife,—your lordships will not find in the whole body of the evidence one single assertion of this existing familiarity.

"But, my lords, let us now turn to the other side of the evidence. I have to present to your lordships twelve witnesses, whose testimony goes not only over the whole period of the imputed charges of criminality, but extends to the time of her last departure from Rome. I will make, my lords, no comparisons; I will not so far dishonour the respectable names I am about to quote, as to compare their credibility with that of the witnesses for the prosecution. What then, does the first of these witnesses, lord Guildford, swear? That he 'saw nothing particular in the manner of the queen towards Bergami,'—'nothing in the conduct of Bergami towards the queen but what was very respectful.' Lord Glenbervie, in like manner, states, that he saw 'nothing like disrespect' in Bergami's behaviour to the queen. Lady Charlotte Lindsay, a witness whose testimony was given in the fairest and most honourable manner, and who, I cannot help saying, was most harshly treated by my learned friends on the opposite; she says that Bergami conducted himself in all things towards the queen 'as a person in his situation ought naturally to do.' Your lordships will observe, too, that this lady was with her majesty in March and April 1816, when the alleged adulterous intercourse must have been in the days of its first enjoyment and extravagance. Can your lordships believe that lady Charlotte Lindsay was a person so destitute of all ordinary

ordinary powers of observation, as to allow any circumstances calculated to justify the suspicion of an intercourse to pass unnoticed? Can your lordships believe so, who saw the talents which this lady exhibited when under examination at your bar? Can any one believe it who has the honour of that lady's acquaintance, and who must know, that in mental capacity she is an individual infinitely above the usual standard of her sex? The same lady swears further, that 'the queen behaved towards Bergami as a mistress should towards her servant;' that she showed 'the same familiarity towards Bergami as she did to Sicard and others.' Now, my lords, a word as to the evidence of lord Landaff. His lordship says, that 'he saw nothing improper in the conduct of the queen'—'nothing to reflect disgrace on the character of the country.' Let me next, my lords, request your attention to the evidence of the honourable Keppel Craven, the chamberlain of her royal highness. He says that he saw 'no improper conduct' in her royal highness, 'no degrading familiarity;' and again, 'no sort of impropriety of conduct,' either when Bergami stood behind the chair of her royal highness as a servant, or afterwards, when he sat as a guest at the same table. Sir William Gell, another of her majesty's chamberlains, says also, that he saw 'nothing improper in the conduct of the parties,' and that Bergami acted as 'a person in his situation ought to do.' To this witness another question was put, such as I verily believe never was put in any court of justice before, to ascertain the guilt or innocence

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of an accused party.—Not, my lords, that I complain of the question, for I have felt, throughout the whole of this inquiry, that, only give me an honest witness, one who has a character to lose, one who has some pretext for standing upright in the world, and I care not what questions you put. The question, my lords, was this, 'Did you ever observe any thing in the demeanour, in the conversation, or in the looks, which could induce you as a man of the world to entertain an idea that an adulterous intercourse subsisted between the queen and Bergami?' See, my lords, to what an unheard of test the conduct of my illustrious client is subjected.

If, in the whole course of the time that sir William Gell had an opportunity of witnessing the conduct of the queen, one single act of indiscretion, one loose expression escaped her majesty in the wantonness of joy, or in the innocence of overflowing gaiety—if there was one word, one action, one look, which could for a moment fill the mind of this 'man of the world' with only a suspicion that an improper intercourse subsisted, it is to be brought forward as an evidence of guilt on the part of her majesty. Not by facts is she sought to be convicted, but by possibilities; not by evidence of what did actually pass, but by suspicions of what may have passed—suspicions excited by such indications as may have been gathered in all the confidence of unrestrained intimacy; when the heart and soul had delivered themselves up to the freest enjoyment! To have one's conduct so tried, is, indeed, severe;

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but to have it by such a test acquitted, is, indeed, a triumph, which the purest might envy! What, my lords, is the answer of sir William Gell to this searching question? 'I never did!' What, my lords, can my learned friends say to such testimony as that which I have now quoted to your lordships?—They will say, for we have heard it said, 'Oh! these were individuals of high rank and character. The queen was on her guard before them!' Well, my lords, suppose for a moment the fact was so, let me introduce to your lordships a witness of a very different description: let us see how the comparatively low are supported by the high in rank.

My lords, there is the evidence of Sicard, a man who has been for upwards of twenty years in her majesty's service, and who was placed there by his majesty! He swears, that 'the queen's manner of treating her servants was uncommonly kind, almost to a fault,' that Bergami's conduct was always most proper: and that he was positive that in his presence 'no undue familiarity or impropriety' took place between the princess and Bergami. How melancholy, my lords, is it to think, that that uncommon kindness which endeared her majesty to the hearts of all around her, whether subject by situation to the caprices of her will, or having the happiness of enjoying her society—how melancholy that such a disposition should now be attempted to be imputed to her as a crime!

If, my lords, I might be permitted to add my own humble testimony to that which you have on your minutes with respect to the disposition of her majesty, I

would present to your lordships the facts of that time, when, in the absence of my two learned friends, her majesty's attorney and solicitor general, the painful task devolved upon me, of from day to day harassing and distressing her majesty with nauseous inquiries on the subject of this prosecution. I would describe to your lordships how, on all occasions, she manifested the same affable condescension, the same anxious regard for the feeling and comfort of others, which every one who has been examined before your lordships has been forced to confess, distinguishes the character of the queen. The learned counsel next directed their lordships' attention to the evidence of Dr. Holland, who says, that he never saw the queen walk arm in arm with Bergami, nor any impropriety of conduct between them. Oliviera says, that his manners and conduct were always that of a respectful servant: and, in describing the manners of her royal highness, he says, 'her conduct and demeanour were affable, but dignified.' The last of those witnesses is Vassali, who, from the time of his entering the service of her royal highness, to his quitting her at St. Omer's, never witnessed the slightest impropriety in her conduct. Now, my lords, I have by this evidence refuted the falsehood of the assertion as to the conduct of her royal highness, which, during the whole time to which these charges refer, was proper and virtuous.

The next charge of his learned friend was, that the queen had parted with her English suite. These circumstances taken singly were of no moment, but they had been formed by the opposite counsel

sel into a whole, that they might establish a charge; but I will show you that every charge is false. 'Here,' said the attorney general, 'is a fact that needs no comment, it speaks volumes; the queen having formed a degrading intercourse, to conceal her shame, discarded every English person of respectability, in order to indulge, unrestrained and unobserved, her adulterous passion.'—Let us see how the case stands. Colonel St. Leger says, he was compelled to leave her on account of his health.—Lady Charlotte Lindsay says, she quitted her royal highness in consequence of a previous arrangement.—This fact is sufficient to rebut the whole assertion of the attorney general, that her royal highness had voluntarily parted with the whole of her suite. Application was made to lady Charlotte to join her royal highness in 1817, when the queen returned from her long voyage, and when, according to the attorney general, she was, by day and night, indulging in a passion which never existed. At this very time, the queen sends for lady Charlotte Lindsay to be with her. This fact does, indeed, 'speak volumes' in favour of the conscious propriety of the queen's conduct—it requires no comment.—I must here, my lords, allude to the conduct of the learned counsel opposite; they did not seek to invalidate the testimony of this witness, but to pry into her private affairs. It is worthy of the prosecutors in this cause, it is consonant with their whole course of proceeding, it is of a piece with their whole conduct, to violate the confidence between the husband and the wife, and to bring

the correspondence of the latter in order to blast her character.

From the bottom of my soul I pity and commiserate my learned friends, who are compelled to obey such instructions; but I feel indignation and detestation for those who could thus work on an indignant husband to injure his wife and to ruin the character of his queen. Never, in the annals of the Old Bailey, was conduct like this before witnessed. But, even in that confidential intercourse, thus sacrilegiously violated, lady Charlotte Lindsay acknowledges that she never saw any thing improper in the conduct of her majesty, but that reports had made some impression on her mind. Mr. Craven remained longer with the queen than he intended. Sir William Gell left her on account of the gout, but afterwards returned to his injured mistress, and officiated as joint chamberlain with Bergami. Sicard left her royal highness to attend to her business in England. Dr. Holland left her on account of domestic affairs. Another point in these anomalous charges was, that when the queen was charged with having secured to herself the quiet enjoyment of her passion, when she had excluded all means of detection, that at this very time she takes into her service lieutenant Hownam, who remained by her side three whole years.

Having disposed of two heads of charges, I will advert to another, which will not occupy the time of your lordships two minutes. My learned friend opposite has said that the queen was so forgetful of all the decencies of life, and of her high rank, that she avoided the society of every person of rank and character; and

yet there is not one syllable of evidence to prove this assertion. I need not, my lords, enumerate all the persons who visited her. Dr. Holland says, that at Genoa she was visited by all the English, and there, and at every other place, by all the resident nobility. And yet, at this very moment, when her majesty opened her hospitable door to all, Dumont seizes on that very period to fix odium on her mistress. There is not a court in Europe or Africa, visited by her majesty, where she was not received with that respect which was due to her exalted rank, and her conduct was, as lieutenant Hownam says, 'all majesty and grace,' or, as a right honourable gentleman, the colleague of the prosecutors of this bill, but who, to his honour, and to the honour of human nature, disclaims all participation in it, has said, she was the 'grace and ornament of society.' I have said her majesty was received at every court; I humbly beg your lordships' pardon — there was one exception, that was the court of Vienna, where lord Stewart, the brother of my lord Castlereagh, one of the present prosecutors, resided as ambassador. This ambassador was the foster-father of some of the witnesses, and showed them that countenance which he refused to his queen.

The learned doctor then alluded to the charge of the rapid promotion of Bergami, which, he contended, was not only extremely natural, but proper. He alluded to the family of Bergami, whose fortunes had been completely ruined in the French revolution; to his conduct in the army; and to the strong recommendation of

him to the queen by the marquis Guisiglieri. He was only promoted to those offices which became vacant, some of her majesty's suite quitting her service; and he was not promoted to the office of chamberlain until there was no probability of getting a young English nobleman to fill the office; for, to be in favour with the queen, was to be in disgrace at home; and to possess her patronage, was to forfeit all hopes of it here. With respect to Bergami sleeping near her majesty, circumstances rendered this extremely necessary. From the day she reached Naples she was beset with spies, and assailed, he would not say by whom, but her personal safety was endangered; it was then that she required some protection; and who could be selected more properly than that individual whose fidelity and courage had been proved?

Their lordships had been told that Bergami was omnipotent in his control over her majesty; but not one atom of evidence was produced in support of the assertion. If the queen had been under the influence of the guilty passion that had been represented, Bergami would indeed have commanded her as a slave at his feet: he would have had no mercy, for favourites seldom have much mercy, or much compassion; their interest predominates, and obscures every generous feeling. He would have owned no duty but that of command; he would not have suffered the queen to quit the luxurious clime of Italy, to go on a perilous adventure to Jerusalem. Their lordships must judge of human individuals by the laws of human nature; they must look at the proba-

probabilities of the case ; and taken as a whole (and so it must be), never was any thing so improbable. I would ask (said Dr. Lushington), where is the individual whose life is so spotless, whose character is so pure, that he would have the courage to go back for six years, and say 'Examine every action and thought of my life, and there is not one that can be tortured to my disadvantage?' If there is one individual who dares to say so, I deem him less honest, less candid, than the ordinary class of mankind. Armed with assertions so little substantiated, the attorney general at length opened the first grand scene of the intercourse, commencing at Naples.

The learned counsel then proceeded to show how every assertion as to that intercourse had not only been contradicted by the most unimpeachable testimony, but how it had failed of proof by the learned counsel opposite. The whole scene had been disproved beyond the possibility of doubt, as completely as the journey to Senegaglia, or the affair at Trieste. The learned doctor then observed upon the absurdity of supposing that her majesty, if she were indeed so completely devoted to the gratification of her passions with Bergami, would place William Austin in such a situation as that he must have opportunities of detecting her and her paramour. She had the disposal of her own house ; and could it be for a moment suspected that, when she was about to celebrate her hymeneal rites, she would place a boy, thirteen years of age, who had been, up to that period, in the habit of sleeping in her room, in the

apartment next to that in which she was to gratify her propensities? So much for that charge.

The charge of precipitation which her majesty was said to run to the arms of Bergami, was destroyed by sir William Gell, who stated, that upon the occasions on which her royal highness had been accused of hurrying to her supposed paramour, she had retired at one o'clock in the morning, and not half-past eleven at night. Here ended the direct testimony of Dumont ; but there was an after-testimony by the witness, which established the impossibility that there was a single part of the former part of her examination upon which the slightest reliance could be placed.

Here the learned doctor called the attention of their lordships to the account given by Dumont of the state of the beds. It would be observed that the solicitor general had no mercy on his witnesses ; that he whipped and spurred them, until they came to their full career. At first, Dumont, in her examination, said that the large bed in her royal highness's room was without sheets, and appeared to have been occupied by more than one person ; and three days afterwards came in the addition of the stains on the sheets ! Now, if it was true, that the queen and Bergami had occupied the large bed, she must have done so under the most extraordinary circumstances. Could such have been the force of her passion, that, though at the age of 46, she would sleep for four months outside the blankets? It was proved, that Bergami had, for a week of that time, been confined to his bed, in consequence



of the kick of a horse, and yet the large bed had, during that period, the appearance of being slept in. Why, this was a double adultery. Here triumphant was the power of truth. The solicitor general knew that the best witness to be called upon to prove this part of the case was Dumont. He knew that the maker of the beds, a person now in this country, could not depose to the circumstances, to the truth of which Dumont had sworn. He was determined to rest on the *prima facie* evidence, and to reject that which could be of no use to the prosecution.

Dr. Lushington then adverted to the evidence of Majocchi, where he stated that the queen had passed through his room to the apartment of Bergami. It would be recollected that there is another passage from her royal highness's room to that of Bergami, besides that through Majocchi's; and was it probable, that when there was not the most distant probability of her meeting any person in the other passage, she could have chosen to expose herself to the observation of one who was on the watch for her? And this happened twice. If there had been no other passage to the room of Bergami than that which it is said she had chosen, then it might have been urged on the other side that she boldly defied the consequences; but to say that she would choose that which was beset with dangers was beyond all credibility. It had been stated in evidence that her majesty went in an indecent dress to the masquerade. He spoke of this, because the attorney general had declared that the indignation of the people compelled her to a

speedy retreat. And what had been proved? Why, that she appeared in an ugly red dress, and was surrounded by masks.—He was then justified in saying, that, during the queen's residence at Naples, there was not the shadow of a charge against her—that she quitted Naples unspotted. He felt confident that their lordships would not couple with the future charges, to which he should draw their attention, those refuted accusations. He had already passed through the great foundation of the plot—the evidence of imputed guilt. His learned friend (the attorney general) had calculated, that if he could show the symptoms of an attachment between Bergami and the queen at Naples, every thing favourable to the case must follow. But he (doctor Lushington) implored their lordships, for the sake of truth, to go with him through the remainder of the evidence, and to come to a decision, after an impartial consideration of all the circumstances.

Here lord Liverpool, suggested that the learned doctor should retire to take rest. Doctor Lushington accordingly withdrew.

Dr. Lushington having returned into the house, resumed, by directing the attention of their lordships more particularly to that part of the case which, if report might be credited, was regarded as the last stay of the prosecution—to those presumptions of what may have passed under the tent, on board the polacca, which were insisted upon with an earnestness that could, of course, arise from nothing but an amiable anxiety for the edification of the rising generation, and the improvement of public morals! He would

meet

meet the charge fearlessly. When her majesty first went on board the polacca, Bergami slept in a cabin adjoining the dining-room, but afterwards his bed was transferred to the dining-room. The inference of the opposite party was, that this change was made in order to facilitate the adulterous intercourse between her royal highness and Bergami. But how was the fact? It appeared from the evidence of lieutenants Hownam and Flynn, that the change was one of absolute necessity, caused by the taking of a doctor on board at Tunis. Every suspicion, therefore, as to the motives of this alteration, must be removed. A second change then took place, on the return of the vessel homewards with the princess. The queen had the awning on deck converted into a sort of tent, and there, for the remainder of the voyage, she reposed. What was the cause of this change? There were seven horses and two asses in the hold, the stench from which made it impossible for her royal highness to remain below. What then was the next inference? Why, that under that same tent Bergami slept with her royal highness for four or five nights. Whether he slept there once or twice, or always, he neither knew nor cared. He would feel much astonished if his learned friends would venture to say that the belief of Mr. Hownam, arising partly from hearsay, could be a ground in a criminal proceeding for holding such a fact proved; it would be the first instance of the kind since English jurisprudence had taken shape or form. He was far from wishing to defend the queen by forcing upon his learned friends the deficiency of evidence

by which their case was supported; very far from desiring to exhort from their lordships a verdict of not guilty while there remained on their minds the slightest impression of guilt. In the name of the queen, he disclaimed and abandoned any such imperfect acquittal. He would rather account it a happiness and a blessing to have a verdict of guilty pronounced at once, than that his illustrious client should go forth from their lordships' bar, acquitted in name, but disgraced, dishonoured, and degraded, in the private opinions of all those whose opinions were worth regarding. "No, my lords," said the learned counsel (doctor Lushington), "I say this; that, granting that Bergami slept under the same tent with her majesty, granting that he slept there, night after night, I will justify it." He had shown, that there was good and sufficient reason for her majesty sleeping on deck. He would now ask, what sort of a tent it was she slept in?—It was a misnomer to call it a tent. It was the awning of the ship, which extended across nearly the whole breadth of the ship, and gathered together in the clumsiest manner; fastened with pins, and accessible to every one, who had only to turn the canvass aside to enter at pleasure. It was not even formed and fastened so as to exclude the winds; nay, when it was once remarked to her majesty, that the tent or awning impeded the course of the vessel, she said that she would as soon sleep without it. This was not all; it appeared from the evidence, that besides the men at the helm, there never were less than ten men on deck during the night; that the

hatchway was always open; and that, besides, both the queen and Bergami remained dressed during the whole night. But it was said that there was no light under the tent. True it was; but how was that fact explained? It had been shown by the evidence, that the queen had been advised to have no lights under the tent, on account of the danger the ship was at that time in, from pirates.

So much, then, for the opportunities. To come now to the evidence of what actually passed under the tent. Majocchi swears, that, sleeping below, he heard the creaking of a bed on the deck above; and the only inference the learned counsel could draw from this creaking was, that an act of adultery had been committed. This was ridiculous enough; but look how the evidence of Majocchi was confirmed. Some of the witnesses stated, that sleeping where Majocchi did, he could not have heard what he pretended and swore he had heard; and none of those, who, from being on deck during the night, must at least have heard any thing of the kind much better than Majocchi—neither Garguilo the master, nor Paturzo the mate—nor lieutenant Flynn the captain of the vessel—had deposed even to the semblance of such a fact. How unjust was it to draw an inference of guilt from the mere existence of a possible opportunity, when detection was so easy, he had almost said so unavoidable! What! was it to be credited that her majesty would exchange her bed, in the cabin below, where, if she had entertained the criminal passion imputed to her, she could have indulged it free from all in-

trusion or observation—was she, for any inconvenience to which she might there be subjected, to exchange it for a couch upon deck, where she was to be exposed to inconveniences of a tenfold worse description—where she could only repose with her clothes on—where she was liable every moment to intrusion—where she was exposed to the curious eyes of the lowest individual on board the ship—where the first gust of wind might sweep the covering from over her head, and expose her to the observation of a whole ship's crew in that very act of criminality which was imputed so falsely, so foully imputed to her! Could their lordships lend an ear to any thing so grossly, so extravagantly improbable? Never, too, let their lordships forget that remarkable fact, that her majesty, feeling under the tent or awning the same as if the eyes of all the world were upon her, had said at once, on the observation being made to her that the tent impeded the ship, that she would as soon sleep without as with it. Was such a fact as this to be possibly reconciled with the supposition of any guilty intention? He would not appeal to the reasoning of his learned friends, for reasoning they had none, but he would defy all their legal sophistry to reconcile such a fact with the ordinary principles which regulate the actions of human life. The judge who could condemn an individual on such an inference as that here contended for, would be guilty of nothing less than a judicial murder!

The learned counsel (Dr. Lushington) then proceeded to animadvert with the same eloquence and acuteness on what was called the  
 bath

bath scene. What must be the malignity of the temper and the disposition of those—what must be their rancorous feelings—who could dare to bring before this high and distinguished tribunal a case which must stand for ever blasted as a mockery of justice! Their lordships might here see what a vicious disposition would attempt, that of perverting innocence to guilt, in order to ruin the first subject in the British empire—the queen consort of his majesty. In the mass of contemptible evidence with which this prosecution was loaded, there was that of Galdini, who stated, that he went to a room in the villa d'Este to look for Guggiere, and there saw her royal highness and Bergami together. He begged their lordships to look at this monstrous improbability—a common mason, going to look for his master in a royal palace, meets no servant, no interruption, but passes, undisturbed, into the room of the queen. He says he opened the door and shut it instantly, but he saw Bergami with his arm round the neck of the queen, and her neck bare; and yet he does not know whether they were sitting on a bed, a sofa, or a chair. He says he escaped in the twinkling of an eye, and yet he acknowledged stopping long enough for Bergami to say to him “What do you want here, you dog? this is no place for masons.” This was a fine sample of the evidence his learned friend had brought forward—the man really seemed a distinct specimen of the human species, and ought to be exhibited at Exeter 'Change.

Then, in regard to the bathing in the Brescia, a river only three quarters of a yard deep—no dan-

ger of drowning; and this was at least one instance of her royal highness's prudence; and the witness who saw them says, that when they came out of the water, their clothes were wet at the *top*. As to Mahomet's dance he would not trouble their lordships. He (Dr. Lushington) had wished to procure him as an evidence, to exhibit it before their lordships: in this, however, he was disappointed: but they would soon have the opportunity of witnessing him on a larger stage, as he understood Mr. Elliston had engaged him to perform it at Drury-lane theatre!

The learned doctor then proceeded to notice the affairs at the Barona and Carlsruhe, and commented in strong terms on the conduct of the minister of Baden, who must have either stated a falsehood, or Barbara Kress; there was no alternative whatever, unless to suppose both cases, which he thought extremely probable. There was one fact, however, incontestable; influence had failed to procure witnesses for the queen, where influence had procured evidence against her! The learned counsel next alluded to the reason why the countess Oldi, the sister of Dumont, Schiavini, and William Austin, had not been called for the queen; this was not necessary, as the queen's defence was triumphant without them. But had this been necessary, he would not have brought forward females, to expose them to the merciless fangs of such a cross examination as that to which lady C. Lindsay was subjected. Where the cross examination related to the queen only, he feared nothing; but when domestic ties were to be violated by it, and when noble lords asked

asked questions about ceilings which were never alluded to, no, not even in the attorney general's opening speech : then, indeed, he might pause before he brought forward a single witness, whose testimony was not essential to the interests of her majesty. But the queen had not been tried for what she had done, but for what witnesses, in a moment of passion, or out of revenge, said she had done. The learned doctor then contrasted the witnesses on both sides as to rank, character, and conduct, and declared that the conspiracy against the queen had been clearly proved, although the full investigation of it was stifled.—He then thanked their lordships for the patience and indulgence with which he had been heard : “ And now,” said the learned counsel, “ I leave the cause of her majesty in your hands. I with confidence appeal, not to your mercy, but to your justice, for an acquittal.”

Oct. 27.—The lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at ten o'clock ; prayers were read by the bishop of Limerick, and the house was called over. There were fewer excuses from peers than on any former day during the proceedings upon the bill.

The attorney general commenced his address to their lordships. The time, he said, had now arrived when it again became his duty to address their lordships upon this most important case. He was aware how much he required of their lordships' considerate attention. He was aware how much need he had of their lordships' indulgence, and he was also not insensible how much more difficult it was for him who wanted it most, to expect it, after the constant,

the anxious, and unceasing attention which their lordships had already paid to the whole of the protracted proceedings upon this important bill. He was conscious of his own inability to keep their lordships' attention alive, while it became his duty to go through the mass of evidence to which he necessarily must have to call their lordships' attention ; as well as the observations which, in his judgement, applied to all the parts of that testimony.

He begged their lordships, in the first place, to allow him to touch upon one topic to which frequent recurrence had been made by his learned friends at the other side, throughout the whole of these proceedings, namely, the peculiarly disadvantageous situation in which their lordships, during the progress of this bill, had placed her majesty. Now, when he considered the manner in which her majesty's defence had been conducted by his learned friends, he could not but think that these references to the situation in which her majesty was placed by the bill, were wholly unnecessary. What, he would ask, had been the situation of her majesty ? It was said that she had not a list of witnesses, a specification of charges ; and other points growing out of these assertions had been made the theme of much declamation and invective. But she had, what was never allowed before, time, ample time, after hearing the charges, after examining the witnesses, to prepare her defence. When the case for the bill was closed, their lordships, in the arrangement of their further proceeding upon the bill, did that which they deemed right, and allowed her majesty

majesty to take whatever time she thought necessary to prepare her answer to the charge.

His learned friends had indeed said, that the place from which the witnesses for the bill were principally and necessarily brought, furnished all the ready materials for corruption to work upon; that witnesses of every sort might there be had to swear for every purpose. If that be so, then his learned friends had their opportunity of getting such witnesses as they thought proper to contradict the witnesses in favour of the bill. They had therefore no reason to complain of the disadvantages, as they called it, to which her majesty was exposed; for if any of their statements were correct, they had the means of counteracting the obstacles opposed to their case. Her majesty, under any view of her situation, could not, he repeated, complain of the course which the proceedings against her had taken. Besides the time she required to give in her answer, she had been furnished with unlimited funds; every thing that she desired was placed at her disposal, and his majesty's government rendered her every facility which they had it in their power to afford. He trusted, therefore, that nothing more would be said of the disadvantages which her majesty was exposed to in any part of these proceedings. If then the case made out for the bill should remain uncontradicted, and not only uncontradicted, but if it be confirmed by the evidence adduced in support of the defence—he would say, then, that her majesty could never, with reason, complain, that her case had not been brought fully and fairly before their lordships,

while she had had advantages such as no client ever enjoyed before, in the extraordinary talents of his learned friends. Under these circumstances; what was the duty that he had to perform? He had not the power, and if he had the power, it would not be his duty to appeal to the passions of their lordships in support of the bill. This field had been open to his learned friends on the opposite side. They had availed themselves of all that brilliant declamation, learned illustration, and apt quotation could afford, to the fullest extent; but for him was reserved the more severe task, (but at the same time a task more congenial to his feelings,) to examine with care the facts proved, and the evidence by which they were supported, on which alone he was satisfied that their lordships would feel it to be their duty to decide, without reference to the assertions made on particular topics, which had been so unsparingly supplied.

The charges in the preamble of the bill had so often been repeated, that he would not trouble their lordships by going over them now; but before he proceeded to the facts of the case, he begged to avail himself of the admissions made by his learned friends.—They had admitted, when the case for the prosecution closed, that the witnesses, if their lordships believed them, had given evidence which would prove all the charges set forth in the bill. He would also avail himself of their admission, that the case for the prosecution required the fullest answer on the part of her majesty, and three weeks had been consumed in preparing to meet it by witnesses,

nesses, and six days in addressing their lordships in behalf of the defence, which it had been said would so triumphantly establish the purity of her majesty.

Taking these admissions on the part of his learned friends, he would now call upon their lordships to say how far the case had been destroyed or shaken by the evidence produced for the defence; nay, to determine whether it had not been strengthened and supported by the witnesses examined at their bar on the part of her majesty. In examining the evidence, his learned friends had artfully (when he said artfully, he meant most judiciously) culled out particular facts to make them the subject of comment, while they most carefully kept the leading features of the case out of view. On the former they wished their lordships' attention to rest, while they passed over the leading circumstances, which had not been, and which could not be, contradicted, and on which it would be the duty of their lordships to found their decision.

He begged to recall to the recollection of the house what those leading features were. The first of them was, that a person of the name of Bergami had been taken into the service of her majesty, in a menial capacity at Milan, in the year 1814. That in a few months, without any apparent cause—without any reasonable pretence, except that licentious intercourse which was charged in the bill, (and which he trusted he should satisfy their lordships beyond all doubt had taken place,) that man had been advanced in the most extraordinary manner. That before this advancement took place,

and while he was still in the menial situation which he had held at Milan, his child and his relation had been introduced into the household of her royal highness without any ostensible cause. Their lordships then found that in a short time the favourite was seated at table with her royal highness, and soon after that he was loaded with honours and titles, doubtless procured through the influence of her majesty, for it would be trifling with their lordships to suppose that this person could by possibility have obtained them by his own means. He was without diminution then found on terms of the greatest familiarity with her royal highness; and this intimacy continued until she arrived at the opposite shore on her way to England, when he was dismissed—not dismissed her service, but to a seat which he queen had provided for him at Milan, her regard for him continuing the same, though she had not dared to produce him in this country.—These facts his learned friends had not attempted to contradict.

He would now approach to the facts in the order, as to time, in which they had been brought before their lordships. Bergami having been hired as a courier at Milan, accompanied her royal highness to Naples, where she arrived in the month of Nov. 1814.—There, according to the evidence, that adulterous intercourse commenced which was charged in the preamble of the bill. His learned friends had argued, because particular facts which had been mentioned in his opening speech had not been proved in evidence, that therefore the whole case must fail. He, on the contrary, would

would state, that it was the duty of their lordships to discharge that opening altogether from their minds, and to ground their decision solely on the evidence which had been given at their bar. His learned friends had too much experience not to know, where the facts charged were spread over a long period of time, it was not customary for counsel to be tied down to prove every fact set forth in the opening of a case. It was for the counsel to state what he believed to be the facts, and it was for the judge who summed up—it was for their lordships, who were to decide on this important question—to determine from the facts proved in evidence before them. The evidence of what had passed at Naples had been examined solely with a view to what he (the attorney general) had stated in his opening speech, and then because the facts had not occurred exactly as he had described them, though substantially proved, they were said to have been overthrown.

What had happened at Naples? It had been proved, that on her arrival the arrangement with respect to the bed-rooms had been altered, and that a room had been prepared for William Austin, who had till then slept in the chamber of her royal highness, while Bergami, who had previously slept with the other servants in the suite of her royal highness, was removed to an apartment which had a private communication with that of the princess. This arrangement took place on the night when her royal highness returned from the opera, when the exclusion of W. Austin from her room, and the introduction of Bergami into

the apartment which had been described, connected with other facts proved in evidence, led directly to the conclusion, that on that night the adulterous intercourse had been commenced. How was this met? It was said that the whole statement had been contradicted; but he begged to call their lordships' attention to the evidence which had been offered on this subject for the defence. The witness Dumont had stated that previously to that night, young Austin had continued to sleep in the apartment of her royal highness. In order to contradict her, Mr. Craven had been called to show that the removal of Austin from her bed-chamber had been decided upon long before their arrival at Naples; and that he himself (Mr. Craven), who was one of her equerries, and who might have added that he was also one of her monitors, had, in Germany, thought he observed something indelicate in Austin's continuing to sleep in her room—had given to her royal highness a prospective caution, that he ought no longer to remain in her apartment after her arrival at Naples. But was this recommendation attended to?—No. Was it decided that Austin should have a room to himself?—No such thing. He would show, from what had been stated by Carrington, (on whose evidence he should have so many remarks to make by-and-by,) and other testimony, that the change did not take place before the time mentioned by Dumont. But then Sicard had been called, to whom the arrangement of the apartments was confided; and it appeared, that so little did he know of any determination to provide a room for William Austin, before



fore their arrival at Naples, that when they were actually at Naples, he, expecting him to continue to sleep in the chamber of her royal highness, had provided no other room for him.

In this, then, he would contend, that Sicard confirmed Dumont, and contradicted Mr. Craven and William Carrington. The next fact stated was, that on the first night after the arrival of her royal highness at Naples, Bergami slept with the rest of the suite; but on the second, that arrangement, of which he had spoken, took place. This, it had been said, was done without the knowledge of her royal highness by Sicard himself. But it would be found from the evidence, that he had a communication with Hieronymus on this subject; and as Hieronymus had not been called, who could have proved what that communication was, he felt a strong suspicion growing out of this circumstance, that the change which had taken place was in consequence of directions which had been issued by her royal highness. Sicard was asked, what was his reason for making the alteration. He called on their lordships to mark the reason which had been given. It was, that he thought it necessary that some one should be there to protect her royal highness against any one who might enter the house from the garden. But the room in which Bergami slept opened into that of her royal highness, and she was not protected against any one who might enter from his cabinet. How happened it that that communication was not cut off, which would have added to the security of her royal highness, which Sicard had in

view when he placed Bergami there? He wished their lordships to observe the contradictory evidence by which this was attempted to be accounted for. Though Sicard placed him there on account of the danger he apprehended from persons who might enter that way from the garden, Carrington had heard nothing of this danger, and understood the removal to have taken place merely because Bergami had complained that he could not stand upright in that where he had been lodged on the preceding night. Dumont, speaking of the time at which her royal highness had returned from the opera, had said it appeared to her to be early. What sir W. Gell and Mr. Craven had proved on this subject established no contradiction of Dumont. Dumont, however, did not swear positively that she came home early; she only spoke to her belief on the subject, and, as far as her recollection served her, she thought her royal highness came home early. Whether she returned early or late, however, it did not signify; for this fact was clearly proved, that she dismissed her attendants, having previously gone to the cabinet, for a purpose which Dr. Lushington yesterday attempted to explain, but which explanation was in contradiction to the evidence of Dr. Holland, who did not recollect that there was a water-closet there.

Then, with respect to her majesty not getting up so early the following morning, Sicard was called to contradict Dumont in this particular, but totally failed. In another part of the case, the weakness of the queen's defence was manifestly evinced. Dumont, when

when speaking of the comparison between the travelling bed and the large bed in the same room, swore that the next morning the travelling bed appeared to have been never laid upon, while the larger bed bore the impression of two persons. Mr. Williams had opened, as a contradiction to this statement, that he should call a servant who went into her royal highness's room after she had retired to rest, and she was then actually reposing on this very travelling bed, which, according to Dumont, appeared the next morning not to have been slept in. Where, the learned counsel would ask, was that servant? If it were Hieronymus, why was he not called? He was now in this country: he was still in the service of the queen, but yet he was not called.

Did his learned friends dread the same fatal nervous debility would attack that servant that so unfortunately afflicted the unhappy Flynn? or did they fear that a sudden unaccountable forgetfulness might have washed the circumstance from his recollection, if it had ever existed? Could any thing be more decisive than this was of the truth of what the abused Dumont had proved?

It had been said that Dumont's evidence was the whole foundation on which the superstructure of this case depended—that it was a kind of key-stone, which once cut down or removed, caused the whole case to fall in pieces. The learned counsel denied this proposition; because, striking Dumont's evidence from the journals of the house, still sufficient remained clearly to establish the charge of adultery. It did not signify whether the adultery commenced on that night or not; be-

cause there were ample proofs of a criminal intercourse existing long before Bergami had so many honours conferred upon him.—The learned counsel, however, contended that Dumont was not contradicted. The next case proved by Dumont was her meeting Bergami in the corridor one night, in his shirt, walking towards her majesty's room; and the learned counsel was much surprised at the argument of Mr. Denman on that point. He had contended that this circumstance was rather calculated to excite a suspicion, that an adulterous intercourse had taken place between Dumont and Bergami. What were the circumstances stated by Dumont on that occasion? She had stated that, when retiring from her majesty's room, on opening the door she saw Bergami advancing from the other end of the corridor. She instantly made her escape, as she called it, and when she had escaped, she heard the lock of the door turn so as to exclude the interruption of any person. His friends had endeavoured, by observation and argument, to do away the effect of this evidence, but still the evidence was too decisive of an adulterous intercourse having taken place to be shaken.

He would next come to the case of the masked ball. It was clear that after the queen had for some time appeared in the dress of a Neapolitan peasant, she retired to a dressing-room with Bergami, where she remained for nearly three quarters of an hour. She then did appear in the character of the genius of history, which was agreed on all hands; and, whatever sir William Gell might think of her dress, it was certainly one not of the most delicate

cate description.—According to his notion, her dress resembled the attire of Mr. Hope's Minerva, or the statue of Curiatius in the British Museum, which certainly were attired in a thin drapery, the arms being naked up to the shoulders; and although sir William Gell merely distinguished his royal mistress, as the genius of history crowning Murat's bust, while, by the aid of a flash of lightning, he asserted that his optics were sufficiently excellent to distinguish the dress of the Neapolitan peasant under that of history's genius;—still he admitted that her majesty was absent for a long time—that the ceremony was one occasioning much suspense, by the delay of its performance—and the learned counsel contended, that the evidence of Dumont was true, when she stated that delay was occasioned by the alteration of her dress in the dressing-chamber with Bergami.

The next point to which he should call their attention, was her majesty's visit to the masked ball at the theatre of San Carlos. He did not mean to complain of her majesty having gone to such a place in disguise, but that of which he had a right to complain was, the fact proved in evidence of her having gone there secretly, in a rainy night, not in her own carriage, but in a hired vehicle, and in company with her chambermaid, Dumont, and her courier Bergami; and he would show that this fact, notwithstanding all that had been said by his learned friends to the contrary, had been clearly proved by Dr. Holland. Their lordships were already aware that Dumont had proved this case; she described the nature of the dress, and the manner in which

her majesty had gone. Now what had Dr. Holland said on this occasion, when interrogated on the subject, at page 611? He was asked "Whether he had ever been at a masquerade at the theatre of San Carlos when her royal highness was there?" He answered, "I was." "With whom did her royal highness go?—I was not aware till the following morning that her royal highness had been there." "Did you remain there during the whole, or nearly the whole of the performance?—Only about an hour, as far as I can recollect; certainly a short time." "Are you to be understood that you do not know with whom her royal highness went to the theatre that evening?—I do not." He (the attorney general) begged leave to ask, how it had appeared that her royal highness went on any other occasion to a masked ball at the theatre of San Carlos? No such proof had been given, and therefore it was clear that she had been there on the occasion stated by the witness Dumont, and that Dr. Holland was not aware of that circumstance till the following morning. Her royal highness went but upon one occasion, and then in company, not of any of the gentlemen or ladies of her suite, but with her inferior domestics, Dumont and Bergami; the latter having been in her service but three or four months! Why did she not choose for her companion Hieronymus or Sicard, or any other of her servants, who, from long experience, was entitled to her confidence? Why select a man who, but a few days before, had been a courier, although, after his arrival at Naples, he had been raised to the rank of footman? Could their lordships draw any other

other inference, than that it was because an adulterous intercourse had commenced between her royal highness and this Bergami at Naples, and had been continued from thence till she arrived at St. Omer's.

Dumont next stated, that she had seen Bergami and her royal highness walking arm in arm upon a terrace in the garden of her royal highness at Naples. How had this been attempted to be disproved? By the most extraordinary evidence that he had ever heard of. Sir William Gell and Mr. Craven were called, and the former stated—both these gentlemen stated, that they had seen her royal highness walking with Bergami in the garden—and one of them felt it necessary to caution her from such a practice, because “she was surrounded by spies,” adding, however, that he saw nothing improper in her conduct. If there was no impropriety, where was the necessity for this caution, unless there were some suspicion lurking in his mind that the intimacy which subsisted between his royal mistress and Bergami was of a nature to excite attention? How, too, was it that Bergami so particularly attracted the attention of lord Landaff, unless for the same reason, unless something had come to his own knowledge respecting the occurrence at the theatre of San Carlos, or from the common rumours which the conduct of her royal highness had excited in the neighbourhood?

The learned counsel next adverted to the evidence of Majocchi, applying to the time when Bergami was confined to his bed from the kick of a horse, and when that witness described the stolen

interviews of her royal highness at that time to the room of the invalid. On this subject it had been said that there was another passage by which her royal highness might have obtained access to Bergami's room, without going through the cabinet in which Majocchi was placed. But how did this stand? Was not that other passage the common corridor into which the doors of Dr. Holland, Hieronymus, and William Austin opened? and was there not a much greater chance of her being observed there than by passing through the room of a man who had been placed in the house by Bergami himself? Whether an adulterous intercourse took place at that time or not was immaterial to his case—because no woman of delicacy, who had not had such an intercourse with a man, would have gone and visited him in his bed, and remained shut up with him in his room for a quarter of an hour. The evidence of Majocchi, in this respect, was decisive, that an adulterous intercourse had taken place between her royal highness and Bergami. As to the fact of her royal highness having been in the room at the same time with Dr. Holland, it would be recollected that Dr. Holland, who had been called to contradict that fact, had not sworn positively to the contrary, simply saying, that if the circumstance had taken place, it was without his knowledge.

From Naples her royal highness went to Civita Vecchia, and from thence to Genoa; and here he would call their lordships' attention to the evidence of lady C. Lindsay, with respect to what took place on the journey from Rome to Civita Vecchia. It was said yes-

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terday by Dr. Lushington, that all the facts of improper familiarity which had been alleged against her majesty had fallen at their feet. To this he would only reply by referring to the testimony of lady C. Lindsay, as to the manner in which Bergami had ridden up to the carriage of her majesty, and received from her hands a bottle of wine, from which he drank, and afterwards returned the bottle to the carriage. If this were not proof of improper familiarity, he scarcely knew where such familiarity would be said to commence. The main prop and stay of this part of the evidence, in defence, is lady Charlotte Lindsay; she is made a solitary exception, she only is called, who afterwards withdrew from her royal highness's service at the instance of her brother, in consequence of the serious rumours which were in circulation.

His learned friends, Messrs. Brougham and Denman, viewed the introduction of Bergami's relatives as estimable, and had even represented it as "natural in a prudent and faithful servant." Now he begged their lordships to remark, that this took place at Genoa, not after Bergami had distinguished himself on the occasion of the attack on the house of her royal highness (for Majocchi was the individual who most distinguished himself at that alarming moment), but previously to that burglarious invasion, and before his extolled merits had been discovered. To another fact at Genoa he must also call their recollection, which had been deposed to by two witnesses, that her royal highness's bed was seldom slept on. They had been triumph-

antly told on the other side, that every fact had been contradicted in the most satisfactory manner, and that they had no occasion to call more witnesses in exculpation. Now, it appeared in page 19 of the minutes, that Bergami was at breakfast with her royal highness in the cabinet, that Majocchi and his brother Louis Bergami waited upon them, and that during the absence of Louis Bergami a man of the name of Camara waited. On this point, then, they had the power of contradicting the charge by the two individuals alluded to, both now in the service of her royal highness; and yet his learned friends, in their discretion (a discretion which he, the attorney general, did not doubt was well exercised), had not dared to call them.

It was not his intention to follow the course of observation in which he had been interrupted by one of the most extraordinary applications ever made to any court of justice. The learned counsel proceeded to comment on that part of the evidence which referred to her royal highness being on board the *Leviathan*, and contended that there could be no other reason for the arrangements made respecting the bed-rooms, than the prosecution of an adulterous intercourse. He next adverted to the evidence given of what took place at Catania. — There her royal highness had been seen coming out of Bergami's room, with a pillow under her arm. Could any man doubt, after this, that an adulterous intercourse had taken place? But an attempt had been made to contradict Dumont, by letters which were written to her sister, in which the character of her royal highness

ness was highly extolled. Their lordships must remember that her sister was at that time in the service of her royal highness, and, therefore, it was extremely natural that she should not express any thing in those letters which might offend her royal highness. He thought that the evidence of Dumont on that point was quite satisfactory; she there stated that she had carefully avoided entering into any details of what had taken place at the house of her royal highness, and that was her reason for writing those letters. There was nothing in the letters of this person at all contradictory to her subsequent evidence; they were certainly complimentary to her royal highness, but it was to be recollected her sister was at that time in the service of her royal highness.

The learned counsel then directed their lordships' attention to the cross examination of Dumont by his learned friends. She was asked whether she had conducted herself so and so, in order to bring her character in question; yet none of these facts had been attempted to be supported by any evidence whatever; and therefore, as no person was called to invalidate her evidence, full credit ought to be given to her testimony. Neither the countess of Oldi nor her sister Marietti had been produced, because it was not in their power to contradict her statement, which, had it been false, they would have been able to do. He then adverted to the honours conferred upon Bergami. It was stated that those honours were to be procured by money; taking that for granted, was it not evident that the money must have

been provided by her royal highness? Their lordships would recollect, that with respect to the portraits (her royal highness as Magdalen, and Bergami as a Turk), nothing had been attempted to be proved in opposition to the evidence of the witnesses in support of the bill; and what person, even of the meanest capacity, could hear of these things, without attributing them to the effects of a guilty passion? These were strong facts, but they were facts which his learned friend had kept completely out of view. They passed at once from Genoa to the polacre. Before they took that step, it might be as well to take a view of what took place on board the *Clorinde*, when captain Pechell, with feelings which reflected the highest credit upon that manly officer, having heard nothing whatever to account for the sudden advancement of Bergami, very properly refused to sit down at table with that person. He had heard exultation from his learned friends opposite, that captains Pechell and Briggs were their witnesses—witnesses whom they intended to marshal in their front.—The learned gentleman then proceeded to the fact of Bergami and her majesty sleeping under the same tent at Aume; and contended, that whatever might be said as to the necessity of male companions on the deck of the polacre, nothing of the kind could apply in this instance. He put it to their lordships, whether, after divorcing one woman of rank after another, for conduct exactly similar to that of her majesty, they could establish such a point as that a man and woman might sleep night after night, under such suspicious

circumstances, without any inference against her, merely because they were not undressed; when it is well known that to undress on retiring to rest was not the custom in those countries—as in Dr. Holland's book of travels was described.

The learned counsel then proceeded to cite several passages in the testimony of Dumont and Majocchi, to prove that Bergami did sleep under the same tent with her royal highness on this journey, and that no attempt had been made to contradict them, although Marietti, the countess Oldi, Schiavini, and others of her majesty's suite, might have been called if it was capable of contradiction. He would ask how was adultery to be proved, if this was not proof? Was it to go forth to the female parts of society in this country, that males and females might sleep in the same room uncensured? If it was, there would be an end to all female delicacy, and adultery could never be proved again in this country. He would ask any reasonable man, if there could be any doubt of the adulterous intercourse having taken place here? On board the polacre the case was still stronger. Mr. Denman had asked, Will you call this a tent? it is only the awning of the ship thrown loosely over the deck: but it appeared by the evidence, that it was fastened down with ringbolts, and closed during the night. Much had been said on the subject of remuneration to be given to the captain and mate of the polacre; but it was well known that foreign witnesses would not come over without large remuneration. There was a proof of this in the remuneration given

to the milliner from Morge, who acknowledged to have received 70*l.* to have had 100*l.* deposited at a banker's for her, and who confessed she still expected further remuneration. If the captain and mate had deposed falsely, why was not Schiavini called to contradict them? They had sworn that Schiavini was the person who ordered the tent to be closed when her royal highness and Bergami were reposing under it. His learned friend had said he would not expose the countess of Oldi and Marietti to the tortures of a cross examination, as they were nervous women. But was Schiavini nervous? Was his learned friend fearful he could not sustain the alarm of a cross examination, or did he fear that this faithful servant of her royal highness was tainted with the conspiracies of Ompteda?

It would be a waste of time to detain their lordships on this subject, or on the contradictions to be found in Hownam's evidence. Why was it necessary that Bergami should sleep under the tent? Why, said Mr. Hownam, for the safety of her royal highness. But why Bergami? Oh! because Bergami was the fittest person. Why not Schiavini? Oh! because Schiavini was a landsman. Well, so was Bergami, so that this reason fell to the ground; and he would ask, as he had before asked Mr. Hownam, why was not the countess Oldi placed under the tent instead of Bergami? He would answer this question; it was because her royal highness could not do without the society of Bergami. The counsel on the other side said, all the case for the bill was rested on the belief of Mr. Hownam. He denied that assertion;

tion ; the belief of Mr. Hownam only corroborated the testimony of Majocchi, Dumont, the mate, the captain, and others. To contradict the witnesses he had named, Mr. Flynn and Mr. Hownam were called : but Mr. Flynn having broken down in cross examination, and Mr. Hownam having let out too much, his learned friends grew tired of evidence, and for several days the case was abandoned, and their lordships were amused only with inquiries after Rastelli and Reganti, and the answer to the case was wholly abandoned. The testimony of the countess Oldi, of Marietti, of Schiavini, of Hieronymus, and all the other witnesses who might have answered it, was abandoned. He would ask whether any doubt could remain as to the adulterous intercourse which had taken place on board the polacre ? If any did, the feast of celebration of St. Bartholomew's day, and the union of the names of her royal highness and Bergami, would fully remove them. With respect to the fact of her royal highness having taken the bath, it was spoken to by Dumont and Majocchi ; but it was attempted to contradict their evidence by that of lieutenants Flynn and Hownam. Lieutenant Flynn stated the tub to be too large to go into her royal highness's room. Of that unfortunate man, advertising to his testimony respecting the hand writings of the paper, he would only say, that whether what he swore on that subject was by design or mistake, he was a witness not to be credited, his testimony was not to be relied on ; so with respect to his account, that light reflected into the tent from the binnacle, it was contradicted

by Hownam, who stated, that on one occasion, when he entered the tent, it was in utter darkness. He cared not, however, whether the tub was in the dining-room or in her loyal highness's sleeping-room. It was proved that she took the bath, and it was not contradicted that Bergami was below during the time. If that fact had not been so, the countess Oldi might have been called to contradict it.

He had heard with some surprise, the assertion that Majocchi and Dumont were witnesses not to be credited, and that their want of memory rendered any attempt to contradict them unnecessary. In answer to this he would say, Look at the English witnesses and their testimony, and consider how Majocchi had been treated. His learned friends had talked of the torture of cross examination, and the tone and look which had been assumed by the solicitor general. —Did his learned friends forget Mr. Brougham's manner towards a witness ? Was it so pleasant a thing to be cross examined by Mr. Brougham ? Were his looks so good-humoured, and his manner under such circumstances so pleasant ? Was it forgotten that poor Majocchi was under his examination in chief a day and a half ; that his cross examination was as long ; and that he had been three times since subjected to the ordeal of Mr. Brougham's questions ? Was it then surprising if he was a little alarmed ? Poor Mr. Flynn was of a different mould to Majocchi ; he was to be pitied, he was overcome by the heat of the room, he was nervous, and every allowance was to be made for him. Majocchi had been called back and questioned as to conversations



with Mrs. Hughes, Mr. Williams, Mr. Johnson, and others, in stage-coaches, and elsewhere. He had denied them with the expression, *Non mi ricordo*; and he had since been exhibited to a variety of persons, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Williams, Mr. Johnson, &c. but none of them had been called by his learned friend to contradict Majocchi, as not one of them could identify him as the person with whom they held these conversations. He must refer their lordships to the evidence of Carrington, who was by nature a gentleman, as his learned friend had said; but he believed, on referring their lordships to the evidence of this gentleman, they would think with him, he was a witness not to be believed. He then proceeded to point out the difference of the testimony of Carrington and Carlo Forti, as to the distance of Rufinelli to Rome, the description of the road, &c.; but his most important contradictions went to his service on board the Poitiers, and no other ship in his majesty's service, and his negative to that question, and as to his being rated as a midshipman, which answers he afterwards endeavoured to explain away, by saying he understood the questions related to his service under sir John Beresford. He also stated, that he had a long conversation with sir John Beresford, in which he stated that his reason for wishing to quit the service, was want of money and friends. Sir John Beresford had been called, and that honourable officer declared he had no such conversation with him, but understood Carrington was desirous of quitting the service, to enter into that of sir William Gell. Sir John Be-

resford had been called as a witness to support Carrington's credit. This was a most extraordinary course of proceeding, and one which no counsel would have been allowed to adopt; but he believed it was done at the suggestion of one of their lordships, who might consider the course necessary to elicit the truth.

At this period of the attorney general's speech, their lordships adjourned.

Oct. 28.—The lord chancellor took his seat on the wool sack a few minutes before ten o'clock, when prayers were read by the bishop of Bristol, and the list called over. The number of absent peers was unusually great.

At twenty minutes past ten counsel were called in, when

The attorney general resumed. He had brought down the journey of the queen to her arrival at Jerusalem. His learned friends on the other side had affected to change the allegation of the bestowing the order of St. Caroline into a substantive charge; it had been only alleged as one of the many favours bestowed upon the favoured Bergami, upon whom was conferred the highest dignity of the newly-created order. He did not wish to bear hard upon particular expressions, but he could not help observing that the word "pilgrimage," which was always associated with ideas of religion, was ill applied to a journey from which (at least the form of) religion had been wholly excluded. It appeared, by uncontradicted testimony, that the princess had, from leaving Genoa, discontinued all religious services in her family; and she, a protestant princess, attended no worship but that of her favourite.

favourite. But to return to the diploma; in this instrument the serjeant Bergami was, under the queen's sign manual, described as colonel Bergami, with the addition of his other principal titles; and his knighthood of St. Caroline was (however ridiculous) reserved to his offspring to the end of the world.

The attorney general then went at length into the contiguity of the bed-chambers at Terracina and at Bellenzona, which Mr. Williams had promised to disprove; but this, though it was sworn to by witnesses not attempted to be impeached, had been wholly omitted in the evidence for the defence, and in the speeches of Mr. Denman and Dr. Lushington.—He would say the same of the familiarities in the kitchen, the eating off the same plate, sworn to by Rollo; and here he must remark, that not one respectable witness had been produced from Como or any other place to discredit the testimony of this or any of the other witnesses; the kissing at Terracina, or Bellenzona, and on board the polacre, upon the gun, which, as Mr. Brougham had truly said, left nothing to be imagined but the gratification of the last purposes of desire; all these circumstances were not merely unimpeached, they were not even denied in proof. He would come to Charnitz, and he would observe that it had been confessed by Mr. Hownam, that no part of the luggage had been opened, which at once contradicted the pretence that the whole night was spent in preparation.—It appears by Vassali himself, that the preparations were carried on out of doors. The Carlsruhe case had been, he would

maintain, left completely unshaken by the defence. The witness, Barbara Kress, had proved, first, that the rooms communicated through a single unoccupied room; this had not been denied. The witness had occasion to carry water to No. 12, Bergami's room; she found the princess there sitting upon Bergami's bed, with her arms round his neck; and at the moment of the witness's arrival, she started up, as if detected in guilt. There was no testimony to raise the belief that the queen did not return to the inn (which was almost next door), to meet the positive evidence of Barbara Kress. Vassali or Hownam did not pretend to swear positively. There was also the corroborative circumstance of the queen's cloak found in Bergami's bed, which had not been attempted to be controverted. Barbara Kress had sworn that she had handed this cloak to a servant of the princess, dressed in green as a jager. Why was not this jager (or servant) produced? Or, if there were no such person in the queen's suite, why was not that fact proved?—In allusion to the marks sworn to, he would remind the house of the reluctance and modest hesitation with which she described these disgusting circumstances. His learned friends had an active agent at Carlsruhe; had not that agent full opportunity of examining that witness's life and conduct? Yet had they been able to detect the slightest imputation on this woman's character?

And here he must complain of the infamous papers which disgraced the press and the country out of doors—which in speeches (no doubt fabricated by the un-

principled conductors of the slanderous press) had held out that this woman had suffered an infamous punishment. Much had been said of a correspondence between Mr. Leman and baron d'Ende; but how did this bear upon the case? What reason was there to suppose the baron was not really prevented from coming, by the indisposition he had pleaded, or that, if he had been able to come, his memory would have been any thing better than Vassali's?—He would leave Carlsruhe, once more reminding their lordships that a syllable had not been adduced to affect the character of Barbara Kress. At Tunis another fact had been sworn by a witness, and no attempt made to impeach his credit. He had sworn to facts to which no contradiction had been given; and if their lordships were not to believe a witness under such circumstances, then no testimony that could be given would ever avail in any case.

The learned gentleman then read from the minutes the evidence of Francisco di Rollo, who swore that returning from the chamber of the *dame d'honneur*, whither he had been to carry something, between nine and ten in the morning, he had to pass through Bergami's bed-room, and saw him come out of the princess's chamber, dressed only in a close dressing-gown and drawers, and go to his own bed, of which he drew open the curtains, and the bed did not seem to have been slept in; that Bergami, on seeing him, called him a scoundrel, and asked what brought him there; he immediately went away. This was a fact which might have been contradicted; the *dame d'honneur*

might have been called to disprove it. His learned friends had argued most eloquently that the contradiction was most material, even on the least important circumstances of a case; and yet here was one proof of those habits which were found to recur through the whole of this case, and they had not called any evidence to contradict it. In the order of time he now arrived at the evidence of Sacchi; and here he must remark upon the hazard of dealing in general sarcasms. His learned friends had taunted him with his claiming credit for Sacchi, because he had attained to rank and honour in the army of Napoleon. He had forgotten, however, how many of his witnesses were similarly situated. He had forgotten that Vassali had been honoured with an iron crown, for fighting against his (Mr. B.'s) native country. He had forgotten that her royal highness's chamberlain was also in the same army, and above all, he had forgotten the conduct of her royal highness at Naples, when at a masked ball she, the heiress apparent to the crown of this realm—standing on the eve of becoming its queen—forgetting the treasures and blood which her husband's native country had expended against Napoleon, degraded herself to the empty similitude of the genius of history, to paint the glory and to celebrate the renown of Murat, one of the bitterest enemies of that country. She forgot, too, that her own dearest relations had perished on the fields where that man had fought against them; and thus sullyng the fame of their immortal lives and their glorious deaths, she thought fit to cherish, entertain, and honour their bitterest

terest enemies. Surely, surely, his learned friend had overlooked these circumstances, or he never could have heaped his misplaced sarcasm on the unfortunate Sacchi.

The learned counsel then proceeded to examine the testimony of Sacchi. What was the fact stated by Sacchi? That he was a courier in the service of her royal highness, and that he accompanied her in that character to Senegaglia. He was very little cross examined as to this part of his evidence; but three letters were put into his hand, which he proved. Now, where were those letters—if they had any reference to this case, why had they not been produced? And here again he felt it incumbent on him to advert to the opening of Mr. Williams on this subject. Mr. Williams stated, that he would call a witness who had been in the carriage at the time when the alleged gross familiarity of the princess towards Bergami was alleged to have taken place, who would distinctly negative that assertion. He sincerely wished Mr. Williams had redeemed his pledge, and that such a person, and he presumed it was the countess of Oldi to whom he referred, had been produced. Their lordships, he was sure, would agree with him, in thinking that such a witness could have done infinitely more than all that had been attempted to be done by Carlo Forti, who, he contended, had been himself contradicted by the evidence of lieutenant Hownam and Vassali. He would bring to their lordships' attention what the evidence of Carlo Forti had been, and from thence they would see the positive contradictions which he had received from his

learned friends' own witnesses. Under such circumstances he would put it to their lordships, whether the facts to which he had sworn were deserving of credit.—The examination of Forti was to this effect:—"I was a courier in the service of her royal highness; I entered her service on her departure from Milan; it was in the year 1817." In answer to subsequent questions, he says, "I entered her royal highness's service when she was going to Rome. I applied to be taken into her service, because at the moment I was out of service." He now begged their lordships to turn to what Vassali had said on the same subject. What does he say? That Carlo Forti began his services at Rome definitively, but provisionally he began at Loretto. He was acquainted with Rome, being a Roman, and was sent with a dispatch for this object. "Was Sacchi a courier in her majesty's service at Loretto?—Yes." Now what observation arose upon this? Did it not clearly appear that Forti had been contradicted, and that the statement which he had made of having been engaged in her majesty's service at Milan was altogether without foundation?—The one swore that he had entered into her royal highness's service at Milan, whereas the other as positively swore that he had been engaged at Loretto.—He would leave their lordships to reconcile this discrepancy, and to draw such a conclusion to the credit of Forti, as the circumstances might fairly warrant.—The futile reason given by him was that Sacchi was not fit to travel, because he had been chafed from riding two months previously. Was not such an account

count incredible, that he had so long felt the effects of this chafing, that he was not able to ride in his capacity as courier two months afterwards? Now, he begged to contrast Carlo Forti's account of the carriages employed on that journey, with the depositions on the same point, of lieutenant Hownam and count Vassali. Carlo Forti states, that Sacchi travelled in the caratella the whole way, and that there were, in all, three travelling vehicles, viz. two carriages and an English landaulet. On his cross examination, he makes out four carriages; for he states, that Louis Bergami travelled in a caratella with two seats. Now he begged their lordships' attention to one remarkable circumstance connected with this journey. Carlo Forti deposes that the weather was so hot, that they were compelled to travel by night, and yet there were cooped up in this small English landaulet, her royal highness, Bergami, the countess of Oldi, and the little child Victorine. Was it credible that her royal highness could be thus accommodated? She must have felt the necessity of dispensing with some of them, and surely no one could suppose that on any necessitous occasion Bergami was excepted; he who had slept with her under the tent might, doubtless, without impropriety, be retained with her in a carriage. Since they had not produced the countess Oldi, who could not only have negatived the fact of any indecency, but could have proved that Carlo Forti was the courier, and not Sacchi; it was evident that Sacchi was the courier, and that Carlo Forti had sworn falsely.

The learned counsel next ad-

verted to Rastelli's absence, and contended that it was rather an advantage, than otherwise, to the case of her majesty. Notwithstanding the attack of Mr. Denman on Mr. Powell, and through him upon the Milan commission, he would ask their lordships, looking at the letters of colonel Brown, whether any one of them could believe that Rastelli had been spirited away by Mr. Powell, for the purpose of preventing him from being examined at their lordships' bar? Had Rastelli been forthcoming, probably they would have declined to examine him, as his learned friend, Mr. Brougham, had done with respect to Sacchi, who, although he was most anxious to have him called so long as he thought he could not be produced, yet the next morning, when he found he was forthcoming, he declined examining him. He then defended the Milan commission. He would have been highly culpable if ample means had not been used to ascertain what information was to be produced at their lordships' bar; and whether or not enough existed to warrant the present proceeding. Mr. Denman, he said, had spoken of Mr. Cook's unfitness for that commission; but extolled his character, reputation, and experience as a commissioner of bankrupts. Of colonel Brown he knew nothing personally, but he had reason to believe him equally honourable with the situation he filled. As to Mr. Powell, he did but his duty in examining the witnesses previous to their appearance at their lordships' bar.

The learned counsel then went to the consideration of the Adam and Eve scene, and contended, that the

the testimony of Raggassoni was confirmed by that of the witnesses for the defence. He remarked that, although it was in evidence that three or four months back accurate plans were made of the grotto, by Ratti, the architect, yet those plans were not produced by the counsel opposite—they only produced a rough plan, done by their own witness, a day or two before he was brought forward. The kissing in the boat on her royal highness's return from Como, remained uncontradicted, for the witness on the opposite side swore that he did not see it. He would now refer to Mahomet's dance, and the ball at the Barona; the case of Mahomet, in his opinion, proved the whole guilt of her majesty; and how was it sought to be set aside by the evidence of Mr. Granville Sharp, who said he saw a dance at Calcutta, which was not indecent? A dance at Calcutta was not indecent, *ergo*, Mahomet's dance was not indecent. The balls at the Barona, he contended, were not given by her royal highness, but by Bergami, and, therefore, did not come under the description of amusement given by the nobility to the peasants of this country. But although given at Bergami's house, the baroness, Bergami's wife, was not at them, nor was Vassali's wife. Dr. Lushington had amused their lordships with a description of what could be seen in an Italian twinkling of an eye; but he (the attorney general) would put against this an English flash of lightning. Sir William Gell, in that time, had seen the under and upper dress of her royal highness on the night of the masquerade. At first their lordships heard with

amazement of her royal highness's walking arm in arm with Bergami; but as other facts had transpired, arm in arm was thought nothing of. (Here the learned gentleman read from several parts of the evidence.)—He stated, that having completely reviewed the evidence in support of the bill, he should make a few comments on that brought forward on the part of her royal highness.

The learned counsel then proceeded to allude to the evidence of lady Charlotte Lindsay, lord Landaff, lord Glenbervie, the honourable Keppel Craven, sir William Gell, Mr. Hownam, and Mr. Flynn. He then went on to contend that Bergami ought to have been called to their lordships' bar; Bergami, who had conducted her majesty through so many perils, to have deserted her in this trying situation! Why were not the family of Bergami produced? He believed that Bergami was still her majesty's chamberlain,—he had not heard of his being dismissed, but he had heard of vice-chamberlains. Why were not Faustina and the countess Oldi, who had been brought to this country for the purpose of being examined, produced? Was it not strange, that when a female's character was to be cleared up, there was only one female witness? that she was to be left without even a *dame d'honneur*!—Why was not William Austin produced? Was not he a competent witness? Had he not accompanied her royal highness on all her journeys and voyages? Where was Hieronymus? Why, he was at Brandenburgh-house; but he had not been produced. Where is Schiavini, Luigi Bergami—where was the objection to their

their being called? Camera had not been produced; nor had Livingston, the blind fiddler; Carlini, who had been on board the polacre and at Aum, had not been produced. None of these material witnesses had been produced, though it had been stated that the other side were to contradict the whole of the charges.

He had fairly commented upon the evidence, at least as fairly as was in his power, and it was for their lordships to determine whether that evidence was sufficient. He considered he had done his duty; but he was told there was another duty for an advocate to perform—a duty which must be performed, though it involved his country in ruin and confusion. His learned friends on the other side had not confined themselves to the defence of the queen's character; but they had launched into invective against all established authority—even their monarch was not spared; but an odious comparison was made between him and the most detested tyrant that was to be found in history, and insisted on as a parallel case. The public, the learned gentleman contended, had pronounced no verdict; there was, however, a part of the community who had taken the most base and insidious means to deceive the loyal and good part of the people. They have the cause of the queen in their mouths, but the cause of revolution and anarchy in their hearts. The learned gentleman concluded nearly as follows:—"My lords, the honour and dignity of the crown will be best preserved by your pronouncing a verdict according to the evidence before you, and I have no doubt but that verdict

will be that of guilty, which, I think, will be satisfactory to your consciences, and sooner or later to the country at large."

The solicitor general addressed their lordships as follows:—"My lords, no individual standing at the bar of your lordships ever stood in greater need of indulgence than myself. I have to address your lordships on a subject that has been so canvassed and exhausted, that it is scarcely possible that I can throw any new light upon it. I have to address your lordships when my faculties have been impaired with the attention that the subject has demanded. But, my lords, I labour under another disadvantage; I have to follow my learned friend the attorney general, who, in his address to your lordships on this occasion, has taken so minute and comprehensive a view of the subject, in so powerful, impressive, and irresistible a speech, that it must carry conviction to every one. I must follow him over the same ground, although I feel that almost every observation I should have made has, in a great degree, been anticipated. If I were to follow my inclinations and my feelings, I would not say a single word; but I have a duty which I must discharge with manliness and fortitude. I am engaged in a cause of the highest importance. I am commanded to follow my learned friend in that cause, and I must not shrink, but discharge my duty with all the ability that I possess. When this cause commenced, we were aware that, from the charges being at so many different places, and extending over a long period, there would be much contradictory evidence. My learned

ed friend and I expected this; but knowing the truth of the case, and that we were not coming forward to establish what was false, we felt confident, that though some conflicting testimony might be produced, there would be enough of indisputable evidence to establish the leading facts of the case.

It was not (continued the learned gentleman) his intention to go in detail through the whole body of the evidence. He would take a narrower course. He would discard, sedulously and attentively, every part of the evidence that was of a conflicting nature, and confine himself to those facts which were not disputed, or but faintly contested—to those which rested on testimony that was not impeached—to those, the witnesses of which might have been contradicted if they had spoken falsely, but were not contradicted; and, lastly, to those facts which were established by the evidence for the defence. From these he hoped to show that a case had been made, so clear, so plain, so distinct in all its parts, as must carry conviction to the minds even of those who were least disposed to be convinced on the subject. The learned gentleman, in commencing his commentary on the facts of the case, touched first on the elevation of Bergami. He recapitulated the circumstances of his rapid rise, and observed that they had not been disputed by his learned friends. How then had they attempted to explain them? Mr. Brougham had said the circumstances were all very natural, that Bergami had been born a gentleman, and had the manners of a gentleman, but had been reduced in circumstances by the events of the French revo-

lution, and that he had sold his estate to pay his father's debts. This was the statement of his learned friend; and if the facts were true, they might and would have been established in evidence. Now what was the evidence which had been laid before their lordships?—Bergami, it was said, was "born a gentleman and had the manners of a gentleman." What does Sicard say on this head? Why, that "he was not quite so chatty as Italians generally are;" and that he appeared "rather more of a gentleman than one of the lower sort." What says lord Guilford? That he saw nothing in his manners which showed him to be superior to the situation in which he had lived. What sir William Gell? That he was "rather more respectful than there was any occasion for;" that he "required to be pressed to sit down:" and was moreover so remarkably attentive to him (sir William Gell), "that he would have handed him down stairs, if he would have let him."—Really it was too much to call these evidences of gentlemanly habits and deportment. Next, the great services of this man were talked of. But where was the proof of these services? He had waited from day to day in expectation of seeing some evidence adduced on this point, but in vain. Mr. Brougham had said, that the elevation of Bergami was gradual, and had not taken place in that sudden manner in which love usually rewards its votaries. But the fact was not so. He had risen to his highest elevation in the course of a few months. The statement of Mr. Brougham, as compared with the evidence, was quite ridiculous. But there had been yet another



another apology for the advancement of Bergami. It was said that a promise of promotion had been made to him on entering into the service of the princess; but on referring to the evidence, it would be found, that the amount of this promise, or expectation of promotion, was no more than this—that “if he behaved well, he would be continued in the family;” and that, when not required to attend on her royal highness as a courier, he ought to be allowed to remain attached to her service as a “servant out of livery.”—Every pretence, in short, which had been offered in justification of the advancement of Bergami, was fallacious; it could be explained by nothing but the existence of that intercourse which the bill imputed to her majesty. To use the words which one of our best dramatists had put into the mouth of a Roman empress, ‘Threadbare chastity is poor in the advancement of her creatures, but wantonness is magnificent.’

The learned counsel next reverted to the circumstances of the introduction of so many of the kindred of Bergami into the service of her royal highness—the selection of the countess of Oldi to be the only lady in attendance upon her, with whom, in consequence of the countess not speaking French and the princess not speaking Italian, it was impossible she could have any thing but the most limited intercourse: the concealment from the rest of the household, from lieutenant Hownam, from Dr. Holland, from lord Guilford, from every one—of the relationship of the countess of Oldi to Bergami; lastly, the exception of Bergami's wife, as the only one

of all his relations who was not permitted to appear before the princess. All these facts, though not in themselves conclusive indications of the imputed guilt, when connected with the other facts in evidence before their lordships, led to an inference which none but persons wilfully blind could withstand. The learned gentleman next directed the attention of their lordships to the invariable contiguity of the rooms of her royal highness and Bergami. He ridiculed that apprehension of danger which had been offered as an apology for this fact; the change of the cabins on board of the *Leviathan*, when there could be no such danger, proved that it was wholly visionary and affected. The part of the case to which the learned gentleman requested the particular attention of their lordships, was that in which the tent on the polacca formed so prominent a figure. He would confine himself to the voyage home from Jaffa; and the witnesses whose testimony he would first consider, were the two British witnesses, lieutenants Hownam and Flynn. He preferred the evidence of Hownam to that of Flynn, on many accounts. He did not doubt that Mr. Flynn was a brave man, but he thought their lordships must be satisfied that either a false enthusiasm for a cause in which much passion had been enlisted, or a feeling of gratitude to her majesty, which he wished to discharge in a way that no debt of gratitude ought ever to be paid, or some other nameless consideration, had induced him to state what he knew to be entirely devoid of truth.

In the course of the learned counsel's observations upon the evidence

evidence of lieutenant Flynn, he dwelt with peculiar force upon the manifold contradictions that had been made by that gentleman, who had at one period sworn that a copy of a paper had been made by him in English; at another in Italian; and at another in half English, half Italian. It then happened that this hero fainted away, as Mr. Brougham said, in consequence of the intense heat of the atmosphere, joined to the amazing length of the cross examination. It then came out that he had employed Parguelli to write it, and afterwards it was admitted by him that Schiavini was the man. Upon evidence of this sort could any man look with confidence? As to the former conduct of lieutenant Flynn, he would not say a word. He might be a brave officer, he might never before have violated his honour, but on this occasion it was plain he had been operated upon by the factions abroad, and had forgotten himself.

The learned counsel then alluded to the non-appearance of the countess Oldi, whose negative testimony he looked upon as more conclusive even than the positive evidence which had been extracted in the cross examination of the witnesses against the bill. From this part of the case he turned to the evidence of the captain and mate of the polacca, who had sworn that Schiavini was present when the kissing took place on the deck, and when her royal highness was hanging over Bergami in the bed; and he argued that the non-production of Schiavini, who was now actually in the service of her majesty, was an additional evidence of her majesty's guilt.

The solicitor general then ridiculed the attempt to prove the innocence of the defendant, by saying that her majesty and Bergami had never been undressed. He defied any man who did not wilfully shut his eyes to refuse to come to the conclusion of her guilt, upon considering every thing, independently of the rapid advancement of her favourite, who, if she were falsely accused, might have been called to give evidence. But, no; he was the only one who remained behind. He came to the shores of France with her in her royal carriage, and there left her. At Bellenzona, Bergami and Hieronymus, both couriers, travelled in the same carriage; Bergami dines with her royal highness here; again at Lugano, and at the Devil's Bridge. Why did not Hieronymus dine with her royal highness? He was the Brunswick courier, of the same country, and had been long in her royal highness's service; but no such attention was paid to Hieronymus, but to Bergami exclusively. The learned gentleman then commented on the evidence of lieutenant Flownam, which was contradicted by captain Briggs; and declared that he was sorry to press on the patience of their lordships, but his duty would not permit him to leave the case without much further observation.—Adjourned.

Oct. 30.—Counsel were called in, and the solicitor general, at a quarter before eleven, resumed his address to their lordships. He first adverted to the account given by Mr. Craven of his seeing her royal highness and Bergami walking on the terrace at Naples, and his remonstrance to her royal highness on the subject. This re-

monstrance

monstrance was a proof of some particular circumstance relative to Bergami. Would this remonstrance have taken place had it been Hieronymus or Sicard by whom she was attended, instead of Bergami?—That Bergami was at this time a celebrated personage in her royal highness's household was proved by lord Landaff's evidence, to whom he, of all her royal highness's servants, alone was pointed out. So in lady Charlotte Lindsay's evidence, it appeared that Bergami was the servant selected on all occasions to attend her royal highness, whether walking in the gardens or sitting at home. On the road, whilst travelling, he rode near the carriage, and her royal highness even condescended to hand a bottle to him, from which he drank, and her royal highness, with equal condescension, received it back into the coach. Her ladyship also stated, that it was a relief to her mind when she quitted her royal highness, on account of the reports that were abroad, and that she continued longer in the service than she would have done, with a view to assist in a pecuniary way a near connexion. Such was lady C. Lindsay's evidence; he would ask, was this testimony calculated to serve the cause she was called to support? Of Mr. Craven and sir William Gell he would ask, had they any opportunity of private observation? The same remark would apply to lord Landaff and lord Glenbervie, to Dr. Holland and Mr. Mills. They saw her only at dinner, and at other public times. His learned friends had considered it necessary to call some evidence on this head; but why had they not called the best

evidence? Why had they not called lady E. Forbes, who was resident during the whole stay at Naples, and whose apartments overlooked the garden? Why was not lady Charlotte Campbell, who was with her at Genoa, called? His learned friend said, why did not the attorney general call these witnesses? Why, their case, as they conceived, was made out; and had they afterwards attempted to call these persons, what would have been said? Lieutenant Hownam had only been sent for to the admiralty to be questioned merely as to the fact of an English sailor being on board the *polacca*, and not to the merits of this question in the most distant manner; and what an outcry had his learned friends raised on that subject! It had been said, that application at all events should have been made to these honourable persons for information. Why, would they have given any information? Would these honourable ladies have voluntarily betrayed the secrets of their mistress? In the trial of Thistlewood at the Old Bailey for high treason, Adams deposed to certain conversations which took place when other persons were present, and it was said, why don't you call these other persons to confirm Adams? No, said the prosecutors, you may, if you please, call them, or any of them, to contradict him. And the three chief justices, and three other judges, who presided on that solemn occasion, held this doctrine well founded; and the learned judge, in summing up the case on that occasion, said the absence of these witnesses, he was sorry to say, pressed heavier on the prisoner than on the other parties. If his

his learned friends were now right, the learned judges on that occasion decided on wrong grounds.

To return to the present case. Mr. Hownam said he had seen nothing in the conduct of her royal highness derogatory to her high rank. He did not consider her courier being permitted to sit at her table as derogatory to her. The splendid uniform which he wore, did away, he said, all objection. After such an opinion—after Mr. Hownam had so committed himself—what credit would their lordships give to his evidence? But Oliviera and Vassali were called to speak to her character and conduct. Was her royal highness to receive her testimonials of character from such persons as these? Where were all the foreign ladies of quality, whose names had been mentioned?—Their lordships had heard high sounding titles, but not an individual was called.

The solicitor general then proceeded to comment on the various contradictions imputed to Majocchi, and contended that none of these contradictions related to important facts. It was said he had denied all knowledge of baron Ompteda, or that he had ever seen him; but that was not so. He stated, on the contrary, his recollection that Ompteda dined twice at her royal highness's table. He did not, indeed, recollect the name of Ompteda; but when the person was described as the baron with the extravagant or strange name, he instantly recollected him. But it was said he was contradicted by Carrington—that person who was described by his learned friend as born with the feelings of a gentleman. How did he prove that sentiment inhabiting his breast? Why,

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by quitting a situation in which he had the opportunity of reaching the situation and rank so congenial to the feeling of his mind, if his learned friend was right, and preferring to become the menial servant of sir W. Gell. But again, it was said, Majocchi had denied a conversation which took place at Rufinelli, and which was sworn to by Carrington. If that conversation took place, and Majocchi recollected it, what inducement could he have had to deny it? The sentiments he then uttered were to his honour. The conversation in question took place four years ago, according to Carrington's testimony; and was nothing to be allowed for a lapse of memory? Besides which, it would be recollected, that the conversation was sworn to by a person, who in his own testimony contradicted himself. He swore first, that he never served but on board the Poitiers; and, in explanation, said, that he understood the question to relate to his services under sir John Beresford. Now he would put it to their lordships to say, if he could possibly so have understood the question. The explanation was inconsistent with truth.—So as regarded his statement of his conversation with sir John Beresford, that honourable officer positively denied any such conversation having taken place: yet it was upon the evidence of this witness, thus contradicted, that their lordships were called upon to discredit Majocchi. Another presumption against Carrington's statement was, that there was another person present at this conversation, namely, Francisco Serrie. Why was not he called to confirm Carrington? Francisco Serrie was in

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England,

England, and had been at Mr. Vizard's office. His not being called must be taken as proof against Carrington. Much had been said of Majocchi's *Non mi ricordo*; but he would ask, how this expression, fairly taken, could operate against him? On the other side, persons of high rank, and high honour and respectability, had been called; and to questions of considerable importance, had answered—"I do not recollect." He was far from intending to impute any wrong motive to these illustrious individuals; he only requested that the same charity which was given to these well educated and highly gifted individuals, should be extended to the humble Majocchi; especially when the different mode of cross examining the witnesses was considered. To the illustrious individuals alluded to, questions direct were put; but to Majocchi, for the purpose of making an impression on their lordships, all his learned friends' questions were put circuitously. Were you ever at a house with pillars before it? *Non mi ricordo*.—With lamps on the pillars? *Non mi ricordo*.—With sentinels at the door? *Non mi ricordo*.—Were you ever at Carlton-house? Yes.—Why, he would ask, was not this question put direct, and a direct answer would have been obtained to it? No, that would not have answered his learned friend's purpose. The *Non mi ricordo*s which were to have effect with their lordships and with the public at large, would then have been lost. So with regard to the other parts of this witness's testimony, which had been adverted to by his learned friend. The *Non mi ricordo*—

more no than yes—fairly meant no more than this—I do not recollect, but am rather inclined to think it did; and taking the whole of his testimony, he contended, he stood without material contradiction, allowing only for the frailty of memory; the numerous facts to which this witness had been examined, and the length of time which had elapsed since many of them occurred, and the extent and nature of the cross examination to which he was subjected.

Adverting to what had fallen from his friend Dr. Lushington, his learned friend had boldly stated that there was no instance of a female being divorced after attaining the age of 45. Why, he perceived, no longer ago than in the year 1816, there was a case of divorce in the Arches court, where the female was forty-six. This proved with what caution the statements of counsel, unsupported by evidence, should be taken. My lords, I stated I would not go into a detail of the evidence of Dumont, but there are two points upon which she is said to be contradicted. First, when she stated that her royal highness returned early from the opera. Now, sir William Gell, who laboured under indisposition, and had been standing all the time, might have thought it very late, but I call your lordships' attention to the much more important testimony of Mr. Craven, page 524, where he says, "I think it ended rather later than usual." Thus, my lords, one party saying, "I think it was rather earlier than usual," and the other, "it was rather later," is such a confiction of testimony as must destroy that of Dumont. The other point is as to her majesty's

majesty's dress; and recollect, my lords, that Dumont never said her dress was indecent—if she has, I challenge my learned friends to point out the passage! In page 254 you will find what she says. She there described the dress, and said her arms and breast were bare the same as the genius of history. Now, sir William Gell says, that the door suddenly opened, her royal highness appeared, placed a crown on the bust of Murat, and retired. It was like, I think he said, a flash of lightning; and Mr. Craven says the time was so short, that he had little opportunity to observe her; but if there had been any thing indecent in her dress, he thinks he must have noticed it. He however says it was like the figure in the British museum. Now, in her examination on this subject, Dumont said, her "*gorge*" was uncovered, "*gorge*," which the interpreter said had a double meaning, namely, either the neck or the breasts. And in explaining what she meant afterwards, she said, the "dress came up here," putting her hand half way down her breasts, and therefore it is to be taken so. These, my lords, are the two great striking contradictions which are to overturn the testimony of Dumont.

The learned counsel then called the attention of the house to that part of Mr. Williams's statement, in which he said, that by one of those fortunate accidents which sometimes occur, by which falsehood is detected, and truth upheld, that the queen slept the second night of her arrival at Naples, in the small bed; and when they had produced the servant who was to prove it, or any evidence to support that statement,

they then had the grace to complain that the proof of the attorney general was not equal to his statement. And as he was talking of Naples, it was impossible not to be struck with the situation of her royal highness at Naples, surrounded by persons of her own country; lady Elizabeth Forbes, lady Charlotte Lindsay, &c. &c.; and her situation at Pesaro, where she was surrounded, in the most extraordinary manner, by madame Oldi, Schiavini, Vassali, Olivieri, &c.—most of them officers who had served under Bonaparte.—Were those the persons who should be about the person of the wife of the king of England—the daughter of the duke of Brunswick—members of those armies who had overthrown her father's dominions and shed her father's blood—whilst her brother, drawing his sword and vowing never to sheath it until he had avenged his father's death, perishes in the attempt? Were those the individuals by whom the daughter of the duke of Brunswick—the sister of the duke of Brunswick—should be surrounded? How was this to be explained, but by the dominion of this individual, so frequently alluded to in this proceeding, over her faculties? Did it admit of any other inference? They were told that she had been forced into exile and banishment; but they all knew it was her own act, which was merely assented to by the individual to whom the proposal was addressed; and yet they were told that this was banishment. Their lordships had heard repeated appeals to the reign of Henry the eighth, and the cruelties of that monarch—until at length they be-

came so used to the names of Anne Boleyn and Henry the eighth, that they no longer produced effect. And then, said the solicitor general, to my amazement, my friend, Mr Denman, whose courteous manners and amiable disposition I have long known and loved, dares, (I must use the expression,) dares to say that no parallel for this case is to be found in history, ancient or modern, unless in the annals of Rome, in its worst days, and under its worst sovereign. He says the princess of Wales is in the situation of Octavia, whose father and whose brother were murdered by Nero; while she herself, although her character was spotless, was charged with having committed adultery with a slave, for which charge there was not the smallest semblance of foundation. She never advanced that slave to honours, nor slept under the same tent with him; but without any evidence she was sent into banishment, and afterwards recalled, and the monster, who had murdered Agrippina, was ordered by Nero to rid him of his wife. She is accordingly seized, her veins are opened, her blood does not flow fast enough, her feet are put into hot water—she dies; her head is cut off and sent to Nero to glut his vengeance—such is the case of Octavia. What, then, are we to say, when my learned friend, Mr. Denman, feels himself justified in saying that the case of Octavia is the only one to be found in history parallel to the case of her majesty? When I heard it, my blood thrilled with horror, and I could not tell, for some moments, where I was. Nor had my learned friend even novelty

on his side, for I find an advertisement in a newspaper, “Nero vindicated;” published by whom? by William Hone, Ludgate Hill; and my learned friend condescends to make himself the instrument of this man in his charges against the monarch of his country.—The learned counsel then proceeded to comment on the balls at the Barona, which, though in the immediate neighbourhood of Milan, were not frequented by any of the Italian nobility, or by any persons of rank and character, except the Baron Carinetti, and one or two other individuals. At the theatre at the villa d’Este, lieutenant Hownam admitted that the princess dined with the servants, and that, too, in the presence of certain persons. This was certainly a degradation. The exhibition of Mahomet had been very strangely met by his learned friends. Mr. Sharpe had been examined as to a Moorish dance he saw at the government house at Calcutta, and he said that there was nothing indecent in it; and your lordships are called on to believe, therefore, that Mahomet’s dance was not indecent. Sir William Gell says there was nothing indecent in it; it resembled the Spanish bolero on our stage; but he acknowledges that it was a dance of an amorous character, and if so, it might assume many shades from innocence and simplicity, to infamy and licentiousness; and, according to the persons before whom it was exhibited, it would assume more of the one or the other.

His learned friends had not touched, or at least touched very slightly, on the transactions at the villa d’Este; but when they could not contradict facts, they might

might have impeached the character of the witnesses, were it possible to impeach them, for they had time enough. At the villa d'Este her royal highness and Bergami often drove out together in a small carriage. Count Vassali was called to contradict this; but it turned out that he never lived at the villa d'Este. The evidence of Galdini, who went suddenly into the room, and saw the princess with her arm round Bergami's neck, was declared to be improbable; but it was uncontradicted, and the witness had stated the circumstance on the same day to the son of the architect, who might have been called, as his father was, though not examined on this point. The witness Galli, the waiter at an inn, had sworn that he saw the princess and Bergami eat delicate morsels together. The princess took something from her plate and gave it to Bergami. Bergami took something from his plate and gave it to the princess, and afterwards the witness saw them kiss each other. The learned counsel asked why the evidence of Galli, which involved all the domestics of her royal highness, had not been contradicted? It was necessary to make no more than a general comment upon the transaction at the villa d'Este. The guilty pair would be found at that place upon terms the most familiar, walking arm in arm, as man and wife, and kissing with greater warmth than man and wife were accustomed to exhibit! No answer had been made to this charge. There was then the transaction at Catania, where the countess Oldi was heard by Dumont endeavouring to pacify the crying

child, the first great fact in this case, where Dumont saw her royal highness in the morning, coming from Bergami's room, with the two pillows under her arm; where her royal highness started at finding that she was observed, and passed on to her own room. If this was not clear evidence of an adulterous intercourse, he could not tell what was evidence. Now, how was this opposed? Why, Mr. Brougham, after the expression of the most manly indignation, declared, that he would give the lie to this base calumny by the mouth of Dumont's sister; and how had he performed his promise? In pursuance of his pledge he had *not* called her. What inference then was to be drawn from her absence? Why, that her evidence could be nothing but a confirmation of the story of Dumont, and, of course, that the most unbounded reliance should be placed upon the testimony of that witness. Where was the countess Oldi? She could have contradicted every thing that related to this wretched attachment, if contradiction could by any means be given; but the fact was, the countess of Oldi had entered into the service of the princess to assist in the correspondence, and must have been in such a position as to be able to give the most undeniable evidence of what constantly took place. The counsel for the queen knew this, and therefore judiciously kept her out of sight. The learned counsel then adverted to the evidence of Barbara Kress, which he said remained uncontradicted; and he commented with great severity upon the miraculous memory of Vassali, which abided with him at



Carlsruhe, and abandoned him at Munich, and every where else.

The learned counsel then alluded to the complaint of the difficulties under which the queen was said to labour :—the absence of the baron d'Ende was one. He apprehended that the absence of that person ought not to be, and was not at all regretted by her counsel. Another of the hardships was the conduct of baron Grimm, upon whose running up and down the apartments which the queen had occupied, a fanciful construction was placed, that he was carrying on designs against her royal highness. The next wonderful difficulty was the conspiracy—the dreadful conspiracy. When lieutenants Flinn and Howman had been examined, it was expected that the countess of Oldi and the rest would be called, and he was prepared to meet them ; when, all at once, the story of the conspiracy was trumped up, and soon after utterly abandoned, from mere shame. Here was one singular circumstance ; Rastelli had been sent out of the country ; the queen's counsel must have known it long before they pretended, and yet Mr. Brougham, with admirable simplicity, called upon the prosecutor to put Rastelli to the bar. The fact of his absence was communicated, and then out broke the fire.—Then their lordships were told that the witness was spirited away, and the feelings of their lordships and the public were appealed to. The learned counsel then entered into a defence of the Milan commissioners, and declared that the conduct of Mr. Powell and the other commissioners was wholly unimpeach-

able. The queen had, in fact, he must say, been supplied with the fullest means of defending herself. He rejoiced that nothing had been withheld, for the case was one which was to be proved upon certainty, not upon doubt.

It is for your lordships (said the solicitor general) to consider and decide upon this mass of evidence. We now take leave of this great question, and long and painful, and laborious, as it has been, we should be guilty of the greatest ingratitude, if we did not make our acknowledgements to your lordships for the kindness you have shown towards us—a kindness which has, in a great measure, assuaged the troubles and difficulties with which we have had to contend. Never came there a case before a court of justice which so effectually engaged the attention of mankind, and upon which such intense anxiety, amongst all ranks, has been experienced as to its result. Every passion has been appealed to by the counsel for the queen—they have well and faithfully discharged their duty to their illustrious client. We have no complaint to make of the course which they have thought proper to pursue, and we rejoice that such talents as they have exhibited have been called into action in the defence of a queen of England. They have, I say, appealed to all the passions, in their separate addresses to your lordships, which act with energy upon the human heart. They have appealed to the basest of all the passions—the passion of fear !—They have said to a tribunal renowned for its integrity, and the boldness and vigour of its counsels, in a tone which was intended to intimidate it, but  
which

which will fail in its unworthy object—one of the learned counsel has said, that if you pass this bill you will pass it at your *peril*. The word hung upon his lips too long not to be understood, and was then withdrawn. I am astonished that such topics should have been introduced. I am sure they can only have an injurious effect to the party from whom they have proceeded. I know that they can have no effect on your lordships, and that what justice requires you will do, without regard to any personal considerations. It is not in this place alone that such devices have been had recourse to ; out of doors the same conduct has been pursued, the same threats, the same unprincipled attempts have been made to intimidate your lordships. Even the name of her majesty has been profaned for the purpose. In her name, but I do believe without her sanction, attacks have been made on all that is sacred and venerable, on the constitution, on the sovereign, on the monarchy, on every order of the state. I repeat my belief, that these attacks have not proceeded from her majesty, but from persons who, under the sanction of her name, have been giving scope to the most dark and insidious designs. To suppose, for a moment, that her majesty was a party to them, would be to impute to her majesty a deliberate design to overthrow the constitution and government of the country.—But, from my soul, I acquit her majesty of any participation in these shameful transactions : and I have only here to add my hope, that from this moment we may hear no more of them. If, my lords, on looking at the whole state of the

case, you have no more than a moral conviction that her majesty has been guilty of the charges against her, you will, in that case, act safely, by adopting the language suggested by my learned friend (Mr. Denman), and saying to her majesty—"Go, and sin no more !" But, my lords, if, after calmly and dispassionately considering the whole facts of the case, you think that it has been made out so fully, so satisfactorily as to leave no rational doubt on your minds, then, knowing what I do of the assembly I have the honour to address, I am sure you will pronounce your decision with that firmness which will be consonant with your exalted station.

November 2.—After the order of the day had been moved, the lord chancellor commenced speaking. In the beginning of his speech his lordship defended the mode of proceeding, after which he thus continued: The way in which their lordships should look at the question was this :—Whether, laying aside all testimony that could be suspected, and taking together the evidence which was unsuspected on the part of the prosecution, and the testimony in answer, with the negative evidence, or want of evidence, which might have been produced—does or does it not support the allegation of an adulterous intercourse having existed between her majesty and Bergami ? He had so put the case to himself, and it did appear to him—he was sorry to say it, but he could draw no other conclusion, than that there had been an adulterous intercourse between her majesty and Bergami. His lordship did not care although the whole evidence of Majocchi and Dumont were

discarded; he would only ask their lordships to accompany him while he took a short survey of the circumstances attending her majesty's voyage to the Holy Land. Who went on board the polacca with her majesty? Schiavini, Hownam, Flynn, Austin, countess of Oldi, &c. If the simple issue which their lordships had to say was, whether her majesty and Bergami had slept under the same tent, could any man have a doubt as to the result of the evidence? In the first place their lordships had the evidence of Garguilo the captain, and Paturzo the mate of the vessel. No other observation had been made on the evidence of these persons, except that they had been paid a large sum of money as a compensation for coming here. In his opinion that was a matter of little or no consequence. There was no compulsory process to bring them to this country; and it was well known that foreign witnesses were never to be procured unless liberally paid. The fact of sleeping under the tent was one thing, and the existence of an adulterous intercourse another. In coming to a conclusion on this point, their lordships would look to other circumstances—the fact of the contiguity of the beds at almost every place where her majesty sojourned—to the extraordinary circumstance of the elevation of Bergami, and all his family—and particularly to the introduction of Bergami's sister, the countess Oldi, as her sole lady of honour. They were always to keep in mind, that ocular evidence of the adulterous connexion was not to be looked for; it was enough that there were such circumstances as led, in every reason-

able mind, to the inference of guilt. The noble and learned lord proceeded to animadvert with acuteness on the evidence of lieutenants Flynn and Hownam, as contrasted with the evidence for the prosecution, as to the circumstances on board the polacca. Why had not Schiavini been called? He it was who gave the orders to Garguilo and Paturzo; and if they could be contradicted, he was the man to do it. Could there be found in the evidence the slightest trace of necessity? But, supposing there had at any time existed a necessity, what was the meaning of having the tent shut up at different periods of the day, and when the weather was calm—when there was not a breeze? Where was the necessity of having the tent closed then, with the queen and Bergami inside? Now, if their lordships would look to the case at Aume, making what allowance they pleased for the necessity on board the polacca, what necessity existed for the regulation at Aume? What possibly could be the necessity for the introduction of a person into the tent, inclosed by another tent, in the latter of which Theodore Majocchi and another servant slept at each side? There was no *wind* there that rendered the presence of Bergami necessary, there was no *beeling*, no *tossing* of the ship up and down, to command his attendance upon his mistress. As to the evidence of what took place at Senegaglia, he considered that irreconcilable with truth in many parts, and therefore he dismissed it altogether from his memory. So also with respect to Trieste. When he heard of the distribution of the transactions there into six days,

days, and found that the queen had not been there half the time, he altogether dismissed that case from his mind. But then there was Barbara Kress, who had spoken to circumstances to which there had been no contradiction; except the evidence of Vassali was considered such—and that evidence was rather strange, for he had not said a word in opposition, until the counsel for the queen had helped him to fill up the vacancy. Vassali's evidence he looked to with great jealousy. Now, as to Catania: taking all the witnesses together, and coupling all that passed at Anme, in the polacca, and at Carlsruhe, with what occurred at Catania, no inference could be drawn from such a chain but that an adulterous intercourse had taken place.

Lord Erskine contended that there was no ground for proceeding by a bill of pains and penalties, since the charge against her majesty was a high crime and misdemeanour, for which she might have been tried by constitutional means. As this had not been the case, if he believed the queen as guilty as from the evidence he believed her innocent, he would vote against the bill, because an unconstitutional mode of proceeding was adopted, where a constitutional one was open. I must, said the noble lord (Erskine), soon terminate my life; but happy shall I be if I die advocating those great constitutional principles, the vindicating of which, in early life, raised me from the rank of an humble individual. The lord chancellor had stated that the fact of adulterous intercourse was the only one to be considered. He denied this. The noble lord then

proceeded to read the preamble of the bill, and to comment on the gross indecencies with which she was charged for some years, and in various countries; and yet this sweeping accusation had dwindled down to a charge of her sleeping on deck on board a polacca, attended by her chamberlain, and this only sworn to by two witnesses, who did not even declare that they had any suspicion of a criminal intercourse having taken place. It would be observed, too, that there had been no mystery about her majesty's conduct—no impression of that sort had been produced. [Here the noble lord exhibited symptoms of strong indisposition, and a pause of a minute or two took place. His lordship then attempted to resume, but, after a few words, sunk down as in a fit. He was caught in his fall by some of the peers near him, the windows were opened, and a glass of water brought; but his lordship continued so ill, that he was obliged to be borne out of the house by Mr. baron Garrow and earl Grey.]

Lord Lauderdale now proceeded to address their lordships. He did not ask for a direct evidence of the perpetration of the act of adultery; all he asked, was such evidence as would satisfy any man of plain common sense. Was there, then, such evidence? He was most decidedly convinced there was. He had never known in any case a combination of circumstances so strongly leading to the conclusion of guilt. The noble lord here proceeded to recite and comment on the circumstances of Bergami's elevation, as proved by the evidence for the defence.

His

His lordship laid particular weight on the caution which Mr. Keppel Craven had presumed to give to her majesty, as to being seen walking with Bergami, when he was in the situation of a courier. The noble lord next directed the attention of their lordships to the introduction of so many persons of Bergami's family into the service of her majesty. The appointment of the countess Oldi to the situation of sole lady of honour, was most powerful evidence of guilt. Then there was the change in the apartments on board the *Leviathan*. It would be recollected that lady Charlotte Lindsay said, that in the *Clorinde* her royal highness's female attendants slept near her; but on board the *Leviathan*, the most suspicious arrangements had taken place, and captain Pechell refused to sit at the table, in consequence of the fact that this courier, who had waited at table on a former occasion, had been dignified to a seat at it. Captain Pechell had acted by this refusal in a manner highly creditable to himself. The noble lord then animadverted on the testimony of lieutenants Hownam and Flynn, whom he designated as two perjured witnesses, and who contradicted each other. Bergami's titles were next the subject of remark; and the noble lord thought the whole of these circumstances weighed much in the consideration of the guilt or innocence of the queen. The case of Aum was the next he would notice; and it was in the evidence of Majocchi and Dumont that the princess and Bergami slept under the tent; and although Hieronymus, Shiavini, Austin, and all the knights of St. Caroline were there,

not one of them had been called to contradict their statement. He had gone much into the examination of the evidence, not from any weight which he thought his views of it might have, but that the country might know the grounds on which he gave his vote for the bill.

The earl of Roseberry could not reconcile it to his honour and conscience as a jurymen to give his assent to the passing of the bill. He implored their lordships to ponder well the effects which the passing of the bill might probably have: to view it not only as a question of justice, but of expediency. If any doubt—if the least doubt existed on the minds of their lordships—if there was any deficiency in the evidence, the benefit ought to be thrown into the scale for the defendant.

Lord Redesdale thought the proof was full, complete, and absolute. He could not conceive how there could be a doubt on the subject in the mind of any reasonable man. He had considered the evidence attentively—he had examined it over and over, and his impression was, that the case had been more fully proved than ever any case in which a contrariety of opinion existed. He proceeded to consider the proceeding in a constitutional point of view. He thought it surprising that a bill of pains and penalties should be objected to as an unconstitutional measure, when the whole constitution of the country depended on one—the exclusion of the Stuarts by the act of settlement. All divorce bills were in fact bills of pains and penalties. His lordship illustrated his view of the case by a number of references, and having

having concluded exactly at four o'clock, the house adjourned.

Nov. 3.—Earl Grosvenor commenced an address to their lordships by observing, that he had throughout this painful proceeding paid the most undivided attention to all which had been submitted, and the result of his attention was a determination on his part to say “not content” to the second reading of this bill. It was impossible, he said, not to have observed, that the noble and learned lord chancellor had endeavoured to take an unprejudiced view of the question, and to hold the balance of the scale even. With respect to the erasure of her majesty’s name from the liturgy, he must say this, that whether it was done by the archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the book before the king, or in what other manner he did not know; but if he (earl Grosvenor) was the archbishop of Canterbury, and that he was sent for on such an occasion, and ordered to strike the name from the liturgy, he should have thrown the book in the face of the person who asked him, sooner than have complied with the order.

The earl of Harewood said, that much of the evidence had been contradicted, much stood on loose grounds, but other parts, he was sorry to say, stood on a firmer foundation. The effect of the whole was, he must say, calculated to create a strong suspicion respecting the subject of their inquiry. He was convinced that the effect of passing such a bill would be this, that it would cause the greatest discontent among the people of the country. If any thing could be calculated more than another to create a false im-

pression, it would be the passing a measure which was intended to hold out the queen in a degraded view to the country. His vote was grounded on the inexpediency and impolicy of the bill.

The earl of Donoughmore observed, that if the noble lord (earl Harewood) thought the queen not innocent, he should propose some measure, such as in his judgment the case called for; but he had contented himself with opposing the bill, and refraining from proposing any measure in its substitution. His lordship, after some further observations, concluded by declaring, that he felt it his duty on this occasion to say “content” to the motion that this bill be read a second time.

Earl Grey maintained, that to support charges such as were adduced against the queen, there ought to be clear, unequivocal, and irresistible proof. The proof ought to be derived from witnesses who were above all suspicion; and in proportion as the rank of the accused was high, and the threatened penalties severe—in proportion as the proceeding was new, anomalous, and extraordinary—a departure from all form and precedent—the evidence ought to be of the most unimpeached character. If their lordships could believe the testimony of Majocchi, Dumont, and Sacchi, there was an end of all doubt, and the fact of adultery was completely proved. But all his noble friends who had preceded him had agreed that the evidence of these witnesses was to be completely discarded.

The earl of Liverpool expressed his firm opinion that no possible motive could be assigned for the

the promotion of Bergami, except the disposition to criminal indulgence, which influenced the conduct of her royal highness towards him.—Adjourned.

Nov. 4.—The earl of Liverpool said, that upon the whole of the evidence, up to her royal highness's arrival at Augusta in 1816, there was such a mass of testimony not only not entirely contradicted, but partially admitted, that a moral conviction must be brought to the mind of every unprejudiced man, of the existence of an adulterous intercourse.

Lord Arden and lord Falmouth opposed the second reading of the bill, and earls Harrowby and Lauderdale spoke against the divorce clause.

Lord Ellenborough said, the solemn inquiry into the conduct of the queen has taken place, and we are now arrived at that point in which it becomes our duty to adopt such measures as, considering the evidence that has been produced, may be most just to the parties, and most conducive to public morals and public safety. When I voted for an inquiry into the conduct of the queen, I certainly expected that her guilt would have been so evident, so clear, so incontestable, that it would be impossible not to vote for the bill. I also thought that public opinion would change, and that the public voice would call upon us to pass this bill.—I cannot declare the queen innocent; but I cannot consent to say she is guilty! Several allegations against the queen have been proved, and I cannot give my vote for the bill when a great part of the evidence has failed. I must also declare, that I feel great unwillingness in

passing any bill, against which there is in the public mind a great and almost universal objection. I certainly regret this feeling in the public mind. This is a great question of public morals and of national character, one that was calculated to make an impression on the public mind, by fixing infamy and guilt. But, considering the situation in which the queen stands with the public, to pass this bill would be deemed an act of such violence that it would not produce the necessary effect, but a re-action. I vote against the bill, because I think it would be injurious in its consequences; but I must at the same time observe, that we should not suffer the conduct of her majesty, as proved at your lordships' bar, to pass without severe censure. A queen of England is exalted above all the rest of her sex. We neither require talents nor exertions from her; but she is required to be a model of female virtue! But there is no man of any party, who has heard the evidence, but must come to this opinion, that the queen is one of the last women in the country whom a man of honour would wish his wife to resemble, or his daughters to imitate.—“I give my vote against the second reading of the bill,” said lord Ellenborough; but I at the same time must say, that the house ought not to separate without expressing a strong opinion as to her majesty's conduct, founded upon the untouched parts of the evidence.”

Lords Ashburton and Erskine strenuously opposed the bill; and lord De Dunstanville, lord Mansers, and the duke of Newcastle supported it.—Adjourned.

Nov.

Nov. 6.—The marquis of Lansdown pointed out several inconsistencies and contradictions in the evidence, and strongly deprecated the introduction of bills of pains and penalties, as contrary to the principles of the constitution.

The duke of Northumberland said, "I feel it my duty to state my conviction, that, in a long course of indecent familiarities, adultery has been committed by the princess of Wales with her servant Bergami. With this impression on my mind, I never can consent that such a person shall perform the functions of queen of this realm, or be at the head of female society in this chaste and moral country. I feel no hesitation in saying, that I shall give my vote for this bill as it now stands."

Lord Howard, the earl of Enniskillen, lord Calthorp, the marquis of Stafford, earl of Grant-ham, and the earl of Blessington, strongly opposed the second reading of the bill; and lord de Clifford, lord Gosford, and the duke of Athol, supported it.

The duke of Somerset condemned the whole of the proceedings respecting her majesty; and allowing the fullest extent of evidence, he could not see that a sufficient case had been made out for a bill of pains and penalties.

Lord Grenville thought that, looking to the sudden elevation of Bergami, and such facts in the case against her majesty as had been admitted, or had been proved by unimpeached witnesses, there was a mass of circumstantial evidence, such as, before a jury, would be held sufficient, in 999 out of 1000 cases, to establish the charge of adulterous intercourse.

Lord Rosslyn said, the charge

was for a long period of adulterous intercourse, and yet not a single fact of adultery had been proved. In judging of the polacca, their lordships were not to consider the circumstances of sleeping under the tent, as if it were a room in a house, where the fact would necessarily imply guilt. His lordship, after some further observations, concluded by stating his determination to oppose the second reading of the bill.

A division then took place, when there appeared for the second reading,

Contents	128
Non-contents	95
Majority	28

The bill was accordingly read a second time,

No. 7.—Lord Dacre rose to present the following protest, on the part of her majesty, against the decision of their lordships the preceding day:

"Caroline Regina,  
"To the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled.

"The queen has learnt the decision of the lords upon the bill now before them. In the face of parliament, of her family, and of her country, she does solemnly protest against it. Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors, have presumed to sit in judgment upon the question between the queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her, who had heard the whole evidence for the charge and absented themselves during her defence. Others have come to the discussion from the secret committee, with minds biassed by a mass of slanders which her enemies have  
not



not dared to bring forward in the light. The queen does not avail herself of her right to appear before the committee; for to her the details of the measure must be a matter of indifference; and, unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the bill before the other branch of the legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years. She now, most deliberately, and before God, asserts that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge; and she awaits, with unabated confidence, the final result of this unparalleled investigation."

On the motion of lord Dacre, the address was received, after some animadversions from their lordships.

The house having gone into a committee on the bill, a considerable discussion ensued on the respective clauses. The archbishop of York opposed the divorce clause, as well as the bishop of Chester, lord King, bishop of Worcester, and several of their lordships. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Llandaff, and others, supported it.—Adjourned.

Nov. 8.—The house having gone into a committee on the bill of pains and penalties, the archbishop of Tuam declared his determination to vote against the third reading, if the divorce clause were retained. After several noble lords had spoken at considerable length, the house divided, when it was carried by 129 to 62, that the divorce clause should stand part of the bill.

Nov. 9.—Lord Shaftesbury then brought up the report of the

bill of pains and penalties, and the amendments thereon read by the lord chancellor a first and second time.

Nov. 10.—The duke of Bedford contended that, in the whole catalogue of charges against her majesty, there was not one of the slightest importance supported by credible testimony.

The lord chancellor repeated his reasons for coming to the conclusion that her majesty was guilty.

The bishop of Chester condemned the language which he had heard used with regard to his majesty in the course of these proceedings. One noble lord (Grosvenor) had said, that had he been archbishop, he would have thrown the prayer-book in the king's face; and a counsel at their lordships' bar had presumed to liken the sovereign, who now presided over this great nation, to the most abominable and atrocious tyrant of ancient history. He would be bold to say, that, in future times, the pages of our history, which detailed the acts and conduct of George IV., would bear a comparison with those of the brightest periods of the reigns of the most eminent sovereigns which had preceded him. He felt it necessary now to state the reasons which would guide him in the future progress of this bill. He voted for the second reading of the bill, convinced of the moral and legal guilt of her majesty. He had opposed the divorce clause in the committee on religious scruples. He was thus placed in a singular situation. He could not oppose the third, upon the grounds which induced him to vote for the second reading. He could not support the

the third reading of the bill, which contained the divorce clause. When their lordships came to a decision, therefore, he should withdraw himself, and not vote at all.

Lord Erskine combated the arguments of the lord chancellor, and concluded with solemnly assuring the house that, if these were the last words he had to speak, he did not consider the evidence given at their lordships' bar as establishing a proof of her majesty's guilt.

The duke of Grafton and the marquis of Donegal spoke against the bill, and the marquis of Huntley in its support.

The bishop of Gloucester said, he should vote against the bill on account of the divorce clause, which was inconsistent with the general tenour of the christian religion and with the standing orders of the house, which were founded upon the principles of impartial justice.

Lord Alvanly and lord Darnley would vote against the measure, as not being supported by evidence.

Lord Ellenborough opposed it, because it did not contain the promised modifications, but observing, that among the peculiarities of the case was this, that the strongest evidence of her majesty's guilt was to be derived from her own witnesses.

The house then divided ; when there appeared for the third reading 108, against it 99. As soon as the state of the division was announced,

Lord Liverpool said, he could not be ignorant of the state of public feeling with regard to this measure, and it appeared to be the opinion of the house that the bill

should be read a third time only by a majority of 9 votes. Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of peers as the second, he and his colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere with the bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the legislature. In the present state of the country, however, and with the division of sentiment, so nearly balanced, just evinced by their lordships, they had come to the determination not to proceed further with it. He should accordingly move, that the question that the bill do pass, be put on this day six months. [The most vehement cheering took place at this unexpected declaration.]

The duke of Montrose said, he should oppose the motion for throwing out the bill. He was convinced of her majesty's criminality, and should never look up to her as queen.

The motion was then put and agreed to, and the house adjourned to the 23d inst. the day the commons were to meet.

House of lords, Nov. 23. — This day the lord chancellor entered the house, about ten minutes before two o'clock. The lords commissioners (being the earl of Liverpool, the lord chancellor, and earl Bathurst) took their seats before the throne, when the lord chancellor directed the yeoman usher of the black rod to require the attendance of the other house in this, in order to hear his majesty's assent by commission to a certain bill, and also to a commission for proroguing the present parliament.

The yeoman usher of the black rod soon returned to the house, accompanied by the speaker and several

veral members of the commons; when the right honourable gentleman took his station at the bar.

The lord chancellor then informed both houses, that the lords commissioners were empowered to declare and notify the royal assent to a bill, agreed to by both houses, for the relief of Robert earl of Harborough, from certain disabilities which he had incurred by sitting and voting in parliament, not having first taken the requisite oaths.

The above bill was passed in the usual way.

The lord chancellor then informed both houses, that his majesty had been pleased to issue a commission under the great seal, by and with the advice of his privy council, for proroguing the present parliament, from Thursday the 23d of November instant to Tuesday the 23d day of January next, then to be holden in the city of Westminster; and which commission they would now hear read.

The above commission was immediately read.

The lord chancellor then declared, that by virtue of the commission they had just heard read, and in obedience to his majesty's commands, the lords commissioners were empowered to prorogue this present parliament to Tuesday the 23d of January next.

The speaker and the commons then withdrew from the bar, and the house soon after broke up.

During the proceedings in the house of lords on the bill of pains and penalties, the house of commons was adjourned repeatedly: on each day of its meeting, ministers were warmly attacked for their conduct towards the queen, and

attempts were made to put an end to the proceedings, but unsuccessfully. As the proceedings and debates on these occasions present little novelty, we have not noticed them; but we must not pass over what occurred in the house of commons on the 23d of November, when the parliament was prorogued.

In consequence of the order for a call of the house this day, and of the interest excited by the expected communication from her majesty, the members began, at an early hour, to assemble in considerable numbers.

Mr. Hobhouse, and some other members, were down as early as ten o'clock, which, we believe, was the hour of the day to which, in strictness, the house stood adjourned.

Mr. Brougham had previously communicated to the speaker that a message would be sent down from the queen, hinting, at the same time, the expediency of his taking the chair at one o'clock, if there were a sufficient number of members present, in order that there might be full time to receive the message before the meeting of the lords.

At one o'clock, accordingly, the whole of her majesty's counsel who are members, except Mr. Brougham, who was detained professionally in the court of king's bench, were in their places, besides nearly one hundred other members, chiefly of the opposition party.

The speaker, however, was not present. It was understood that lord Castlereagh had been closeted with him for a considerable part of the forenoon.

The speaker did not enter the house.

house until within eight minutes of two o'clock.

The reading of the prayers occupied the house until exactly two o'clock.

Mr. Denman rose at two o'clock, and said—"Mr. speaker, I hold in my hand a message, which I am commanded by her majesty the queen to present to this house."

At this moment (a minute past two o'clock), Mr. Quarmer, the deputy usher of the black rod, tapped at the door, and immediately entered. This interruption occasioned great uproar. About fifty members rose in their seats, and the general cry was, "Mr. Denman, Mr. Denman!"—"Withdraw, withdraw!" but the noise was so great, that the gentleman in vain attempted to be heard; and, in the midst of the tumult,

Mr. Quarmer proceeded thus, although it was impossible for him to be heard by the chair—"Mr. speaker, the lords commissioners, appointed by virtue of his majesty's commission, command the immediate attendance of this honourable house in the house of peers."

Cries of "Shame! shame!" were now reiterated on all sides, and the utmost indignation was manifested by a number of members, who found her majesty's message thus treated.

The speaker prepared to leave the chair, when

Mr. Tierney rose, and observed that not one word of what had fallen from the deputy usher had been heard; and how then did the speaker know what was the message, or whether he was wanted at all in the other house?

The speaker however instantly

quitted his chair, followed by lord Castlereagh and the chancellor of the exchequer, to obey the summons of the peers.—The utmost confusion prevailed at this moment: and it would be in vain to describe the tumult which took place in the body of the house. The loudest and the most indignant cries of "Shame!" were reiterated throughout the house; and the speaker, followed by his majesty's ministers and several other members, advanced towards the door, on his way to the lords, in the midst of the most disconcerting uproar.

Mr. Denman, during this confusion, remained on his legs, holding in his hand her majesty's message. He was surrounded by the most distinguished members of the opposition, who, as well as many independent members who generally vote on the other side, seemed utterly astonished at what had occurred.

At five minutes past two o'clock, the speaker reached the lobby of the house of peers.

After being absent about ten minutes, the speaker returned, accompanied by the few members with whom he retired. Strangers were not admitted into the gallery, but we understand the right honourable gentleman did not take the chair, but, as is usual after a prorogation has taken place, he took the situation usually occupied by the chief clerk at the table, and being surrounded by the members present, he communicated to them that the house had been at the house of peers, where the lords commissioners, by virtue of his majesty's commission, had prorogued parliament to the 23d of January next.

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The members then retired, and the strangers collected in the lobbies and avenues leading to the house dispersed.

The following is the communication which Mr. Denman wished to make to the house :

“ Caroline R.

“ The queen thinks it proper to inform the house of commons, that she has received a communication from the king’s ministers, plainly intimating an intention to prorogue the parliament immediately, and accompanied by an offer of money for her support, and for providing her with a residence until a new session may be holden.

“ This offer the queen has had no hesitation in refusing. While the late extraordinary proceedings were pending, it might be fit for her to accept the advances made for her temporary accommodation ; but she naturally ex-

pected that the failure of that unparalleled attempt to degrade the royal family would be immediately followed by submitting some permanent measure to the wisdom of parliament—and she has felt that she could no longer, with propriety, receive from the ministers what she is well assured the liberality of the house of commons would have granted, as alike essential to the dignity of the throne, and demanded by the plainest principles of justice.

“ If the queen is to understand that new proceedings are meditated against her, she throws herself with unabated confidence on the representatives of the people, fully relying on their justice and wisdom to take effectual steps to protect her from the further vexation of unnecessary delay, and to provide that these unexampled persecutions may at length be brought to a close.”

## CHAPTER VI.

*View of the State of the Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce, internal and external, of Great Britain, during the Year 1820.*

THE agriculture of Great Britain during the year 1820, instead of reviving, and resuming at least a portion of its former activity and prosperity, evidently sunk into a state of deeper depression and languor. It is singular that the languor and depression spread over it in a much greater degree in England, than in Scotland, and much more in the south than in the north of Scotland ; but all parts of the kingdom experienced it in a greater or less degree.

In taking a view of the state of agriculture during the year, we are naturally called upon to consider, in the first place, the cause of the continuance, or the increase of its depression ; and in the second place, the results which have already followed, and are likely still to follow, from this depression.

It is an undoubted fact,—and one which at first sight seems to set at defiance, for its satisfactory explanation, all the acknowledged principles of political economy, and all the experience of the civil-  
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lized world,—that, during the strong, arduous and most expensive contest, in which the country was engaged with revolutionary France, not only manufactures and commerce, but agriculture also flourished in a most surprising degree. We are well aware, that as these three branches of human industry and skill are mutually dependent on each other, each one must partake of the languor or activity of the two others. But, independently of the stimulus and encouragement which agriculture derived from the flourishing state of manufactures and commerce during the war, it is a fact that it flourished from its own innate increased vigour. If, therefore, we can satisfactorily trace the causes which produced such a flourishing state of manufactures and commerce in the period alluded to, we may be assured that these causes will have operated, at least in part, in improving agriculture during the same period.

The main cause of this flourishing state of the three great branches of human industry is to be sought for in the increase of the circulating medium. The remarks of Hume, in his *Essay on Money*, are extremely just: “In every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, every thing takes a new face; labour and industry gain life; the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful; and even the farmer follows his plough with greater alacrity and attention. The farmer and gardener, finding that all their commodities are taken off, apply themselves with alacrity to raising more; and at the same time can

afford to take better and more clothes from their tradesmen, whose price is the same as formerly, and their industry only whetted by so much new gain.”—This picture is so strikingly just and applicable to what actually occurred during the French war, especially during that part of it when the circulating medium was very much increased, that one might think it had been drawn by an accurate and acute observer of that period.

If, then, a great, regular and continued increase of money (or of credit, which is the same in effect) made agriculture, manufactures and commerce flourish, it is abundantly evident, that they would cease to flourish, when the increase ceased. A difficulty however occurs: it might be supposed that, having had such a large portion of vigour infused into them, they would not again have sunk into the languid state in which we at present perceive them. On all abstract subjects, it is dangerous to employ metaphors, or illustrations drawn from topics of a different nature, but one cannot help imagining that the body politic is not unlike the human body: if to the latter is administered any powerful stimulus, all the functions go on, during its administration, with greatly increased vigour; but soon after the stimulus is withdrawn, languor ensues and the functions operate with less effect than they did previously to the use of the stimulus. So it probably is with respect to any stimulus applied to the three great branches of human industry.

With regard to agriculture, which is at present our more immediate object, great wonder has

been expressed by those who are induced to doubt its extremely distressed state, that the farmers should be suffering so much, when, by the taking off the property tax, they have been relieved in such a great degree. Prices are indeed much lower, it is said, and so far it is against the agriculturist; but, on the other hand, he has been relieved from the property tax, which on landlord and tenant amounted to nearly five millions. This remark has been made, and received as satisfactory by so many, that it requires a little investigation. In the first place, it is known that the property tax on farmers was 10 per cent. on their rent—calculating very absurdly and unjustly, that their clear profit would be equal to their rent. But how small a decrease in the price of corn will much more than counterbalance the removal of a tax of 10 per cent. on rent! During the war, corn frequently was at 5*l.* per quarter: now it does not average 3*l.* It is not necessary to enter into nice or minute details, but it must be evident that a falling off of 2*l.* in 5*l.* in a quarter of wheat,—which, supposing the produce to be three quarters per acre, is a falling in price of 6*l.* on every acre of land under wheat,—must be infinitely more lost to the farmer, than he gains by withdrawing the property tax.

In the second place, before the property tax was withdrawn, the capital employed in agriculture was greatly diminished all over the island, and, we have no hesitation in saying, utterly annihilated in some particular districts. Nor is this surprising, when we reflect on the principle of the property tax as levied on the farmer, and

on the consequences which it produced. We have already remarked, that it was levied on the absurd and unjust principle that profit was equal to rent: of course the farmer, who paid the highest rent, being supposed to make the largest profits, was burdened with the heaviest property tax. Nor was this all: he was not permitted, like the manufacturer, to pay less when his gains were less; but so long as he paid a certain rent, he was obliged, even when suffering great loss, to pay the same tax. If his landlord gave him relief by lowering his rent, government also gave him relief: but if his landlord was hardhearted and refused to lower his rent, government took no compassion on him: or, in other words, they relieved those who least needed it, and refused to relieve those who suffered most.

From this statement, it cannot appear surprising that agricultural capital has so much diminished: for a long time the farmer was obliged to pay his property tax out of his capital; and when he was relieved from this tax the circulating medium was diminished, and the price of all kinds of his produce fell.

We are well aware of another remark of Mr. Hume's, which would seem to promise a speedy termination to the distresses not only of the agricultural, but also of the manufacturing and commercial classes: "There is always an interval," he remarks with respect to a decrease of money, "before matters be adjusted to their new situation; and this interval is as pernicious, when gold and silver are diminishing, as it is advantageous when these metals are increasing.

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The workman has not the same employment from the manufacturer and merchant, though he pays the same price for every thing in the market. The farmer cannot dispose of his corn and cattle, though he must pay the same rent to his landlord. The poverty, and beggary, and sloth, which must ensue, are easily foreseen." From these remarks we might hope that the effects on agriculture as well as the other branches of industry, would soon terminate; but we must recollect that agricultural capital has greatly diminished, as we have already stated, and that at present taxes are much more heavy than they were in the time of Hume. It does not require any argument or illustration to prove, that if a man's capital is diminished, he cannot be replaced in the same situation in which he was previously, by any other mode than the acquisition of new capital to the same amount: if he has less capital, he cannot carry on his business with the same effect and profit. The farmer, for instance, cannot afford to cultivate his farm so well as formerly: of course the produce and his means are less. With respect to taxes, let it be recollected how large a portion of the outgoings of every person are consumed in the taxes he pays: and that though the price of all commodities, so far as that price is made up of profit on capital and on the wages of labour, must fall with a diminished circulation, yet that portion of it which is made up of taxes cannot possibly fall; or, in other words, the farmer, with a reduced capital and with a produce selling for little more than one half of what it formerly did, is obliged to pay

the same amount of taxes in all the taxed articles he consumes. Formerly ten quarters of wheat, for instance, would have paid all his taxes; now it requires twenty quarters. Another point ought to be also taken into consideration. A manufacturer or merchant, if his business is not prosperous, can free himself and his capital from it, at much less trouble and with much less time, than a farmer can free himself and his capital from the farm he holds. Besides, if the cotton manufacture, for instance, continues for any time in a depressed state, the price of cotton, the raw material, experiences a depression; and thus the manufacturer, buying cheaper, is enabled to sell cheaper: but when corn falls, the farmer, who holds his land on lease, cannot derive a similar advantage from a fall in the price of land, his raw material.

Having thus stated our opinion of the causes of the extremely distressed state of agriculture, we shall next proceed to consider the results which have already proceeded, and are likely still to proceed from it.

It was well observed by an intelligent farmer to his landlord, that the weapon which wounds the farmer must sooner or later pass through his side, and reach the landlord. This has taken place in many parts of England: the farmer, unable to pay his rent from the produce of his farm, has been compelled to sacrifice his capital; but this could not be done without taking away the means necessary to the proper and effectual cultivation of his farm. Hence his produce becomes still less, and his means of paying



his rent proportionably less ; and of course the necessity of still further infringing on his capital more urgent :—the result is, that the farmer is obliged to quit his farm, either stripped entirely of his capital, or with it so diminished as to be unable to take a new farm. The landlord, on the other hand, is not able to relet his farm on the terms he demands : and it is either suffered to lie uncultivated, or is cultivated at an expense and in a manner under his own eye, which neither benefits himself nor the public, nearly so much as they were benefited while it was cultivated by a farmer of capital.

But these evils cannot occur without drawing other evils after them : the labourer is thrown out of employ, and the poor-rates increase enormously, at the very time when the means of paying them are diminished ; for not only is the farmer less able to pay them : all who depended upon him, whom he used to employ, or with whom he used to deal, in short nearly all the inhabitants of an agricultural village, suffer from his sufferings in a greater or less degree.

When is this dreadful evil to stop, or by what means is it to be stopped ? The skill and what little remains of the capital of our farmers, is emigrating to America, the Cape, or New Holland ; and too many comfort themselves with the idea that only the surplus population is thus drained off, and that the country will in fact thus be relieved of a useless and expensive burden. Such is not our view of the subject : we confess indeed that we do not see when or how the evils which press upon agriculture, and which in 1820 have been greater than

they were in 1819, and indeed appear gradually and regularly increasing, are to terminate ; but that they are evils,—that one of the greatest evils which can possibly befall a nation must be sought in the diminution of its agricultural skill, capital and population,—we have no doubt. If we were not borne down by taxation—if all kinds of produce were free to adjust themselves to the diminished circulation, though during the adjustment much confusion and misery would arise, yet we would have good hopes of a certain and not a very distant relief ; but, as it is, our prospects and our hopes are equally gloomy.

With respect to the manufactures of Great Britain, they certainly, with some exceptions, have improved during the year 1820. Several causes have contributed to this improvement ; the principal of these we shall particularize. In the first place, the manufactures having languished for some years, the stock of goods had gradually decreased : this of course revived a demand for them. During the most flourishing state of our manufactures and commerce, we did not, with all the advantages of most improved machinery and of great capital, manufacture quicker than the goods were bought and consumed. But the reverse took place soon after the peace : our manufacturers soon over-stocked the market, and till the stock was greatly diminished, it is obvious there could not be a regular renewed demand. In the second place, the price of the raw material, especially of cotton, was extremely low, in consequence of the immense importation : this lowness of price induced the manufacturer

factorer to purchase and work it up. In the third place, the cheapness of agricultural produce conjoined to the long continued depression of the manufacturing labouring class, enabled the master manufacturer to obtain his labour at a very cheap rate. All these circumstances co-operating, viz. an increased demand, low price of the raw material, and the low rate of wages, have given a stimulus to most of our manufactures; and though the rate of wages reckoned in money is low, yet the manufacturing labouring class are much better off than they have been for some years, in consequence of the low price of the necessities of life.

But the manufacturers of Birmingham do not partake of this revival of trade: partly because they are principally confined to articles of luxury or of changeable taste and fancy, and partly because the manufacturers of that town have, to a greater degree than any of our other manufacturers, injured the credit of their goods by working them in a superficial and imperfect manner.

The trade of a country of course consists of two branches,—internal and foreign trade. The internal trade of Britain during 1820, has in all the agricultural districts suffered much; whereas in the manufacturing districts it has been much better. It is scarcely necessary to explain the causes of this diversity. They proceed directly and obviously from what has been already fully stated and illustrated. The farmer receiving less for his produce, is able to spend less; and all those who are dependent on the farmers are affected in the same manner, though

in different degrees. Those tradespeople who pay less to the farmer for the produce of his farm, than they receive from him for the goods they deal in, suffer more than they gain by the low price of agricultural commodities;—whereas, on the contrary, those who pay more to the farmer for his produce, than they receive from him, are benefited by a fall in the price of corn, meat, &c.

We are aware it has been maintained, that the internal trade of the country is better than it was, on an average, during the three years preceding 1820; and the quantity of exciseable articles made during 1820, compared with the quantity made on the average of 1817, 1818 and 1819, has been appealed to as a proof of the truth of this doctrine. The principal exciseable articles on which there is an increase, are beer, spirituous liquors, candles and soap, and cotton goods. But there is a fallacy in this argument: it by no means follows, because a larger quantity of these articles was made in 1820, that therefore a larger quantity has been consumed, or even sold. The excellent quality and very low price of barley will account for the increased manufacture of beer and spirits; the very low price of tallow will likewise account for the increased manufacture of candles;—and the causes we have already stated account for the increase in the manufacture of cotton goods. If indeed these articles continue to be produced in a larger quantity for two or three years, we may fairly infer that the consumption has increased, because, though the low price and excellent quality of the raw materials will induce

the manufacturer to increase his manufacture, yet he will not, from the same inducements, be led, nor indeed would his capital enable him,—to continue this increase, unless increased consumption took off his stock, and thus returned his capital. The increased manufacture of any articles cannot therefore justify the belief that consumption has increased, when we know that all the agricultural population, and all dependent on them, are poorer than they were; that the manufacturer is certainly not richer; and that the only classes who are in fact richer, are those whose property or incomes consist in money,—the only article which has increased in value.

The foreign trade of Britain during 1820 has rather improved, but not regularly, and we are afraid it will not permanently. The stock of British goods abroad must indeed be greatly diminished; but this is of little avail in countries which are either too poor to repurchase, or which now manufacture for themselves. The United States

take off comparatively little of our manufactures: in them there was for some years the same increase of artificial capital and credit as in Britain: it produced the same effects, an unnatural and forced expenditure: this artificial capital being in a great measure withdrawn, the United States are suffering as we are suffering, though in a less degree, and consequently are not in a condition to purchase nearly so many of our goods as they formerly did.

We have thus given a rapid, but we believe a true and just picture of the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, in Britain during the year 1820, and have endeavoured also to point out the causes which have produced the depression of all the three branches, and the recent improvement of some of our manufactures. The principal cause is the diminution of our circulation; what effect this has produced, and is likely to produce, on our finances will be afterwards considered.

## CHAP. VII.

### *View of the State of the circulating Medium and of the Finances of Great Britain during the Year 1820.*

**WE** have frequently had occasion to remark on the very limited knowledge which we still possess of what is called the science of political economy. Even some of the very primary and essential principles of it, as they are laid down by the most celebrated authors on this subject, have within these few years been contradicted by the experience of this country and of other

countries in Europe. Indeed the circumstances of Great Britain in particular, during the latter period of the French revolutionary war, if they were examined with attention, ought to illustrate, more than any other fact, nearly all the principles of political economy. Yet with respect to these circumstances, what diversity and even opposition of opinion has there not been! Let

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us look only to the much and long agitated question of the depreciation of the paper currency. All were agreed, because the fact was notorious, that a one pound note and one pound of gold or silver coin were no longer equivalent; but beyond this, there was no agreement, even of the most acute political economists: some maintaining that the difference of value between paper and gold arose from the over-issue of the paper currency; and others, that it originated from the great demand for gold and silver. It is probable that on this, as on many other long and warmly agitated subjects, there was truth in each position, and that the difference of value in fact arose partly from the over-issue of the paper currency, and partly from the great demand for gold and silver created by the war.

For some short time after the peace, there was considerable fluctuation in the comparative value of gold and paper; at one period gold was at its mint price, or nearly so; then gold coin to a large amount was coined, but it soon disappeared. In this case it was evident that demand for gold created by the war could not possibly operate; but it was maintained that gold might be in great demand and consequently rise in price, from other causes besides war; that an unfavourable state of the exchange must draw from a country, which possessed both a paper and a metallic currency, only the latter.

The evils resulting from this fluctuation in the price of gold became at last so glaring, and the injustice, as well as the impolicy, of permitting the bank to change according to their pleasure, by putting forth a greater or less amount of notes, the price of all commodities,

that government, of their own accord, brought in a bill to enable or compel the bank to pay in gold. By this bill it was permitted to demand gold bullion for their notes, at fixed rates, which were to be reduced at certain periods.

It was contended that the very passing of such a bill was a virtual acknowledgement of the doctrine that the difference of value between paper and gold arose from the depreciation of the former, not indeed a depreciation from want of confidence, but a depreciation from over-issue. And certainly it must have been so: for by enacting that the bank should give gold for their notes at certain prices, lowered at certain periods, it was supposed that the bank had a controul over the price of gold, and that in fact, by contracting the issue of their paper, they could lower the price of gold: of course, if by this operation they could lower the price,—by a counter operation, or by increasing the issues, they could raise the price.

The fact is, that the bank of England immediately began to prepare for payments in gold by contracting their issues: for some years previously they had averaged 25 or 26 millions: they were gradually lowered to 24 and 22 millions, rising a little higher at the period of the payment of the dividend. At the same time the price of gold and silver fell considerably; the price of the latter in the market being rather below the mint price, and that of the former continuing exactly at the mint price.

It is understood, indeed, that in general the bank of England possesses the full and absolute power of regulating the price of gold; but this can only apply to it as the purchaser of gold, and that mere-

ly in ordinary times ; for it is evident that, if the course of exchange or the demands of war should call for a large quantity of gold, the price would rise in spite of the bank.

Things then, as they respect the circulation of the country, are in this state : the bank is preparing for payments in cash, and indeed maintains that it is already ready to pay in cash, even though the period has not yet arrived when the law enacts it shall pay. It has prepared itself by contracting its issues ; and this contraction on its part has been necessarily followed by a diminution of the country bank paper.

The circulating medium of the country, therefore, is much less in amount than it was during the last ten years ; and it is probable that within another year it will consist, as it did before 1797, in gold and silver, and in paper convertible at pleasure into gold and silver.

The effects of this diminished circulation on agriculture, manufactures and commerce, we have already pointed out ; we are now to consider its effects on our finances. Cobbett, who by the coarse vigour of his intellect often forces his way into the midst of subjects which others are obliged to reach in a more gradual and cautious manner, has for some years maintained, that the country has the choice of two evils. If the paper currency is continued at its former amount, and not made convertible into coin at pleasure, the price of all commodities must continue high, and the foreign exchanges unfavourable ; whereas, if a metallic currency is resumed by obliging the bank to pay in coin, and consequently to contract its issues, he maintains that it will be utterly impossible to raise the taxes. His

reason for this latter opinion is very short and simple : a man whose income is 5000*l.* a year, for instance, cannot spend at that rate, if his income be reduced to 3000*l.* But a diminution in the currency affecting prices must reduce all income arising from prices. So far indeed as the man whom we have supposed to possess at first an income of 5000*l.* and afterwards of 3000*l.* has to purchase commodities,—as these commodities will fall in price in an equal degree with those from which his income is derived, he will be equally well off with his 3000*l.* as he had been with his 5000*l.* a year. Not so however in the payment of his taxes, which will still remain at the same amount. Let us suppose that he paid in taxes 500*l.* a year, or a tenth part of his first income ; it is evident that if he pays 500*l.* a year out of an income of 3000*l.* he will no longer have nine tenths of his income to lay out in commodities ; of course those from whom he is accustomed to purchase them, will suffer not merely as he does, from the reduction of the paper currency, but also from a decreased demand for their commodities.

That this must happen is undoubted, if no cause intervenes to prevent or lessen its operation. Who then will be benefited ? Not the landholder ; not the merchant : in short, no class of persons who live by the sale of any commodities ; for all commodities will fall in price : but it is evident that the fall in the price of commodities and a rise in the value of money are the same thing. All those therefore who derive their income from money alone will be benefited ; but of these, the fundholders are by far the most numerous and important class.

class. They must therefore benefit at the expense of all other classes: or, in other words, while the same nominal amount is paid them, they will in fact be put in possession of a much more extensive command over all the commodities, than they possessed before.

Hence the resumption of cash-payments, being necessarily preceded by a diminution in the currency, must render the national debt a much greater burden than it was previously. This is become so apparent, that several plans have been suggested, either for paying it off, or for lessening its burden.

It is foreign to our purpose to notice all these plans, or even any of them at any length; yet we are sensible that a view of the state of the circulation and finances cannot be complete without cursorily noticing some of the most important. It has been proposed to pay off the debt, or rather the interest of the debt, in currency of the same real value as that on which the money was borrowed: that is, if the money was borrowed when the pound was only worth 15*s.* to pay off each pound of debt, or each pound of interest, with 15*s.*: thus paying the same real, though a different nominal value. The objections to this plan are numerous: few of those who now hold the stock are the same who originally lent the money: where they are, it would be an endless task to calculate the real value of money at the time they contributed to the loans: and lastly, if this plan were pursued with government creditors, it ought to be pursued with all who lent money to individuals at a time when its value was less than it is at present;

so that, in fact, this plan would shake all confidence, and produce more imposition and evil than good.

The next plan is to lower the standard; that is, to coin 15*s.* worth of gold into a coin to be received by government as 20*s.* This in reality would be the same as the former plan; or it would be entirely ineffectual. It would be the same, if when a sovereign contained only 15*s.*—what is now sold for a sovereign containing 20*s.*,—was sold for this reduced sovereign and 5*s.* more; because the national creditor would be obliged to receive sovereigns for 20*s.*, whereas they would pass from him only as 15*s.* If, on the other hand, commodities which were sold for a 20*s.* sovereign, were still continued to be sold for a 15*s.* sovereign, the plan would be inefficient. The payers of taxes would indeed pay 15*s.* where before they paid 20*s.*, but they would have to sell the same quantity of commodities to obtain 15*s.* as they did before to obtain 20*s.* and therefore could not be relieved; while, on the other hand, though the receivers of taxes received only 15*s.* where before they received 20*s.*, they in fact would draw from the rest of the community the same proportion of the produce of its industry and skill. The other plan, of paying off the debt by disposing of property of all descriptions, we have already considered in a former volume, and therefore we need not revert to it here.

As therefore these plans hold out no prospect of diminishing the national debt, we must look to the sinking fund; and this brings us to the consideration of this part of our financial operations, as it at present exists.

One of the boasted glories of Mr. Pitt's administration as a minister of finance, was the establishment of the sinking fund, which was represented as calculated and capable of freeing us, or rather our posterity, at no very distant period, from the burden of our national debt, and the least violation or appropriation of which was deemed a political sacrilege. In the midst of all our enormous and even lavish expenditure during the French revolutionary wars, we were cheered and animated with the confident assertion, that though on the one hand we were increasing our burdens, yet on the other hand we were really diminishing them, by means of the sinking fund, though at a slower rate.

For a long time it was useless to argue, or rather to prove from undoubted and glaring facts, that we possessed a sinking fund merely in name; for that this sinking fund, not being derived from, and supported by an actual surplus of revenue above expenditure, but in fact from money borrowed, our debt could not possibly be diminished by it. Notwithstanding this obvious argument against its utility, or rather its very existence, ministers pertinaciously refused to touch it: yet at this very time, the statements laid before parliament of the debt contracted, and the debt paid off annually, proved that there was no diminution, but rather an increase of debt, and consequently that there was no sinking fund.

At length in 1819, as we stated in our former volume, the chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged the inutility or rather non-existence of this boasted measure of finance, and explicitly stated

that the only excess of revenue above expenditure amounted to about 2 millions, which of course was the whole real sinking fund.

In order to increase this, taxes were laid on which it was calculated would produce rather more than 3 millions,—thus, in the present scale of our expenditure, affording the prospect of a real sinking fund of 5 millions. Hitherto the revenue, including the new taxes, has not exceeded the expenditure, so as to leave an effective sinking fund of more than about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions, though, when the new taxes were imposed, the first lord of the treasury held out to the country the prospect of the sinking fund amounting in a short time to 8 millions.

During the year 1820, there were discussed in parliament, and in public meetings of merchants in London and the other principal commercial towns, certain principles of trade, which though they professedly looked only to the improvement of commerce, yet, as connected with the revenue, deserve in this place some consideration. We allude to the doctrine of a free trade, or the free exportation and importation of all commodities, without duties to such an amount as virtually prohibited them. It is well known that the principal manufactures of this country have been forced up to their present state of perfection and extent, in a great measure by prohibitory or protecting duties; by the former we mean either actual prohibition of foreign commodities which could compete with them in the home market, or such high duties on these commodities as either acted as a prohibition of them, or gave our commodities a decided advan-

advantage, in point of cheapness, in the home market. Indeed there are few articles of the produce or manufacture of this country or of its colonies, which are not protected from foreign competition by high duties.

For a long time, and especially during the last war, Great Britain benefited by this system; but now that she no longer benefits by it, but finds her manufactures and commerce languish in consequence of a diminished demand for them by foreign countries, her merchants are anxious to advocate and introduce a free trade.

It is obvious, that if French wines, for instance, were admitted free of duty, or with a comparatively trifling duty imposed upon them, the consumption of them in this country would be greatly increased; of course a greater quantity would be bought, and to pay for this greater quantity, either France or some other foreign country must take a larger amount of our produce or manufactures; for it is an undoubted fact, that all commodities imported into a country are directly or indirectly, immediately, or after the lapse of a short time, paid for by commodities exported.

So far the question, merely as it respects commerce (for at present we are not regarding its bearing on revenue), is very plain. If the duties on French wines were lowered, so as to reduce their price in the British market one half, there can be no doubt that the consumption would be increased considerably: let us suppose one half. A person who at present spends 50*l.* a year on French wines, would then, with the same sum, be enabled to drink double the quantity:

but it is not likely, if he drinks double the quantity of French wines, that he would consume the same quantity as he did previously of other liquors. If he consumes less of other foreign liquors, then our commerce with the country from which they were imported must fall off: if he consume a smaller quantity of home made liquors, then those concerned in their manufacture would be injured.

There is however another point of view, in which this question, regarded merely as a commercial one, may be placed. Let us suppose that the person, who previously to the supposed arrangement spent 50*l.* in French wines, spent 50*l.* also on other liquors; as after the arrangement he will be able to purchase for 50*l.* double the quantity of French wines, and consequently will not require nearly such a quantity of either liquors, —it may reasonably be supposed, that he will have 20*l.* or 30*l.* out of the sum he formerly expended on them, applicable to other purposes. Here then is a stock, which must either go towards the increase of the capital of the country, or towards the extended consumption, and consequently produce of some of its manufactures.

Hence it appears that the assumed measure would ultimately benefit the country directly by creating a greater demand for those manufactures, &c. which were to be exchanged for the increased purchase of French wines; and indirectly, by the savings to the consumers of French wines, which savings would go, as before stated, either into the capital of the country, or to the extension of some of its manufactures.

We are now to regard the proposed



posed measure as it would probably bear on the finances of the country. It is evident, if the duties on French wines were lowered one half, and if by such an arrangement their consumption was doubled, that the duty collected on them would be the same. So far the proposed measure would be beneficial to commerce, and not prejudicial to the revenue. But we must extend our views, if we are desirous of seeing all the collateral and ultimate effects of this proposed measure on our finances.

The increased consumption of French wines would, as before observed, diminish the consumption of other liquors; but as all liquors, whether of home growth, as beer, spirits, or of foreign produce, as Portugal and other wines, brandy, &c. are taxed, it is plain that though the increased consumption of French wines would make up to the revenue for lowering the duty on them, yet the revenue derived from other liquors must suffer. If however the money formerly expended on these other liquors, and now saved by the greater consumption of the cheaper French wines, were expended on exciseable articles, the revenue might by this means be benefited to an equal extent to what it suffered; and even if the money saved was added to the capital of the country, and that capital employed either in the home or foreign trade, it is highly probable, that it would ultimately benefit the revenue. On the whole, therefore, if the proposed measure of a free trade were well digested, and brought about gradually and with due regard to the interests of the revenue, we have no doubt it would greatly benefit commerce, and

not ultimately injure the revenue. How far this measure of a free trade is applicable to the corn trade, and what would be its permanent effects on our agriculture, is a question of much greater magnitude, extent, and importance; which at present we are not called upon to consider.

There are only two more points connected with the revenue to which we shall revert: the first is the great expense of collecting the different branches of it; as the revenue at present exists and is divided into so many heads, we think great savings might be effected in the collection. But it would be still better to simplify the sources of our revenue, and instead of raising the taxes, by means of customs, excise, assessed duties, &c. to raise them by a property or income tax. The principal objection to this measure is the diminution of patronage and influence it would occasion.

But this simplification is also recommended by another consideration: by taxing commodities, the public pay much more than the tax. It is evident that a brewer, for instance, must possess a much larger capital when malt and hops are taxed 50 per cent. than when they are taxed only 25 per cent.: but he naturally expects interest on all the capital he employs; and therefore the consumer, the higher the tax, must pay not only this high tax, but interest on a larger capital. This must be the case with all who deal in or manufacture taxed articles; they must lay on not only the additional tax, but interest on their greater outlay of capital. This would be avoided by a tax on property.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Death of the King—New Sovereign—Elections—State of the Country—Cato-street Conspiracy—Treasonable Proceedings in Scotland—Trial of Mr. Hunt, Major Cartwright, and Sir Charles Wolseley—Mr. Hobbouse—Remarks on the Proceedings against the Queen.*

THE death of George the 3rd, which took place at the end of January, though it did not create much sensation, as he had been for several years in fact dead to the nation, yet it called forth a considerable and very general degree of sorrow throughout the country. In the course of his long reign, he had at times been extremely unpopular, and the ignorance or malice of party feeling, had in many respects misrepresented his moral, political and intellectual character. The sterlingness of his mind and heart, however, and especially those features which he possessed in common with the nation over which he ruled, and which are deemed essential and distinguishing marks of that nation, always in a very short time redeemed him from unpopularity; and to these being added sympathy for his dreadful disorder, it may truly be said that few monarchs died more lamented. His excellent domestic character, the plainness and old-fashionedness in which he lived, his love of farming and of hunting, and even his fondness for entering into conversation with persons of all ranks, had endeared him to the common people. With respect to his intellectual faculties, though the mode in which he exercised them gave them the appearance of being rather trifling, except by those who had more intimate access to him, they were estimated, and we

believe justly, as being by no means of a low order. That he was inclined to toryism in his politics, and had high notions of the regal privileges, is not to be wondered at, when his education is considered, and the natural tendency of all men to estimate their own privileges too high is also considered.

If it were possible to describe Great Britain and its inhabitants as they were in all respects at the commencement and at the close of the reign of George III., we are convinced that no country and no people that ever existed, could exhibit greater alterations, and in general greater improvements, than took place in this country between 1760 and 1820. The state of the country, as it is displayed in its agriculture, manufactures and commerce; the state of the roads, and the means of internal communication; the connexion formed with foreign countries for commercial purposes, and the means by which that was carried on, as well as the effects it produced, as displayed in the wealth and mode of life of the inhabitants; the changes in domestic life, manners and pursuits; the great advances in all branches of science and arts, and especially the more general diffusion of knowledge;—all these, and a thousand other points, would form the topics of comparison between Great Britain in 1760 and Great Britain in 1820.

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The accession of George IV. created little sensation, for the same cause that the death of his father created little. He assumed indeed the name of king, but in reality he had for nearly 8 year, possessed all the power and privileges of a sovereign. No change in administration, or either in domestic or foreign politics, was expected. He had for long not been popular; it was hoped, however, that now he was become king he would show himself more among his people, and thus diminish one of the undoubted causes of his unpopularity. His domestic life and habits, very different from those of his father, together with his apparent change of politics, and consequent desertion of the friends of his youth, had also contributed to his unpopularity; and all these circumstances had operated so strongly against him, as effectually to counterbalance the popularity which it might have been expected he would have acquired from a series of victories, terminating in and producing more grand and important results than the conclusion of any previous war had ever witnessed.

On the death of George III., it became necessary to call a new parliament. The elections in general went off more quietly, and produced less change, than is generally the case. In some counties there was a powerful struggle of parties; in the county of Durham, for instance, all the influence of ministers, united to the influence of the clergy, which is very strong there, was exerted to throw out Mr. Lambton, but ineffectually. In Westmoreland Mr. Brougham opposed the interest of the earl of Lonsdale, not successfully, though with greater force than he had been

able to bring forth at the former election. In the City, the ministerial party succeeded in returning sir William Curtis, and in throwing out Mr. Waithman, both objects which they seem to have anxiously desired. On the whole, however the elections left the strength of ministers and their opponents in the house of commons nearly just as it was in the preceding parliament. Both parties talk of their appeal to the people by means of elections, though it is obvious that, except in a very few cities, there can be no appeal to the people, since the mass of the people possess no votes; and even at county elections, the influence of property, either direct or indirect, is so powerful and extensive, that unbiassed votes are given by comparatively few.

The mind of the mass of the community at the accession of George IV. was by no means in a settled or contented state. In England, as in all other countries, the majority of the people must be easily agitated, partly by their ignorance, and their acting more from feeling than judgement, and partly by the pressure of their abject situation, and the conviction that no change can possibly sink them lower in the scale of society. We have already frequently had occasion to advert to the writings of Cobbett, and of many others who imitated him: in these writings, which, appealing to the ignorance, the passions, and the supposed interests of the common people, and being sold at a very cheap rate, found their way every where, doctrines were promulgated, the tendency and the object of which was entirely to overthrow not merely the present frame of our constitution, but also the present frame of society. The mass  
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alleged immoral and licentious conduct : upon what principle could this be done, which would not extend to the king, or any other branches of the royal family ? It has indeed been said, that the opinions and usages of society overlook that in a man, which they censure and punish in a female : this is undoubtedly true, but all that can be inferred from this is, that though it might be proper and just to degrade a queen for incontinence, it would not be just and proper to degrade a king for the same fault. But it is possible to conceive crimes against morality committed by a king, such as would disgrace and banish from society any other man ; and upon the same principle that it is contended a queen ought to be degraded, because she had committed acts that would have degraded any other woman, ought a king to be degraded, if he had committed acts that would disgrace any other man. In short, it is scarcely possible to draw the line, or to prevent the mass of the people from applying to a king the same law that is applied to a queen.

But it was said, Would it have been proper to have allowed a woman such as the queen was represented to be, to preside as queen in this country, and to hold drawing rooms,—in short to be at the head of female society in such a moral country as Britain ? To us it always appeared that if the queen, with the stigma on her character, which had been fixed to it, justly or unjustly,—had held a drawing room, she would have seen herself attended by so few of the female nobility, that she would have soon left this country. But, independently of this, we cannot help thinking that there was much affectation in

pretending such regard to public morals ; and that some other motive led to the proceedings against her majesty.

There is another point of view in which the impolicy and inexpediency of these proceedings may be regarded. The new king was by no means popular ; no measure therefore ought to have been pursued, especially at the commencement of his reign, which would tend to increase his unpopularity, unless the necessity of such measure were most urgent and undoubted. We can easily conceive that the real good of the country may justify, and even call for and demand, the adoption of measures which the people may strongly oppose and dislike, and which of course will render the sovereign unpopular. But these measures should not have any connexion, even remote, with the private interests or feelings of the sovereign. Unfortunately, the very reverse of this was the case with respect to the proceedings against the queen. It was well known that the king and she had not lived together for many years ; that he had at first married her against his inclination ; and that he therefore could not possibly prevent himself from mixing up a very large portion of private feelings with a regard to the public good in the proceedings against the queen.

But through the country, among the mass of the people, there was not only an indifference or dislike to the new king, but also a pretty general disaffection to the government, a restless spirit, looking forward to some undefined and impracticable but radical change in the constitution. It was natural for all who were so disposed

to take the part of the queen ; and it was natural for her, deserted as she was, and persecuted as she conceived herself to be, to ally herself with them. Thus, a consolidation was given to the disaffection of the people, which it would not have acquired, if the queen had not been treated in the manner in which she was. It must be confessed that she acted very imprudently and rashly in connecting herself so intimately as she did with the violent reformers, and that her letter to the king, and also many of her answers to the numerous addresses presented to her, were very rash and ill advised. But it might have been foreseen that such would be the case—the reformers, or rather the radicals, were glad of an opportunity of accelerating their object, and at the same time of concealing it under the guise of attachment to royalty. They asserted that they were suffering by a violation of the constitution, and that their sole object was to restore that constitution to its primitive pure state ; the queen also conceived herself to be suffering from a violation of the constitution, and therefore naturally sought the friendship and assistance of those who were fellow sufferers, and who were desirous of removing the common evil.

It is well known, that in the moral and political world, as well as in the physical, if there is any point of union and consolidation, around it will be assembled every thing that possesses a strong and general resemblance ; and that thus consistence and force will be given to elements before weak and scattered. Thus it was in the case of the queen ; before she ar-

rived, those who were dissatisfied with government had no rallying point, they were ignorant of their strength, and although they all wished for some change, yet they differed with respect to its nature and extent. But the cause of the queen brought them together, made them acquainted with the number and strength of their forces, and induced them to coalesce in that common cause, by throwing aside or neglecting their points of difference.

In every respect, therefore, the impolicy and inexpediency of the proceedings against the queen, seem to us so obviously strong, that we are surprised they should have been commenced or persisted in, especially when no great public interest or advantage could possibly justify them.

The next topic to which we shall direct our attention, respects the justice and fairness of these proceedings ; and these may be considered at two periods of time,— the proceedings in Italy, and the proceedings in the country.

Previously, however, to entering on these inquiries, it may be proper to consider the subject of the exclusion of the queen's name from the liturgy. On the death of George III. it was of course necessary to alter the liturgy, as there was no longer a prince and princess of Wales : in this alteration it was not ordered by the king in council that the queen should be prayed for by name.

It is not our intention to enter at all upon the legal part of the question. It appears from the different constructions put on the act of uniformity and the other acts bearing on the topic, that there is much doubt whether the king

king can legally omit the name of the queen, or any other branch of the royal family usually prayed for. Let us grant, however, that he legally possesses the right: a right may legally be possessed, and yet the exercise of that right may be unjust, inexpedient, impolitic, injudicious, or productive of ill, either to him who exercises it, to the person against whom it is exercised, or to the community at large. The sovereign of this country most undoubtedly possesses, by law, the privilege of declaring war, or of making peace; but he may exercise it in a manner unjust, inexpedient, or prejudicial.

Under all the circumstances of the case, did, therefore, the sovereign exercise his legal right of excluding the queen's name from the liturgy, justly and properly? This may be doubted, when we reflect that such an omission was in fact inflicting a punishment before a crime had been proved, or even the committee of the house of lords, on whose report the bill of pains and penalties was introduced, and which has been compared to a grand jury, had come to any decision. The case of lord Melville is by no means analogous; his name was not struck out of the privy council, till the motion for his impeachment had passed the house of commons, though before that the celebrated tenth report had collected evidence better substantiated, more direct, than that on which the committee of the house of lords recommended a bill of pains and penalties.

But there is another point of view in which the omission of the queen's name from the liturgy may be considered. Even if she had been proved guilty, (unless she

was degraded from the rank and name of queen, as a punishment of her guilt,) we do not think that the omission of her name should have taken place. What would be implied by such a mode of proceeding? Undoubtedly this, that immoral conduct justifies such omission in respect to the queen, only, not in respect to any of the other branches of the royal family; and this brings the question exactly into the same predicament, in which we have already viewed the whole proceedings against the queen, viz. as setting a bad and dangerous precedent of punishing royalty not for political offences, but for immoral conduct. Against the trial, condemnation and execution of Charles I. the strongest argument is, that no law existed which applied to the king's case: and yet, if it ever can be justifiable to act against a sovereign, where there is no law, it must be where the liberty of the people is endangered by his acts: but in the case of the queen, where no political offence was alleged, where the liberty of the people could not possibly be endangered, where only immorality was charged, and where the only public evil apprehended was the disgrace of the nation to have such a queen, and the pollution which public morals might suffer from her presence and example—any punishment, especially punishment such as the exclusion of her name from the liturgy, inflicted without even the authority of an *ex post facto* law, must be regarded as most unjust, and as forming a most dangerous precedent, which might as probably operate against the sovereign as his subjects.

We come now to the consideration

ation of the proceedings abroad against the queen: and in the very outset of this consideration, a question naturally occurs, why, if the queen, while princess of Wales, was conducting herself in a manner so as publicly and unblushingly to disgrace her country and rank, was she not admonished? and why, if it were ascertained, which it might easily have been, that adultery with a foreigner abroad was no crime, was not a law enacted making it a capital crime, as in the case of adultery committed by a queen with one amenable to the laws of this country? The princess of Wales had been abroad for several years: during the whole of this time, it is alleged that she was living in adultery, and yet no notice was taken of her conduct.

That almost every person who had travelled in Italy brought home accounts disgraceful to the queen, is undoubted; and therefore it may be granted, that it was the clear and bounden duty of the British government to examine into the truth of these reports. But in what manner ought this examination to have been conducted? not certainly with a view and desire to find proofs of the queen's guilt, if they could possibly be supplied; but with the most anxious resolution to ascertain the real truth, whether in that would be involved her guilt or innocence. If however the examination were conducted for the purpose of making out guilt, if possible, would it not be extremely different throughout all its bearings and parts, from what an examination set on foot to ascertain the truth would be? Let us then inquire into the nature and character of the proceedings of the Milan commission, which was ex-

pressly formed to collect and examine evidence respecting the conduct of the queen while abroad.

The members who composed this commission, immediately on their entrance into Italy, must have observed from their own experience, as well as have learnt from the testimony of others, that there was a wonderful and suspicious willingness, on the part of all the lower orders of Italians, especially servants of all descriptions at inns, to retail to every English traveller, anecdotes prejudicial to the character and conduct of the queen: from this circumstance, one or other of the two following inferences, or perhaps both of them, might fairly and naturally have been drawn: that the persons who propagated these reports, believed they would be acceptable to the English; and that means had been taken, by some interested persons, to propagate such reports.

The commission therefore, if their object were solely to gain the truth, and not to make out a case against the queen, ought to have been most anxiously and particularly on their guard against admitting any vague and unsatisfactory evidence. For this purpose, they ought to have examined most scrupulously, and even severely, into the character of all who came forward as witnesses, and to have rejected such as bore bad characters, or, as it might reasonably be supposed, were actuated by malice, or the hope of reward, to exaggerate the truth, or to depose to positive falsehood: they ought also to have received no evidence except what was given by the witnesses on oath, and to have taken care that the oath was administered in the most solemn and binding manner.

of the people were represented as having been unjustly and forcibly deprived of their political rights in the first instance, and afterwards of the fruits of their own labour by excessive taxation. Even property was not respected—it was represented as merely the creature of society, and of convention—that when the mass of the people agreed that it should be confined to a few, it was on the implied and understood condition that the mass should never be deprived of the means of subsistence, but in cases where their industry could not secure these means, that they should obtain them from the property which they had agreed to resign.

Such doctrines were too absurd and too abstract to produce much influence on a people who were contented, and not in extreme distress; but falling on the intellect and feelings of a discontented and starving population, they could not fail to produce the worst consequences, and to prevent them from returning peaceably and contentedly to their work even when they could obtain it.

The men who agitated the country in 1820, as well as in several previous years, might be divided into two classes; those whose object was public evil for their own good, who looked only to the plunder which they would obtain in the public convulsion and overthrow, which they contemplated and endeavoured to effect. There was however, undoubtedly, another class; who indeed hoped to benefit themselves by the change, but who also thought that the change, besides restoring to them their rights, would be for the advantage of the community at large. There is no crime, into the perpetration or contemplation

1820.

of which there enters so much enthusiasm, so much mistaken judgment and feeling, as high treason, but which, on these very accounts, is rendered more dangerous.

The Cato-street conspiracy, the object of which was to destroy his majesty's ministers, and afterwards to establish a new form of government, was one of the most mad and desperate, as well as one of the most wicked plans that ever was formed. It is possible that some of those engaged in it, might satisfy their consciences that they were actuated solely by public feeling; but, when we consider the character and former life of Thistlewood, the chief of the conspirators, it is scarcely possible to believe that he was actuated by such motives. The treasonable proceedings at Glasgow and in other parts of Scotland, carried on as they were by men whose characters and former lives were far removed from vice, seem to us to have been of a different description from those in which Thistlewood was engaged; and the leniency of government towards them justifies and confirms this idea. They had evidently been led astray by the writings of Cobbett: they were convinced that they were unjustly deprived of their rights, and that there was no crime in endeavouring to regain them even by force of arms. But though there can be no doubt that the writings of Cobbett, &c. were calculated to produce these consequences, there is another source of these treasonable proceedings in Scotland, about which at present much mystery is spread. We allude to a treasonable hand-bill, which was circulated at Glasgow, calling upon the people to rise and resume their

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rights. That this hand-bill came from England there is every reason to believe; and there is also strong presumption to believe that it was written, printed, and circulated by a person whose object on this and other occasions, in which his agency has been traced, was to excite the people to rebellion. But though he seemed to be working to the same end as Cobbett, &c., yet his motives seem to have been different: by some he is expressly said to have been a spy of government, employed on the most absurd and most iniquitous principle of bringing to a head, treason which is supposed to exist in an immature state, that thus it may explode without mischief, and be punished. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the object of the circulation of this hand-bill was to goad the people to rebellion.

In our volume for the year 1819, we noticed the meeting at Manchester, its violent dispersion by the military, the refusal of the grand jury at Lancaster to find bills against the military, and the anomalous and disgraceful proceedings before the coroner at Oldham. A true bill however was found against Mr. Hunt, and the principal of those who were concerned with him at the Manchester meeting. At his request, their trial took place at York. Mr. Hunt conducted his own defence, and certainly displayed very considerable talents: the evidence adduced proved that the meeting of Manchester was very numerous, and of a description, from its numbers, the people of which it was principally composed, the sufferings under which they were labouring, the objects they had in view, and the men by whom they were collected and

addressed, which could not be viewed without serious alarm, and such as ought not often to be assembled, especially in large manufacturing towns. Yet it was also most satisfactorily and unequivocally proved that it was extremely peaceable, and that there existed not the smallest or most remote reason for the interference of the military, still less for their violent attacks on the assembled multitude. Mr. Hunt and his companions however were found guilty, principally because unlawful flags were used at the meeting; and it was generally thought that his punishment was much too severe. Indeed, in several cases lately of political offences, there seems a disposition to punish rather on account of general character, and in order to prevent what may happen, than for the crime simply as it is proved.

One of the most ridiculous exhibitions of the violent reformers, was the election of representatives for the town of Birmingham: This could possibly do no good; and we are almost disposed to think that government regarded it in too serious a light, when they tried and punished those who were principally concerned in it.

By a reference to the parliamentary debates, it will be seen that Mr. Hobhouse was imprisoned for a libel on the house of commons. It appears to us that the house of commons assumes a power unnecessary for its own protection, and therefore infringing on the liberty of the subject. There can be no doubt that every court must have the power of preserving order and decorum as well as respect amongst its members; so that if its debates are interrupted by the improper behaviour of any of its members,

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or any person before it, they may be removed and punished. In such cases, no delay or appeal to another court can take place, because the nuisance, so to speak, must be abated immediately. But if any court go further than this;—if they punish summarily and of their own accord, any affair against them, which does not in its very act impede their proceedings, they certainly infringe on the liberty of the subject. Mr. Hobhouse published a pamphlet, in which he libelled the house of commons;—why should this be proceeded against in a different way from other libels? If in his speech he had employed the same expressions, there might have been some reason and justice for taking him into custody: but there does not appear to us any reason or justice in protecting the parliament from libellous attacks upon it, in any other manner different from that in which the king, or any public or private individual, would have been protected, that is, by regular course of law. That the same persons who are injured should also be judges and jury, is so contrary to the British constitution, that only the most extreme necessity can render it palatable to British minds, and endured as an unavoidable evil.

In the midst of the perturbation and discontent which agitated and inflamed the public feelings, it was rumoured that the queen intended to return to England: and it was at the same time intimated, on the part of those who were supposed to be in the secrets of government, that, if she did actually return, proceedings would take place against her. It was hoped however by government, that the fear of these

proceedings, and the offer made her of 50,000*l.* a year, provided she would remain abroad and not assume the title of queen of England, would prevent her return. This however was not the case: indeed, in this the first stage of this strange and momentous business, government acted with a singular want of judgement and policy. It could hardly be expected that any person, much less one of the rank of queen, and of the determined and resolute mind by which she was distinguished, would consent to return to Italy, after she had come almost within sight of the shores of England: this would indeed have been to acknowledge her guilt.

It is generally understood that Mr. Brougham, the queen's legal adviser, was against her return, and that she was induced to take this step at the suggestion of alderman Wood: it is also understood that the ministers, who were decidedly averse to proceed against the queen while she remained abroad, had agreed, at the solicitation of the king, to commence proceedings against her immediately on her landing in this kingdom.

The very day, accordingly, on which she landed, a message was sent to parliament from the king, preliminary to proceedings against the queen. The purport of the message, and also the attempts made to negotiate with her, and, when they failed, the endeavour of Mr. Wilberforce, seconded by a majority of the house of commons, to induce her to leave the kingdom, have been fully detailed in our account of the parliamentary debates.

In the mean time, the public enthusiasm in favour of the queen

spread rapidly over the kingdom, and appeared to be of a more decided character than had been called forth by almost any previous public event. There were many circumstances contributing to foster this enthusiasm. The public recollected all the previous events of her life, since she had been connected with the nation; the neglect and insults she had received when she first became princess of Wales; the attempts which had been made in 1806, and again in 1819, to blast her character; the calamities which had successively followed her in the defection of Mr. Perceval when he came into power,—in the death of her only child, the princess Charlotte,—and in the death of the king, who had always taken her part. To these circumstances were added the strong apprehension, we might indeed say the general belief, that she was about to become the victim of a foul conspiracy, carried on by most powerful opponents, and supported entirely by the evidence of suborned and perjured foreign witnesses.

The charges against her in 1806 were strongly contrasted with those which it was understood were to be brought against her in 1820. In the former year, her alleged crimes were said to have been committed in the immediate vicinity of London; the witnesses were all English, and several of them persons of rank and respectability; yet no crime could be proved against her. Was it then probable, that her enemies would be able to prove any thing against her in 1820, when it was considered that the alleged crimes were said to have been committed two years before, in different and all distant parts of

the world, and that the only witnesses were foreigners,—Italians, natives of a country where the obligation of an oath was not strongly felt,—especially among the lower classes, from among whom the witnesses were taken?

It is not our object in this place to enter into an examination of the evidence adduced against the queen:—every thing that can be said in support of that evidence, or against it, may be found in the speeches of the attorney and solicitor general on the one part, and in those of the queen's attorney and solicitor general, and of her other counsel, on the other part. We shall therefore confine ourselves to some observations; first, on the impolicy and inexpediency of the whole proceeding, and secondly on its injustice.

First, with respect to its impolicy and inexpediency many observations present themselves. It can never be wise or prudent to direct the public attention too closely to the private life and character of those of royal blood. The way in which all who are so distinguished are educated, the companions and circumstances by which they are surrounded, render it almost impossible for them to keep free from a greater taint of immorality than exists in less elevated rank. Much may be said in extenuation of their follies and vices; but the less they are exposed the better; for if they are much exposed to the public eye, the respect and obedience which ought always to attend royalty, will be greatly diminished. But there is another consideration connected with this view of the subject. The queen was to be degraded from her rank, authority and privileges, on account of her alleged

ctur to us on this subject. The question of the queen's guilt or innocence we deem a very subordinate one, compared with the violations of the spirit and justice of the constitution, which the proceedings against her involved.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Affairs of France—Assassination of the Duc de Berri—Resignation of De Cazes—Censorship of the Press—New Election Law—Meeting of the Chambers—King's Speech.*

THAT France should have remained tranquil so long was hardly to have been anticipated, when we reflect on the violent and extreme agitations and convulsions under which she had suffered for 25 years—on the habits which they must have formed, and on the disappointed expectations both of the royalists and of the Bonapartists. Each of these parties looked forward to events, and of course did all in their power to bring them about, which, if effective, must have seriously endangered the tranquillity of France, and indirectly that of all the rest of Europe. The ultra royalists expected not only that Louis would have honoured and rewarded them more than he was disposed, or indeed had it in his power to do; while the Bonapartists, stripped of their honours, and obliged to renounce their military mode of life, were eagerly panting for disturbance. The latter looked merely to their personal wishes and interests; but the ultra royalists, besides causes of discontent of a personal and selfish nature, were desirous of restoring the old government with all its antiquated usages and abuses.

Fortunately for France, Louis was possessed of moderation uni-

ted with more firmness than he had been supposed to possess. When he was first restored, he perhaps gave himself up too much to those who had been employed by and who had betrayed Bonaparte: but he soon perceived his error; and in the choice of his ministers, as well as in the adoption of most of his measures, he displayed a great deal of good sense, and of real regard to the tranquillity and happiness of France. At the beginning of the year 1820 there were symptoms of a wish and an attempt to alter the French constitution, so as to render it less popular and less protective of liberty: unfortunately some events took place about this time, which presented, and were eagerly seized upon by the ultra royalists as, a reason for this infringement on liberty. We allude to the assassination of the duc de Berri, which was effected by an enthusiast from hatred to the whole Bourbon race. This hatred was probably partaken by a great many who had served under Bonaparte, as well as by those republicans who, though quiet under the mild reign of Louis, were apprehensive of despotism under his successor. This assassination was eagerly seized upon by the enemies of the duc de Cazes, who

was the most efficient and powerful man in the French ministry, to bring about his dismissal : and soon after he was dismissed, measures were resorted to, which seriously threatened the tranquillity of France. The principal of these measures were the censorship of the press, and the new election law.

Perhaps in no respect has the practical knowledge of real liberty possessed by the French been proved to be so inferior to that possessed in Britain, as in their laws with respect to the press. We believe in no period of the revolution was the law of such a nature, as at once to guard against the licentiousness of the press, and to protect free discussion of the measures of public men. All the different governments of France have been too fond of previous restrictions on the press; instead of defining, as far as it can be defined, what a libel is, and allowing every thing to be punished, and then punishing, whatever a jury found to be a libel. Scarcely was the duc de Cazes removed and the duc de Richelieu appointed in his place, when it was resolved to curb as closely as possible the liberty of the press. The following remarks by one of the French journalists will serve at once to explain the principal points of this law, and the hardship and tyranny of it.

"The projet of this law is marked with every possible character of injustice. In the first place, the minister assumes to himself the right of authorizing, or of not authorizing, the existing journals. But, granting it to be necessary (which however we do not believe) to impose new restrictions upon the journals, is it not enough to subject them to a censorship?

Why is it necessary that a right should be assumed of sanctioning, or suppressing establishments formed at a great expense, and formed under the guarantee of the laws? Why, not content with attacking the liberty, do they infringe upon the property of the press? The projet does not even condescend to say, whether the deposits which have been made by the journals, will be returned to those which are not to be authorized; but even those which may be authorized, ought they not in equity and justice to be reimbursed in the amount of the deposits which they made only upon the condition of their freedom? It is neither more nor less than wantonly sporting with the principles of property, the foundations of all civilized society.

"By whom is the authorization to be granted? By the mixed commission of peers, deputies, and royal commissaries? Not at all; it will proceed from the ministry. So that, without any concurrence upon the part of this useless commission, the ministry will exercise in the first instance the right of life and death over the journals.

"Those even whom the ministry may allow to exist, will be subjected to an unexampled despotism. The commission forsooth, it is said, will exercise an independent authority. But it is evident, that if the minister obtain a majority for his extravagant projet, he will use the same majority for the purpose of settling the nomination of those members of the commission, whom the chamber is to appoint. Thus the nomination of these six commissioners by the two chambers

chambers is absolutely an illusion, and serves no other end than that of placing the ministerial responsibility under the cover of the name of the two chambers.

"It is more. The chambers may believe they are doing something for liberty, if they appoint the majority of their commissioners from amongst those peers and deputies who are truly independent, and truly constitutional. Vain precaution! The commission being composed of nine members, it is enough that only one peer and one deputy should be in the ministerial interest, in order to form a majority with the three royal commissioners.

"It is said that the penal provisions in the existing laws are not severe enough: that may be true to a certain extent; but is it necessary, in order to remedy them, to accumulate tyranny upon tyranny? Every article not communicated is to bring on the editor, fine and imprisonment: thus, one might be imprisoned for inserting an advertisement concerning the theatres or the public funds, without having consulted the censor. Should the commission deem it proper to drag an editor of a journal before the common tribunals, they may begin by inflicting upon him a punishment more severe, more ruinous, than that which the law can impose upon him; they may suspend his journal during the proceedings; and if he be acquitted, is it to be supposed that the commission will restore to him the amount of his losses? A simple process of accusation will be equivalent to almost total ruin. Never, it must be confessed, never did the spirit of censorship show itself more mercilessly and more

openly against those public discussions, which are essential to every representative government."

Notwithstanding the objections to such a mode of censorship, it passed into a law with a few trifling alterations and modifications, and several French journalists have suffered under its penalties.

The attempt to alter the election laws created a very great sensation in Paris, where it gave rise to serious disturbances: in fact, such serious apprehensions were entertained, that, if the law were passed with all the enactments originally proposed, a revolution would take place, that the French ministers deemed it prudent to modify it considerably. In one of our former volumes we explained the law of election, as it had been settled at the return of Louis: the great objection to this law on the part of the royalists was, that under it the chamber of deputies was gradually becoming more republican. This they wished to avoid, and they also wished to frame the election law in such a manner that they might possess a greater share of influence over the returns of the members.

According to the amended law, the departmental colleges are to consist of the electors paying the most taxes, equal to a fourth of the whole number of electors of each department; these colleges are to elect 172 deputies; the electoral colleges of arrondissement are also to elect each a deputy; these colleges are to consist respectively of all the electors having their political domicile in each arrondissement; and the fifth of the present deputies that are to be removed are to be elected by the col-

leges of arrondissement. The chamber will thus consist of 480 instead of 258 deputies.

This amendment was brought forward by M. Bain, with whom although the French ministers disclaimed any connexion, yet they supported his proposition, considering it, no doubt, as their best mode of getting quit of the unfortunate project with which they had entangled themselves, and which they plainly saw they could not persist in. By the amended plan, 172 deputies will be returned to the chamber by only one fourth of the existing body of electors. By thus diminishing the voters, a field is opened for the exercise of ministerial influence; and if the treasury succeed in appointing 172 deputies, they will only have to gain over 44 of the deputies chosen by the electoral colleges of the arrondissement, in order to have a majority in the chamber.

The project, however, is totally different from what it was originally. It enlarges the number of deputies to the chamber, and it gives the ministers considerable advantages in controlling the elections of those additional members. But by the original plan they would have had a control generally over the whole elections, and no member who was not acceptable to them could have been appointed without a hard struggle. The present plan infuses into the chamber an aristocratical interest; the former plan would have made it wholly aristocratical—it would have left no other adverse interest in the chamber, but would have made it merely an engine to clothe with authority the views and wishes of the executive.

The law thus amended was car-

ried in the chamber of deputies by a majority of 57—the numbers being 152 to 95.

In the beginning of November, the king issued a proclamation to the electors of France, who were now for the first time about to exercise their right of franchise under the new election law. In this proclamation he warned them against returning to the chamber of deputies the promoters of disturbances—the artisans (as his majesty calls them) of discord and the propagators of unjust defiance against the government and the royal family. The proclamation then proceeds to point out those who ought to be chosen: namely, such as are devoted to the throne and the country—the enemies both of despotism and anarchy.

The opening of the French chambers took place on the 20th of December, when the king pronounced the following speech:—

“Gentlemen,—Arrived at the close of a year marked at its commencement by the most afflicting events, but since so fruitful in consolations and hopes, we ought, in the first place, to render thanks to divine providence for his fresh mercies.

“Mourning was in my house; a son has been granted to my ardent prayers. France, after having mingled her tears with mine, has participated in my joy and gratitude, with transports which I have sensibly felt. (After pronouncing these words with a tone of emotion, says the *Journal des Debats*, his majesty stopped an instant, and then continued.)

“The All-Powerful has not limited his protection here: we owe to him the continuance of peace, that source of all prosperity. Time  
has

manner. They ought besides to have strictly cross-examined the witnesses ; and to have rejected all who could not bear a cross-examination. There is no proof that they examined into the character of the witnesses ; there is no proof that they cross-examined them ; and there is proof that, with the exception of two or three, none of them were examined on oath.

As it must have been immediately known, that foreign witnesses would not leave their own country and come to England to give evidence against the queen, unless, to make use of a colloquial phrase, it was *made worth their while*, the mode of proceeding which we have pointed out, should have been in every particular most rigidly and scrupulously adhered to. What then shall we say to a commission who received the evidence of Italians of the lowest rank and stations in life, most of whom were dismissed servants of the queen, who knew that evidence against her would be most acceptable, and who also knew that if they gave such evidence, they would make money by it, and yet did not inquire into their characters, did not cross-examine them, and, with the exception of one or two, did not examine them on oath ?

There can be no doubt that some of the contradictions and perjuries of the witnesses would have been detected, provided the commission had been even moderately acquainted with the subject on which they were sent, even if they had not cross-examined the witnesses : we shall mention one instance. The waiter at the inn at Trieste swore before the house of lords, that the queen was five or six days at that town : it is presumed, that he gave evidence to the same effect

before the commission. But if the commission, as they ought to have been, had made themselves acquainted with the leading facts of the journey of the queen, in the course of which she was alleged to have acted in such a degrading and immoral way, they must have known that her stay at Trieste did not exceed one day. Though her route, when she left Europe, could not be traced very accurately, all who know the police regulations in Austria, Italy, &c. are aware that there is no difficulty in ascertaining on what day any traveller entered or left any particular place.

If the opening speech of the attorney general is compared with the case he afterwards endeavoured to make out in evidence, it will most clearly appear that he brought charges in the former, which afterwards he found or apprehended he could not support, and therefore was obliged or deemed it prudent to abandon. But whatever he stated in his opening speech, must have proceeded on the evidence taken before the Milan commission ; and hence we have abundant and unequivocal proof that this commission admitted evidence, which afterwards was found to be false.

In short, if the object of this commission was to search after the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it ought to have been, it proceeded in a manner which was certain to defeat such object. If, on the other hand, the object of the commission was to make out a case against the queen, such as would stand the test of examination and cross-examination, even on this supposition, they acted in a very improper manner,—in a manner palpably unjust towards the queen, and in a manner which was almost certain to deceive



ceive and lead astray even their employers. For, on their report, or rather on the evidence they collected, ministers of necessity were obliged implicitly to rely; they possessed no means in this country, of inquiring into the character of the witnesses, of cross-examining them, or of sifting the truth from the falsehood. They must therefore have taken it for granted, that the persons appointed by them to form the Milan commission, had done their duty thoroughly; and that though in some minor points the evidence might be defective, or suspicious, yet as a whole it would bear directly on the guilt of the queen, so as to establish it beyond all doubt.

In every point of view, therefore,—in justice to the queen, to the members of the commission, and to the ministers by whom they were employed, we certainly think, that an inquiry should be instituted into all the circumstances connected with the formation and proceedings of this commission.

Before proceeding to the second part of our subject, it will be proper to offer a remark on the committee of the house of lords, who were directed to report on the papers laid before them. These papers consisted of the depositions taken before the Milan commission. But in our opinion none of these depositions, except such as were taken on oath, ought to have been admitted by the committee. They ought also, in the first instance, to have inquired particularly into the manner in which the Milan commission executed their duty.

The second part of our subject comprises the consideration of the *ex post facto* law,—the refusal of a list of witnesses and the specification of places where the alleged

crimes were committed,—the nature and composition of the tribunal before whom she was tried, and the not calling those witnesses by the house of lords, who did not appear, either for or against the queen.

First, the queen was tried by an *ex post facto* law; or, in other words, she had done nothing which the existing law of the land pronounced criminal, and an express law was to be passed, for the purpose of including her case, and of punishing her. The argument, that *ex post facto* laws had been often passed before, is to us of little worth: precedent, where justice is infringed, is an evil; and the evil is only increased, and by no means diminished, by an adherence to a bad precedent. There can be no maxim more obviously just and fair than this: that where the law does not apply, there can be no legal crime, and where there is no legal crime, there ought to be no punishment. Besides, most of the precedents of bills of pains and penalties, were either in the worst times of British liberty, or they were called for by circumstances of more urgent necessity, and much more obvious public good, than the circumstances connected with the queen's case.

It has been alleged, that all divorce bills are in fact *ex post facto* laws: in one sense they may be so considered; but in reality they are either not so, or, in this character of them, they are not applicable to the bill of pains and penalties against the queen. There is indeed a special act of parliament passed in every instance, where a marriage is dissolved; and by the dissolution, the woman is deprived of the name and rank of her husband: but, every woman who commits adultery, knows that she

is liable to such an act, as much as she knows that she is liable to proceedings in the spiritual court. The latter may pronounce her guilty or innocent, as well as the parliament; but she knows that her crime is cognizable by the one as well as the other, and that, if proved, it can be punished by the one as well as the other.

But there is another point in which divorce bills may be considered: they are never (with perhaps one or two exceptions, which only strengthen the general rule) passed, unless previous proceedings have taken place in the spiritual court; whereas, in the case of the queen no such proceeding took place. In these respects, more particularly in the former, there seems to us a most obvious and essential difference between a divorce bill and a bill of pains and penalties. The queen could not know of any case similar to her own, in which an *ex post facto* law was passed: it was an *ex post facto* against the crime itself, not against her as committing the crime; whereas, in divorce cases, every woman guilty of adultery knows that proceedings in parliament are by no means uncommon; she sins with this knowledge, and if a divorce bill is passed, it is not an *ex post facto* proceeding against the crime, but only against her particular case.

2d. The house of lords refused the queen a list of the witnesses, and a specification of the times and places when and where the alleged crimes were committed. If the latter had been granted, we think that there would not have been so much importance in refusing the former: for if an accused person knows the time and places when and where his crimes were alleged

to have been committed, he may without much difficulty ascertain what witnesses are to be called. Besides, we can easily conceive, why the list of witnesses was refused; but not why the specification of times and places was not given. Where a list of witnesses is supplied the accused, there is danger, and it actually has happened, that the witnesses are either tampered with, or intimidated, so that the purposes of justice are defeated. We do not dwell, however, much on either of these points, because the injustice which the queen would otherwise have suffered, by not being supplied with a list of witnesses, and with a specification of times and places, was in a great measure prevented by her own time being allowed her, after the evidence against her had terminated, for proceeding on her defence.

3d. The nature and composition of the tribunal before whom she was tried. One of the great boasts of Britons is the trial by jury; or, in other words, that every person accused of a crime is sure of a fair trial, because he is tried by men who are as little under the influence of interest, prejudice, or partiality, as it is possible to find men. But how does this apply to the house of lords? we do not mean to assert that any of them were determined, or even disposed to find the queen guilty, whatever were the nature and amount of the proofs brought against her. But they are human beings; and the law of England, in giving the right of challenge, supposes that jurymen are liable to the failings and frailties of human beings. Now in a common jury case, would the servants and private and confidential friends of the party interested

ested have been allowed to sit on the jury? would any person have been permitted whose promotion depended on the interested party? Certainly not. Besides, in the queen's case, the house of lords were in fact the judges and jury, as well as the accusers: if they were not the accusers, acting in behalf of the nation, the interest of which it was alleged would suffer, if the queen were not tried,—who was the accuser?

Such then was the state of the case: the queen was tried by men who were accusers, judges, and jury; and many of whom, besides, were attached to the sovereign, who sought by the bill of pains and penalties to be freed from a woman whom it was well known he had long disliked. To suppose that such men could do the queen justice, is to suppose that they were above the frailties of human nature, and that over them none of the feelings, interests, or prejudices which form so large a portion of human nature, possessed any influence.

We do not conceive it any answer to assert, that the house of lords, being the highest tribunal, must often sit and act as accusers, judges, and jury; and often as interested jurymen, especially where the sovereign is concerned. As we before stated, a bad precedent augments, and does not palliate or justify, the evil. We are much disposed to doubt whether a tribunal, constructed as the house of lords is, especially when we consider that in general, when it acts as a court of justice, very few indeed of its members attend, is one calculated, or that ought to possess the power to revise and rescind the decisions of tribunals, more congenial to the spirit of the British constitution.

Lastly, as the object of the

house of lords, we may suppose, was to ascertain exactly and clearly what was the truth, and to do justice accordingly, we do not understand upon what principle they did not themselves call those witnesses, who were not called either by the attorney general or the queen's counsel; but who, there is every reason to suppose, could have given most material evidence. As the business was agitated, it was of great consequence to the queen, to the satisfaction of the nation, and to the cause of justice generally, that it should have been most thoroughly sifted.

To us it appears that the not calling those witnesses who were not summoned either for or against the queen, speaks strongly against the propriety of the whole proceedings before the house of lords. Those peers, surely, who were neither desirous to acquit or condemn the queen, except according to justice, ought, for the sake of justice, to have called those witnesses: as their cause was the cause of truth and justice, they could not be afraid of the evidence they would give. The attorney general of course would call only such witnesses as would strengthen his case, and would pass by all such as would injure it, or benefit the queen's case: the queen's counsel would act naturally and properly on the same principle. But as the house of lords were not for or against the queen, but only for justice, on whatever side it might appear to be, surely they ought to have made a point of examining every material witness, whom either the attorney general or the queen's counsel, or both, were afraid or unwilling to examine.

Such are the remarks which occur

has only more closely united the alliance, of which France forms a part. This alliance, whilst it averts the causes of war, ought to inspire confidence against the dangers to which social order, or the political equilibrium, may be exposed.

"These dangers are daily receding from us. I shall not, however, in this solemn communication to my subjects, be silent respecting the serious facts which, during the course of the year, have afflicted my heart; happy, nevertheless, to be able to say, that if the state and my family have been menaced by a conspiracy too much connected with the disorders which had preceded it, it has been manifested that the French nation, faithful to the king, is indignant at the bare thought of its paternal sceptre being wrested from it, to become the sport of the remnant of a restless faction which it universally detests.

"This faction, therefore, has not interrupted the movement which brings France back to the days of her prosperity. In the interior, successes, always increasing, have crowned the efforts of her laborious activity, which apply equally to agriculture, arts, and industry.

"The amelioration of the revenues of the state, the economy which I have prescribed, and the tried solidity of credit, admit of being proposed to you, even in the present session, a new diminution of the taxes now directly assessed. This relief will be so much the more efficacious, as it will produce an equal assessment of the public burdens.

"Such successes render more dear to me the duties which royalty imposes.

1820.

"To bring to perfection the operation of the great political bodies created by the charter; to fix the different branches of the administration in harmony with this fundamental law; to inspire general confidence in the stability of the throne, and the inflexibility of the laws which protect the interests of all—such is the end of my efforts. To attain it, two conditions are necessary—time and repose. We ought not to demand from infant institutions what can only be expected from their complete development, and the morals which they are destined to form. Until then; let us be wise enough to acknowledge that in public affairs patience and moderation are also powers, and those of all others which deceive us the least. Let us not forget that it would be impossible for the government to maintain order, that principal guarantee of liberty, if it were not armed with a strength proportioned to the difficulties in the midst of which it is placed.

"Every thing announces that the modifications operated in our electoral system will lead to the advantages which I anticipated. Whatever adds to the strength and independence of the chambers, adds to the authority and dignity of my crown. This session will, I hope, achieve the work happily commenced in the last. In strengthening the necessary connexion between the monarch and the chambers, we shall succeed in founding that system of government which so vast a monarchy must always require, and which the actual state of France and Europe more imperatively commands.

"It is to accomplish these designs, that I desire a prolongation

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of

of the days which may yet be reserved to me. It is also in order to their accomplishment, that we ought to depend—you, gentlemen, upon my firm and inviolable will; and I, upon your loyal and constant support."

The event alluded to in the second paragraph of this speech is the birth of a son to the duchess of Berri,—about whose birth stories were circulated in some of the French papers, similar to the warming pan stories in the reign of James II. of England,

and having as little foundation in truth.

As the new election law had thrown into the chamber of deputies a decided majority of the aristocratical interest, the ministers opened a negotiation with the body of royalists, in order to strengthen the connexion between them and the king's government. The result of this negotiation was, that Messrs. Laine, Corbieres, and Villèle, men of distinguished talents and character, were added to the cabinet.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Affairs of Spain—Revolution in that Kingdom—Constitution—Meeting of the Cortes.*

IT was hardly to be expected that the continental states of Europe would speedily or easily settle into internal tranquillity, after the convulsions occasioned by the French revolution. The violent and rapid changes in government, and even in the frame of society, occasioned by that event, had naturally and necessarily created a restlessness and desire of change and novelty, especially among the lower orders of society. Though they, in common with all other classes, had suffered dreadfully from the French revolution, yet in many respects their situation had been bettered, their views enlarged, and a conviction of their own importance created. Besides, the mass of the people, in almost every part of continental Europe, had, by their own efforts, contributed most essentially to the destruction of the French power, and the liberation of their country.

Their services in these respects had indeed been so great, that their sovereigns had promised them, as a recompense for their exertions and sufferings, free constitutions. Spain, above all the other countries on the continent, had exhibited, in all the classes of its population, a most determined resistance to the French, even at a time when she was deserted by her sovereign; and yet this sovereign, after he was restored to his dominions by the blood of his own subjects, tyrannized over those subjects; refused to grant them the liberty for which they had fought, and which had been promised them; and treated them in every respect in a manner as foolish and impolitic as it was unjust and despotic. Much surprise was naturally excited that the Spaniards submitted so completely as they appeared to do, and for such a length of time, to the wretchedness

ness of all descriptions with which they were overwhelmed. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, nearly annihilated; the finances in a most dilapidated state; the most enlightened patriots,—those to whom the monarch and the country were most indebted,—exiled or in prison—formed the picture of Spain. In addition to these misfortunes, the contest with the revolted American colonies was still kept up, although, in order to equip the puny squadrons which were sent out, the people were oppressed with still heavier taxation.

The war in South America was so hopeless, and the troops sent thither were exposed to such hardships, that at length it was found impossible to send the necessary reinforcements. Troops, indeed, were marched to Cadiz to be embarked, but in more than one instance they had refused, and the government was too weak to compel them. A circumstance of this kind was the immediate occasion of a revolution in Spain: a large body of troops about to embark refused, intrenched themselves in the Isla de Leon, and besieged Cadiz. An army was sent against them; but it soon appeared that the troops in general, and indeed the great body of the nation, were inclined to support the revolted troops, and to seize this opportunity of compelling Ferdinand to grant the long promised constitution. That monarch, deserted by his troops, and generally by all the leading men in the kingdom, was at length compelled to yield to the wishes of the people, by accepting the constitution of the Cortes as it had been promulgated in the year 1812. On the 7th of March he

issued the following proclamation:

“His excellency the marquis of Mataflorida, secretary of state, and minister of justice, has communicated to his excellency the duke de l’Infantado, president of the supreme council of Castile, the following royal decree.

“His excellency the king, our lord, has deigned to communicate to me, on the 6th, the following decree:—

“‘My royal council of state having made known to me how much the convocation of the Cortes would tend to the welfare of the monarchy; in conforming to their advice, because it is in accordance with the fundamental laws which I have sworn to observe, I will that the Cortes be immediately convened. To this end the council will take the most suitable measures that my desire should be fulfilled, and that the legitimate representatives of the people should be heard, they being duly invested according to the laws with the necessary powers. By this means every thing that the public weal requires will be procured; they must be convinced that they will find me ready to attend to every thing that the interest of the state and the happiness of my people, who have given me so many proofs of their loyalty, may demand. In the furtherance of this object, the council will submit to me all the doubts which can present themselves. That there may not be the least difficulty or delay, I communicate to you the present order, that you may see it duly executed.’

“I apprise you of the express order of his majesty, in order that the council may conform to it, and

that without the least delay they may take the necessary measures for realising the beneficent intentions of his majesty.

"God preserve you many years.  
"The Palace, March 6, 1820."

This concession was not considered sufficient, and the placards in Madrid, which announced it, were indignantly torn down by the populace. The constitution, as proclaimed by the Cortes itself, in 1812, was loudly demanded; and the king, perceiving that it was no longer possible to resist the general cry for its adoption, put forth on the next day the following declaration:—

The king, our lord, has deigned to address to his secretaries of all the departments the following royal decree:—

"To avoid the delays which might take place in consequence of the uncertainties which the execution of my decree for the immediate convening of the Cortes may experience in council, and the public will being generally pronounced, I have decided upon swearing to the constitution promulgated by the general and extraordinary Cortes in the year 1812.

"I apprize you of, and you will hasten to publish, the present, signed by my royal hand.

"The Palace, March 7, 1820."

The following is a view of the principal articles of the constitution, which will show the extent of power which it left to the king:

Art. 2. The Spanish nation is free and independent, and is not, nor can be, the patrimony of any person or family.

3. The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and the right of enacting its fundamental

laws belongs exclusively to it by this same principle.

27. The Cortes consists in the union of all the deputies that represent the nation, nominated by the citizens, in manner as hereinafter stated.

28. The basis of national representation is the population.

31. For every 70,000 souls there shall be one deputy to the Cortes; any odd number exceeding 35,000 shall name a deputy for themselves. St. Domingo names a deputy; and the ultra marine population, viz. that of North and South America, elects deputies in the same proportion as that of Old Spain.

104. The Cortes to assemble every year in the capital of the kingdom, with power (by Art. 105.) to remove to any place not more distant from Madrid than 12 leagues.

108. The session to begin on the 1st of March, and continue three months.

109. The deputies shall be renewed entirely every two years.

110. A member is not eligible to two successive parliaments.

117. The deputies swear to preserve the Roman catholic religion, to protect the political constitution, and to conduct themselves faithfully to the nation. N.B.—All reference to the king is omitted in this oath.

The powers and duties of the Cortes are—

1. To propose and decree the laws, and to interpret and alter them on necessary occasions.

2. To take an oath to the king, to the prince of Asturias, and to the regency, as is pointed out in their places.

3. To determine any doubt of fact

fact or right that may occur in order of the succession to the crown.

4. To elect a regency or regent of the kingdom, when the constitution requires it, and to point out the limits within which the regency or the regent must exercise the royal authority.

6. To nominate a guardian to the king minor, when the constitution requires it.

7. To approve, previous to ratification, the treaties of offensive alliance, of subsidies, and the particulars of commerce.

8. To permit or refuse the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom.

9. To decree the creation and suppression of offices in the tribunals established by the constitution, and also the creation or abolition of public offices.

10. To fix every year, on the proposal of the king, the land and sea forces, determining the establishment in time of peace, and its augmentation in time of war.

11. To issue ordinances to the army, the fleet, and to the national militia, in all their branches.

12. To fix the expenses of the public administration.

13. To establish annually the taxes.

19. To determine the value, the weight, the standard, the figure, and description of money.

22. To establish a general plan of public instruction in the whole monarchy, and approve that which is intended for the education of the prince of Asturias.

24. To protect the political liberty of the press.

25. To render real and effective the responsibility of the secretaries of state, and other persons in public employ.

26. Lastly, it belongs to the Cortes to grant or refuse its consent in all those cases and acts which the constitution points out as necessary.

The king enjoys the following powers under art. 171.

He watches over the prompt and perfect administration of justice throughout the kingdom; declares war and ratifies peace, subject to the approval of the Cortes; nominates magistrates; presents to ecclesiastical dignities; is the fountain of honour; has the command of the army both by sea and land; regulates all diplomatic and commercial relations with other states; appoints ambassadors, ministers, and consuls; can pardon criminals, except in certain cases; proposes to the Cortes such projects of laws as he may think necessary, but it is for the Cortes to deliberate or not upon such propositions: has the power of appointing ministers. The king cannot, under any pretence, prevent the convocation of the Cortes; nor when assembled can he suspend or dissolve them, nor in any manner interfere with their sittings or deliberations; and all persons who shall advise him to act contrary to this article shall be deemed traitors to the country. The king cannot leave the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes; nor can he, without their consent, form any offensive treaty; nor private treaty of commerce with any foreign power; nor furnish subsidies to a foreign power; nor impose any taxes or duties; nor can he of his own authority deprive any individual of personal liberty, or of property, without due course of law. Before he contracts marriage, he shall communicate his intention to



the cortes, for the purpose of obtaining their consent, without which *he shall be considered to have abdicated his throne*.—Should a law have passed the cortes, and fail on three successive applications to obtain the royal consent; on the third refusal, the sanction of the king shall be supposed to have been obtained, and the law shall be in full force. A permanent committee is to be nominated before the close of each session, and to continue sitting in vigilant attention to the proceedings of the government, until the next assembly of the cortes. This committee has the prerogative of summoning an extraordinary meeting of the cortes, when the crown shall become vacant, or the king incompetent, or when his majesty may be desirous of convoking them.

These are the principal points in the constitution, from which it is evident that the power of the crown exists at the discretion of the cortes. The royal authority is more restricted by the terms of this constitution than it is in any other country in Europe.

The electoral assemblies of parishes, districts, and provinces, were immediately summoned throughout the kingdom; according to the rules of the constitution, a month must elapse between each meeting.

Thus was brought about, in a quiet and peaceable way, a complete revolution in Spain. The only calamitous event by which its commencement was stained, occurred at Cadiz. On the 10th of March, while the inhabitants of this city were celebrating the glorious triumph which they, in common with the rest of Spain, had achieved, they were attacked by some of the troops, and a dreadful massacre

took place. The real causes of this massacre have not been fully explained, nor has full justice been done to the perpetrators of it. The number of deaths in the square of St. Antonio, where the massacre took place, is stated to have been 436.

On the 26th of March, the king, in order to pacify the nation, issued a decree, declaring that every native of Spain, who shall refuse to swear fealty to the political constitution of the monarchy, or who shall do so conditionally by making protests, reservations, indications, contrary to its spirit, is unworthy of being considered a Spaniard; that he is by such act deprived of all honours, ranks, emoluments, and prerogatives which emanate from the civil power, and that he be banished the territory of the monarch; and if he be an ecclesiastic, he shall, in addition, forfeit his benefices attached to that order.

On the 9th of July the cortes first met, when Don Joseph Espiga, archbishop elect of Seville, as their president, addressed the king in the following speech:

“The cortes, at a less enlightened period, but of great and sublime virtues, preserved the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the glory and splendour of the throne, and the national prosperity; but that wise institution, which united the king and the nation by the great and noble sentiments of affection and loyalty, gradually declined, fell at last into oblivion, and the nation became the theatre of ambition, and the king an instrument of bad passions. But the day of your majesty’s birth was the aurora of the restoration of Spain; and more than twenty millions of inhabitants view in their young prince the  
worthy

worthy successor of St. Ferdinand. They were congratulating themselves with these flattering hopes, when, at the same time that the sacrilegious project of extinguishing your sacred rights was conceived in the bosom of the nation, a vile impostor perfidiously introduced his hostile legions, and wrested from the arms of the faithful Spaniards their beloved monarch, at the very moment when he had just been placed on the throne of his glorious progenitors. The Spanish lion was then roused, and a general and uniform cry gave spirit and vigour to the valorous sons of Pelayo; and while the brave warriors advanced with their breasts of bronze, and expelled the tyrant's hosts from their native land, the fathers of the country, who had been called upon by the general voice of the provinces, re-established the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, which, by solemnly declaring the person of the king sacred and inviolable, has more firmly fixed the crown on your majesty's royal head, has secured you against the artifices of any favourite, and thus enables your majesty to act more freely for the benefit of your people and the welfare of the state.

"The worthy sons of the country conceived that they could not make a better return to the confidence with which the provinces honoured them, nor offer to their king a more acceptable tribute, than to consolidate a vacillating throne, by placing it on the broad basis of fundamental law, which being the legacy of our ancestors, and the expression of wisdom, justice, and the public will, closed the door equally against vile flattery and unjust aggression. It secured

the administration of justice, established a just system of public economy, and sanctioned the respect, obedience, and veneration due to the laws and the royal authority. Thus felt the representatives of the nation in Cadiz. I saw them, sire, send up deep sighs to heaven for the cruel captivity of their king; I saw them, like orphans, shedding tears of sorrow and anguish, and, humbled before the Lamb of God, praying for the return of so amiable a father to his numerous and disconsolate family. I saw them, overwhelmed with joy and delight, give vent to their oppressed hearts when they learned that the Almighty had listened to their fervent supplications, and that the tutelary angel of Spain had descended to break the chains imposed by tyranny. Such were their generous sentiments when sordid interest, crafty ambition, atrocious calumny, and insatiable vengeance, after meditating in obscurity their detestable plots, dared to approach the throne, and sacrilegiously profane the sanctuary of majesty. But, sire, let us spread a veil over those melancholy proofs of human weakness.

"At length the happy day arrived when a bright star arose on the Spanish horizon, which dissipated the thick clouds formed by intrigue and malevolence, and sacred truth shone forth with a brilliancy which excited the admiration of some, the respect of others, the confusion of many, and the conviction of all. Happy Spain again sees assembled those cortes which rendered the reigns of her Alphonsos and her Ferdinands so glorious; and the most virtuous of nations—forgetting wrongs, pardoning injuries—is

solely employed in re-establishing a constitutional government, in preserving the purity of her holy religion, and in giving testimonies of gratitude and veneration to her king, now seated on his august throne amidst the national congress, after having taken a solemn oath, by which he is made greater than the son of Philip was by the conquest of oriental kingdoms. O magnanimous king! the noble and loyal Spaniards are sensible of the numerous evils from which you have saved them by this generous act, by which the genius of evil, prepared to light up the flame of discord among us, is crushed. All hope that every pernicious germ will be extinguished, and that eternal peace and concord will take root in their stead. Let the fears, jealousies, and distrusts, which criminal souls have excited in the heart of the best of kings, forever disappear; and all unite in surrounding the throne with that fraternal alliance which secures order, produces plenty, maintains justice, and preserves peace. And permit me, sire, the faithful organ of this congress, and of the nation it represents, to present to you the due homage of its fidelity, and of the honourable sentiments by which it is animated.

"As our illustrious ancestors always were the firmest support of the throne and of the monarch, so the same Spain, always ready to give brilliant testimonies of loyalty and love to her kings, solemnly promises you that her sons, who have displayed in war more sanguinary examples of fidelity than were known to past generations, will make sacrifices worthy of Spanish heroes, and the admiration of future ages."

His majesty replied in the following terms:—

"I accept the expressions and sentiments of love and loyalty which the cortes manifests towards me through the organ of its president; and I hope, through its assistance, to see the nation I have the glory to govern free and happy."

Immediately after his majesty read with a clear voice the following speech:—

"Gentlemen and deputies,

"At length has arrived the day, the object of my ardent wishes, on which I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the heroic and generous Spanish nation, and in which a solemn oath has completely identified my interests and those of my family with the interests of my people.

"When excess of evils produced the clear manifestation of the voice of the nation, formerly obscured by lamentable circumstances which ought to be erased from our memories, I immediately determined to embrace the desired system, and to take the oath to the political constitution of the monarchy sanctioned by the general and extraordinary cortes in the year 1812. Then did the crown as well as the nation receive its legitimate rights, my resolution being no less spontaneous and free than conformable to my own interests and those of the Spanish people, whose happiness has never ceased to be the object of my sincerest wishes. My heart thus indissolubly united with the hearts of my subjects, who are also my children, the future presents to me only agreeable images of confidence, love, and prosperity.

"With what satisfaction must  
the

the grand spectacle be contemplated, hitherto unexampled in history, of a magnanimous nation, which has passed from one political state to another without convulsion or violence, subjecting her enthusiasm to the guidance of reason, under circumstances which have covered with mourning, and inundated with tears, other less fortunate countries!

“The general attention of Europe is now directed to the proceedings of the congress which represents this highly-favoured nation. From it are expected prudent indulgence for the past, and enlightened firmness for the future, and that, at the moment which confirms the happiness of the present and succeeding generations; the errors of the preceding epoch may be buried in oblivion. It is also hoped that multiplied examples will be displayed of justice, beneficence, and generosity—virtues which always distinguished Spaniards—which the constitution recommends—and which, having been religiously observed during the effervescence among the people, ought to be still more strictly practised in the congress of their representatives, invested with the circumspect and tranquil character of legislators.

“It is now time to undertake the examination of the state of the nation, and to commence those labours indispensable for the application of remedies suitable to the evils produced by ancient causes, and augmented both by the invasion of the enemy, and by the erroneous system of the succeeding period.

“The account of the public revenue, which the secretary of state to whom that department

belongs will present, will show its diminution and embarrassment, and will excite the zeal of the Cortes to seek and select, among the resources still possessed by the nation, those best suited for meeting the engagements and indispensable charges of the state. This inquiry will serve more and more to confirm the opinion, that it is essential and urgent to establish public credit on the immutable basis of justice and good faith, and the scrupulous observance and fulfilment of all arrangements which give satisfaction and tranquillity to creditors and capitalists, native and foreign, and relief to the treasury. I fulfill one of the most sacred duties which the royal dignity and love of my people impose on me, in earnestly recommending this important object to the serious consideration of the Cortes.

“The administration of justice, without which no society can exist, has hitherto depended almost exclusively on the honour and probity of the judges; but, now made subject to known and established principles, it affords to the citizens new and stronger grounds of security; and still greater improvements are to be expected when our codes, carefully improved, shall attain that simplicity and perfection which the knowledge and experience of the age in which we live are capable of giving.

“In the interior administration difficulties are experienced which proceed from old abuses, aggravated during these latter times. The persevering application of the government, and the zeal with which its agents, and the provincial authorities, labour to establish the simple and beneficent municipal

municipal system adopted by the constitution, are lessening the obstacles, and will, in time, perfect a department of the state which has an essential influence over the public welfare and prosperity.

"The army and the navy call more particularly for my attention and solicitude. It will be one of my first cares to promote their organization, and establish them in the manner most convenient for the nation, combining, as far as possible, the advantages of forces so important with that economy which is indispensable, and relying on the patriotism and good will of the people and the wisdom of their representatives, to whom I shall always have recourse with entire confidence.

"It is to be expected that the re-establishment of the constitutional system, and the flattering prospect which that event presents for the future, may, by removing the pretexts of which malignity has been able to take advantage in the ultra-marine provinces, smooth the path to the pacification of those which are in a state of agitation or disturbance, and render unnecessary the employment of any other means. The examples of moderation and the love of order given by peninsular Spain, the just pride belonging to so worthy and generous a nation, and the wise laws which are promulgated conformable to the constitution, will contribute to this object, to the oblivion of past evils, and will draw closer all Spaniards around my throne—sacrificing to the love of their common country all the recollections which might break or weaken those fraternal ties by which they ought to be united,

"In our relations with foreign countries the most perfect harmony in general prevails, with the exception of some few differences, which, though they have not disturbed the existing peace, have given rise to discussions which cannot be terminated without the concurrence and intervention of the Cortes of the kingdom. Such are the differences pending with the United States of America respecting the Floridas, and the marking out the boundaries of Louisiana. Contests likewise exist, occasioned by the occupation of Monte Video, and other Spanish possessions on the left bank of the river Plata; but, though a complication of various circumstances has hitherto prevented the adjustment of these differences, I hope that the justice and moderation of the principles which guide our diplomatic operations, will produce a result suitable to the nation, and conformable to the pacific system, the preservation of which is now the general and decided maxim of European policy. The regency of Algiers has given indications of a wish to renew its old system of restlessness and aggression. To avoid the consequences which may arise from this want of respect to existing stipulations, the defensive treaty entered into in the year 1816 with the king of the Netherlands stipulated the union of the respective maritime forces in the Mediterranean, destined to maintain and secure the freedom of navigation and commerce.

"Thus, as it is the duty of the Cortes to consolidate general happiness through the medium of wise and just laws, and thereby to protect religion, the rights of the crown and of the citizens; so also

also it belongs to my office to watch over the execution and fulfilment of those laws, and especially of the fundamental law of the monarchy, in which the hopes and wishes of the Spanish people are centred. This will be my most grateful and most constant duty. To the establishment, and to the entire and inviolable preservation of the constitution, the power which that constitution grants to the royal authority will be devoted, and in that will also consist my duty, my delight, and glory. To fulfill and bring to perfection this great and salutary enterprise, after humbly imploring the aid and guidance of the author of all good, I require the active co-operation of the Cortes, whose zeal, intelligence, patriotism, and love to my royal person, lead me to hope that they will concur in all the necessary measures for the attainment of such important ends, thus justifying the confidence of the heroic nation by which they have been elected."

The president replied:—

"The Cortes have heard with singular satisfaction the wise address in which your majesty has expressed your noble and generous sentiments and described the state of the nation. The Cortes presents to your majesty its most respectful thanks for the ardent zeal with which you promote the general prosperity, and promises to co-operate with your majesty's intelligence, and to contribute by all possible means to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been convoked."

It was supposed that the chief difficulty in the way of the reception of the constitution, by the mass of the people, would arise

from the influence of the priests over them. This, however, does not appear to have been the case: the new government felt itself strong enough to abolish the Inquisition, to establish the freedom of the press, and even to abolish the monasteries, and to make use of ecclesiastical property to relieve the finances of the country.

Embarrassed and impoverished as Spain had been for a great length of time, it was not to be expected that the exertions of the ablest and most patriotic men could easily extricate her from her difficulties. To this end, however, the Cortes and the ministers seem to be directing their efforts; and though the conduct of Ferdinand has more than once excited the apprehensions of his subjects, yet his fears, if not his good sense and his principles, have brought him back to the safest conduct for himself, as well as the best for the nation. Spain therefore at the close of the year 1820 may be considered as gradually working out for herself more liberty, prosperity and happiness, than she ever enjoyed in any former period.

That Spain required regeneration in all the departments of the state, is sufficiently evident from the following abstract of the *exposé* of its situation presented to the Cortes.

FOREIGN.—The minister for foreign affairs announced that the relations of the nation with foreign powers were perfectly pacific and amicable, except with regard to the court of Portugal and the United States. With the former, he observed, some differences exist respecting the capture of Monte-Video, and with the latter on the subject of the treaty of the Floridas; but

but the principles of moderation and justice which direct the diplomatic operations, give us reason to hope that these differences will be adjusted honourably for Spain, and that they will not alter in the slightest degree the system of peace established in Enrope.

INTERIOR.—The minister of the interior gave a detail of all the branches of the public administration connected with his department, and specified the means adopted for its improvement. This department of government will require the longer time in organizing, as every thing must be regenerated conformably to the report on the political economy and civil administration of the kingdom, in order to give a new stimulus to agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts, and to promote the general prosperity of the nation.

COLONIAL.—The minister of the colonies, in his *exposé* on the situation of America, detailed among a variety of other topics the measures adopted by the king for the reconciliation of subsisting differences, and the re-union of the colonies to the mother country. He dissipated the mischievous rumours which had been circulated of a contemplated expedition to America, and explained what had given rise to those false rumours.

JUSTICE.—The report of the minister of justice embraced only the period subsequent to the 9th of March of this year. He gave an account of the decrees signed by the king for consolidating the constitutional system, and causing the laws to be observed—of the state of the royal courts, and other tribunals of the country—of what has been already done for the establishment

of the judges in the first instance, conformably to the district divisions adopted by the Cortes. He stated that some ecclesiastic prebendaries have been disposed of to recompense different individuals named, and who had been persecuted on account of their adherence to the constitutional system. He dwelt much on the measures adopted with respect to the regular clergy, which he represented as equally advantageous to that body and the nation, and stated the arrangements made for preventing the increase of Jesuit convents, by allowing only one in towns which before had several, and taking public instruction out of their hands. The minister finally defended the measures which had been adopted for securing the deputies who signed the representation of the year 1814, and on whom it is reserved for the Cortes to pronounce judgement.

WAR.—The report of the minister of war produced the most afflicting impression. It appeared that this department was in the most deplorable condition; that it is indispensably necessary immediately to effect a reform in the army, and to change its organization; that the existing military force, comprising all the arms, is about 53,705 men, exclusive of the royal guard, and 7,083 cavalry; that, notwithstanding the reduction of 10,000 officers, the number retained was beyond all proportion to the army; that the corps of the royal guard was greatly diminished; that the want of money, and partial distributions of pay, had reduced the officers to the greatest privations; that the major part of them had remained for years on half-pay, though

though in active service; that the army is in a state of shameful nudity; that in the cavalry only 15 regiments have their clothing and equipments in tolerable condition; that the clothing and arms of the infantry were not uniform, and generally bad; that they had only 87,000 muskets, of which 6,000 were unserviceable; that the cavalry had 10,000 carbines, and that in the pistols and swords there was no uniformity; and that the saddlery articles were regular only in seven regiments.

The minister next described the deplorable state of the artillery, which was wholly destitute of materiel, and had a supply of ammunition scarcely sufficient for a single day's service in battle. The militia corps raised in 1818 present a force of 33,809 men, commanded by 140 chiefs; the garrisons, castles, &c., are in the most wretched condition, as well as the fortresses on the coast. The military education has not undergone any change; and the department of theoretical and practical instruction for the military requires no reformation. The retirements granted to officers have produced a saving: and the number of invalids is 7,838 men.

He then recapitulated the total force of the peninsula: that of the infantry, including the militia, he stated to consist of 87,779 men; the cavalry of 6,338; and the expense of the whole army he estimated at 352,607,000 reals (88,151,750 francs).

He then entered upon the details of the colonial establishments. The islands of Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, enjoy profound tranquillity. In Mexico there exist only a few bands of in-

surgers, which cannot occasion any apprehensions; but it is necessary, he observed, to keep that country on a war footing. The ravages of the revolutions are severely felt in South America, which experiences the effects of a war excited by the ambition of foreigners. Though it is impossible to give a correct statement of the military forces in these countries, the minister announced that, since 1815, not less than 42,177 men of all arms have been transported thither, of whom 5,000 are of Porto-Rico.

The forces in the island of Cuba, including the militia, amount to 10,995 men, and 977 horses; those in North America to 41,036 infantry and cavalry, who occupy an extent of 82,142 square leagues. Lastly, by adding the troops which are on other stations of South America, consisting of about 10,178 men, who form the garrisons of the Philippines, it will be found that the army in the colonies amounts to 96,578 men, and 8,419 horses. The garrisons in America are in the worst possible state.

**MARINE.**—The minister of marine gave an account in his report of the dilapidated condition to which his department had been reduced; he urged the necessity of regenerating this most important branch, and of increasing it to the highest possible pitch, by building as many ships as the state of the finances will admit. He referred to a proposition submitted to the former Cortes, to increase the navy to 20 ships of the line, 20 frigates, 18 corvettes, 26 brigantines, and 18 sloops of war.

**FINANCE.**—The minister of the finances entered into a long and complicated



complicated statement. He rendered an account of the state of the treasury on the 9th of March, explained the available resources, and pointed out a practicable mode of supplying the deficiencies. He proposed some modification of the dotations to the royal family, and solicited the approbation of the Cortes to a loan of 40,000,000 opened by the king, and towards which only 5,000,000 had been subscribed. He described the wretched state of the finances, indicated the mode of improving the system, and the difficulties opposed to a reformation. He specified the abuses—and one of the principal, the taxes imposed as merely provisional, and which were never suppressed in Spain. Hence the necessity of consulting the opinions and the abilities of the people before they should be subjected to a new plan of taxation. He explained the causes which were opposed to the establishment of direct contributions, and mentioned the indisposition of the clergy, the nobility, and persons in office, to contribute their proportions, as one of the principal impediments. He demonstrated the necessity of a reform, and to give publicity to every thing connected with the finances. The minister concluded his report by pointing out the inaccuracy and the inutility of custom-house codes; the injurious and mischievous tendency of the prohibitory laws: he proposed the union of the department of the posts to that of the finances, and reprobated the absurdity of the penal laws with regard to the system of finance.

With respect to the finances, the committee of finance reported to

the Cortes that the extreme penury of the public treasury had given occasion to the suggestion of many plans for affording immediate relief. They had particularly noticed a plan of colonel don Juan del Castillo, who proposed to coin copper-money to the amount of 3,200,000,000 of reals. A long discussion arose upon this plan, which was eventually rejected as unconstitutional and impracticable.

The Cortes, however, approved of another project of the committee of finance for establishing *entrepôts* in several ports of Spain and America. There are to be eight of the first class in Spain; viz. at Bilbao, Santander, Coruna, Cadiz, Malaga, Alicante, Tarragona, and Barcelona; seventeen in America; and one in the Philippine islands, at Manilla.

There are to be in Spain, and the adjacent islands, seven ports of *entrepôt* of the second class, and eighteen in America.

The budget for the financial year, which commenced on the 1st of July last, was definitively fixed as follows:—

	Reals.
The king's household	45,090,000
Ministry for foreign affairs	12,000,000
The interior	8,410,375
The colonies	1,368,235
Justice	11,131,110
Finance	173,351,669
War	355,450,915
Marine	96,000,000
Total	702,802,904
The total revenues	530,394,271
Deficit	172,408,033

The definitive organization of the army, as sanctioned by the king was as follows.

In

In time of peace it shall consist of 66,828 men, viz. :

Infantry	48,353
Cavalry	12,475
Artillery	5,000
Sappers	1,000

Total	66,828
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In a period of war the military force shall be augmented 124,579 men. The three Swiss regiments are suppressed. The government can, if need be, increase the militia to 120,000 men.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Revolution in Portugal—in Naples—State of Germany and Russia.*

IT could scarcely be expected that Portugal would remain quiet long after the revolution had broken out in Spain. In many respects, indeed, Portugal was differently situated from the latter country ; she had not the same causes of complaint and dissatisfaction, but she had others which were sufficiently powerful to lead to decisive results, when an opportunity occurred.

The two great sources of the dissatisfaction of the Portuguese were, that they were become now, in fact, colonists of their own colony ; that Portugal had ceased to be the principal country since the king had established his residence and court in the Brazils. The Portuguese who had fought so nobly to restore to their sovereign his European dominions, at a time when he had fled from them, thought themselves very harshly and unjustly treated, when that sovereign refused to return among them. This undoubtedly was one source of complaint. Besides, Portugal, which had been drained and impoverished during the dreadful and arduous struggle it had so honourably and successfully sustained against the French, requir-

ed, and thought she deserved, the fostering care of her sovereign, and the residence of those grandees who of course would follow him wherever he went.

The Portuguese also were averse to the state of dependence to the English in which they were held : they acknowledged their obligations to them ; but they had hoped that the English did not assist them to drive out the French, merely for the purpose of fixing their own authority over them, which, though infinitely more mild, was still foreign authority.

If to these circumstances we add the impulse given to the minds of the Portuguese during their struggles with the French, and the information on the subject of political rights and liberty which must have broken in upon their minds from their long and intimate connexion with the English, we shall not be surprised that they were desirous of a more liberal form of government.

The revolution broke out at Oporto on the 24th of August ; it was not opposed by the troops, but it appears to have been the wish of the people. The rights of the legitimate dynasty were not

not formally attacked: but the constitution of the Cortes in Spain was demanded, and indeed proclaimed in the name of the king of Portugal and the Brazils. The regency, in the hope of pacifying the people, proposed to convoke the cortes; but the provisional junto, which had been formed at Oporto, as soon as the revolution broke out, treated this proposal as a device to amuse and mislead the people. As it was of the utmost importance to the revolutionists to gain possession of Lisbon, the first step of the provisional junto was to set out from Oporto to that city. This they did at the head of 80,000 men, all troops of the line. The conde d'Amarante, who commanded in Lisbon, at first seems to have been disposed to prevent the entrance of the junto into that city, but he was compelled by the general desertion of his troops to abandon the regency, and proclaim the revolution.

Hitherto nothing has occurred worthy of particular notice since the revolution was completed: as it has evidently been the work both of the military and of the mass of the people, it is to be hoped that it will not be stained with crime, but proceed wisely towards its only justifiable and legitimate object, the national good.

Soon after the revolution broke out, marshal Beresford returned from the Brazils; but he either was not permitted, or did not deem it prudent, to land in Portugal. The intelligence of the events which took place in Portugal in August, and of the wishes of the Portuguese, reached Rio Janeiro on the 9th of October. His most faithful majesty immediately acceded to

their wishes,—to approve of the convocation of the cortes, and to authorize the formation of a constitution, which, as soon as it is finished, he desires may be transmitted to him, that he may invest it with his royal sanction. His majesty added, that when this is done he will determine whether he will return in person to Lisbon, or send thither one of the princes of his family.

That revolutions should have taken place in Spain and Portugal did not create much surprise; but that Naples should follow their example was not anticipated. As however Naples had participated largely in the revolutionary movements of Europe, and as moreover, under Murat, her troops and officers must have imbibed revolutionary ideas, this event does not seem so surprising. This revolution, like that of Spain, was effected by means of the army. Great dissatisfaction had long been prevalent in this country among all classes; and the troops had participated in the general spirit. At Palermo the discontents had assumed an alarming aspect, and preparations were making to send a part of the garrison of Naples to Sicily, when a deputation of the regiments intimated to the commander in chief, in the beginning of July, the unanimous resolution of the army to have a representative free constitution, and that they expected his majesty's compliance with their demand, within fourteen days. The king yielded to their application—his ministers were dismissed, and persons chosen in their room, who possessed the confidence and good opinion of the people. The period of eight days, which the king had originally fixed for the pub-

publication of the constitution, was too long for the impatience of the army : they therefore required the constitution of the Cortes of Spain of 1812 to be adopted without delay ; which was accordingly done. On the 7th of July a royal rescript was published, in which his majesty, alleging that the state of his health did not permit him any longer to execute the duties of royalty, appointed his son the duke of Calabria his vicar-general.

M. Zuilo, who had been minister of the interior under Murat, and who retained that situation on the restoration of Ferdinand, was very instrumental in persuading him to accept the constitution. The other leading men were two brothers of the name of Pepe, both generals ; Filangieri, the son of the celebrated writer—an officer of distinguished merit ; Carascosa, also a military man ; and the duke of Campo Chiaro ; all these had been in the service of Murat.

A very few days before the revolution was completed, the government of Naples published an official note from the cabinet of St. Petersburg to the Spanish ambassador at that court, in which the revolution of Spain is stigmatized as a most atrocious event, which had excited the indignation of the emperor of Russia. But this did not intimidate the Neapolitans.

The principal sovereigns of continental Europe, however, could not view without alarm the revolutions of Spain, Portugal and Naples. The two first countries they could not interfere with without the consent of France, which was not likely to be granted ; nor could

they pretend that they felt any apprehensions of immediate danger from countries lying so remote from, and unconnected with, any of their own territories.

It was otherwise, however, with Naples. Austria considered herself as deeply and seriously interested in whatever regarded that portion of Italy : or, in other words, ruling her own states and the northern parts of Italy, which she had recovered by the treaty of Paris, with little regard to the liberties of the inhabitants, and on maxims at once despotic and unwise, she was naturally afraid that, if the Neapolitans wrought out their own political freedom, her Italian subjects would not long be tame and patient under her harassing and stern dominion. Austria therefore was feelingly alive to the Neapolitan revolution. The king of Prussia also, whose subjects had been so often promised a free constitution as some reward for the exertions they made for their country and their monarch, at a time when he deserted them and the French were all powerful—and by whose means the enemy had been driven out of Prussia, and their sovereign restored,—the king of Prussia coincided in the views and felt the same fears as the emperor of Austria. The emperor of Russia, it might be supposed, would have acted a more liberal and wise part ; but he also affected to be interested for the repose of Europe. These monarchs accordingly met at Troppau ; and the result of their deliberations appeared in a kind of manifesto, in which they pronounced a strong condemnation of all changes in the frame of government brought about by the

military, or by any species of force, or indeed in any other way than by the free will of the sovereign. As if, truly, a despotic sovereign (and all the sovereigns of continental Europe possess despotic power in some degree) would voluntarily curtail his own authority. In this manifesto, a hope, if not a declaration, was held out that Great Britain and France would unite with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in preserving the tranquillity of Europe; Great Britain, however, officially refused to interfere; and though no official document on the subject has appeared from France, yet it is generally understood that she also is averse to all interference.

Naples was alarmed at this declaration of the allied sovereigns: she naturally thought that no foreign power had any right to interfere with her internal concerns; and that with the same colour of justice she might have interfered with the internal government of Austrian Italy. The allied sovereigns were, however, resolved to proceed; and they refused to receive the Neapolitan ambassador who was sent to Troppau.

In the mean time Austrian troops were assembling in the north of Italy, and every thing indicated a determination on the part of Austria to invade Naples: in order, however, to give some pretext of justice to their proceedings, the allied sovereigns declared that they had no objection that Naples should possess a free government, but that it should be such a one as they approved, and as by the point of the bayonet the Neapolitans were compelled to accept.

The free wishes of the king of

Naples were also to be consulted; for this purpose they invited, or rather commanded, him to come to Laybach, at which place they were about to assemble. The Neapolitans were naturally averse to their king leaving the kingdom, especially at the command of a foreign power; but at length the parliament gave their consent, on condition that the king would, before his departure, fill up the nominations to the council of state, provided for by the constitution, in aid and control of the executive, and complete the modifications necessary to the constitutional act. Before his departure, the king published an address\* to the parliament, in which, after stating that the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, united in congress at Troppau, had invited him to repair in person to Laybach, to form part of a new congress to be held at Laybach; and that he has complied with their request, in order to save the nation from the scourge of war;—he adds, “Far be the thought from me and from you, that the adoption of this project can make me compromise the good of my people; and in parting from you I owe it to myself to give you a new and solemn guarantee. I declare then to you, and to the nation that has resolved to make every exertion for the enjoyment of a liberal and wise constitution, that, whatever measures circumstances may exact relative to our actual political state, all my efforts will be directed that it may remain for ever fixed upon the following bases:—

“1. That the individual and real liberty of my beloved subjects

\* For the whole of this address see Public Papers, (256)

may be secured by a fundamental law of the state.

" 2. That birth shall confer no privileges in the composition of the legislative body of the state.

" 3. That no taxes shall be imposed without the consent of the nation in its legitimate representation.

" 4. That the accounts of public expenditure shall be referred to the nation itself, and to its representatives.

" 5. That laws shall be made in accord with the national representatives.

" 6. That the judicial power shall be independent.

" 7. That the press shall remain free, except from the operation of laws enacted against the abuses of its liberty.

" 8. That the ministers be responsible.

" 9. That the civil list shall be fixed.

" I further declare that none of my subjects shall ever receive molestation on account of past political events."

On the 15th of December, the prince vicar-general, now regent of the kingdom, issued a proclamation to the people, on opening his new functions, of which we transcribe the concluding passages. After some remarks on the departure and the mission of his father, he proceeds thus:—

" I remain among you regent of the kingdom; and be assured I will do every thing in my power to return the new mark of confidence reposed in me by the nation and the king. I shall redouble my anxiety and my labours for your welfare, always pursuing exactly the career pointed out by the constitution to which we have sworn.

" I feel secure, however, that you will always listen to my voice when in concord with that constitution. This is the more necessary, since it is by the prudence of your conduct, at once firm and moderate, you will give force to the arguments which the king, my august parent, will offer to the congress at Laybach in support of our national independence, and enable him to prove, by an appeal to facts, that the liberty established by the generous free will of the sovereign, is not a dangerous predicament, but that our true social contract has consolidated the throne by founding it on the love of the people.

" Let all, then, be of one accord, not less to sustain the rights of the nation, than to obey the appointed constitutional authorities, and to banish from among you all spirit of discord, which can only tend to weaken us. Let us, finally, form a solid and respected body, which may place us in the most imposing rank of nations."

On the morning of the 18th the prince regent took the oath before the whole parliament, attended by the grand and imposing ceremonies suited to the occasion. At the termination, the president addressed his royal highness in the following terms:

" Your highness,—The solemn act that you have now performed fills our hearts with tenderness and joy. The attachment of your royal highness to the welfare of the people was always apparent: we now see it confirmed by our solemn promise, and sanctioned by the guarantee of the God of justice. The parliament, sir, does not cease to congratulate itself on having confided to you the provisional government

verment of the kingdom. They know that they have confided it to one who loves the constitution, who knows how to secure it, and who can alone diminish our grief for the absence of his august father. Under the auspices of your royal highness, we shall see the elevation and force of our nation always extend themselves. We shall continually become more worthy of the esteem of good men, and more terrible to those who dare to attack us. We will show to the universe, in fine, that with us liberty is the guardian of the throne, and the protectress of the people; that she remains constantly by the side of good order, and that she answers friendship with fervour, and oppression by force; that there is nothing, in fact, of which an independent nation, with a magnanimous prince at its head, is not capable."

The length of the prince's reply limits us to a selection only of the most striking passages:—

"Far from us all be pale distrust and black intrigues. Let us emulate each other in pursuing the path of honour and of our country's happiness; you, with those capabilities which the constitution confers on the legislative, and I with that energy and vigour which it assigns to the executive power.

"Let these two distinct powers assist each other by turn, in giving firmness to the machine of the state.

"Let us so act, that while our father and king urges his venerable plea in behalf of the country before the august session of the allied monarchs, our noble, firm, and loyal conduct may furnish him more and more with powerful reasons in our favour.

"Your deliberations shall be free. Examine with seriousness the wants of the state, and place the department of war on a footing that may make us respected, and secure our independence. Let the magistrates be just and vigilant in the administration of justice, so necessary to the maintenance of civil order and the happiness of the people. Let all things conspire effectively to the public good; to protect it from hostile aggressions, and to secure its continuance."

The conclusion of the prince's speech was accompanied with the most lively applause from the hall and all the tribunes. In this moment he appeared unable to restrain the impulse of the thoughts by which his mind was agitated. He waved his hand to speak once more, and uttered the following words in an accent of strong emotion:—

"The expressions which I have pronounced are dictated from the bottom of my heart, which will adhere to the constitution we have sworn, as the foundation of the prosperity of the country. These are the sentiments, too, of the king, my father, which he repeated to me a thousand times before his departure."

At these words, which called tears of joy in the eyes of the spectators, the hall echoed with acclamations of "Live the king," and the most sincere benedictions for the happiness of all the royal family.

While affairs were proceeding in this tranquil manner in Naples, Sicily was the scene of dreadful disorders. The Sicilians, though reduced for some centuries, and with few interruptions, under the

same

same sovereignty as the Neapolitans, have always retained for them a strong sentiment of national jealousy. During the late war, Sicily was in the possession of the English, from whom it received a constitution something resembling the British. This the king of Naples destroyed as soon as he regained Sicily. When the revolution broke out at Naples, the first impulse of the Sicilians was to wear the tri-coloured badge of the constitution; but the next day the yellow or Sicilian ribband was displayed in conjunction with the other: an accident exasperated the people against the Neapolitan authorities. The forts in possession of the Neapolitans were carried by the populace, and a number of Neapolitans were massacred. Troops were sent from Naples to Sicily under general Pepe; the Sicilians were compelled to submit, and a treaty was entered into on the 5th of October, by which, among other articles, it was stipulated that the majority of votes of the Sicilians, legally convened, should decide whether the national representation of the Two Sicilies should be united or separate. The ratification of the treaty, however, was refused by the Neapolitan parliament. Thus, at the close of the year 1820, a singular spectacle is presented to Europe by the situation of the Two Sicilies. While strenuous efforts are making in Naples to resist the aggressions apprehended from Austria, Naples herself is holding Sicily in a state little differing from that of military occupation. The junta at Palermo has ceased to act, while general Colletta governs that city and the surrounding district, by his sole

authority, under the title of lieutenant-general. The rest of Sicily is ruled in a similar manner, by prince Scaletta. The estates of the principal nobility at Palermo are placed under sequestration, and a state of distrust prevails generally. One of the last persons of rank holding out against the Neapolitan authority in Sicily was a baron Alliotta, who retired to his estate at Terranova, after the convention of the 5th of October, and attempted, but in vain, to rouse the inhabitants of that part of Sicily to resistance. He was overpowered by a party of troops acting under the orders of the lieutenant-general, arrested, and brought to Palermo.

Germany, with the exception of the proceedings of the allied sovereigns, presents nothing interesting. On the 16th of September, the emperor of Russia, as king of Poland, opened the diet at Warsaw with a long speech, in which there is a deal of mysticism: the only thing that is clear is his dislike to the changes of government in Spain, Portugal, and Naples; the progress of evil is ascribed to the "the spirit of evil" predominating in one part of Europe, and heaping crimes and convulsions on the other. This declaration, however, seems to have had little effect on the diet; for one of its first measures was to reject, almost unanimously, the criminal code recommended by the Russian ministers, on the ground of want of security to general freedom, which was visible throughout the whole, and more especially the absence of any provision for a trial by jury.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Affairs of the United States—of South America—of Hayti.*

WE have already incidentally remarked that the United States was suffering under a depression of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, similar to that under which Great Britain laboured, but not equal in degree. In some measure it arose from the same causes,—the over issue of paper money at one period, the consequent stimulus given not only to regular and laudable industry, but also to all species of speculation and mercantile gambling,—and the reduction of that paper currency. Hence there was comparatively little demand for agricultural produce in America, and prices fell considerably. But in Great Britain the pressure of taxation acted in conjunction with the reduction of paper currency—increased the evil, and rendered the cure much more difficult. This was not the case in America; there the taxes were comparatively little; besides, the resources of America, especially in land, were almost boundless. Hence, as we observed in our volume for 1819, America must speedily recover.

Still, however, she is suffering from the derangement of her paper currency; and as her trade is also suffering, her finances are not in so flourishing a state as they have been. Her sinking fund, indeed, is gradually reducing her debt; but in the mean time her expenditure, limited as it is, is hardly met by her income. The following affords a short sketch of the state of the bank of the United States and its branches for Nov.

1819, being the latest made up; and also an official report of the finances of the United States:

The total amount of bills and notes discounted at the bank and its offices, is 26,921,389 dollars. The bills of exchange, foreign and domestic, are stated at 1,135,757 dollars.

The amount of funded debt of the United States (various) belonging to the bank, is 9,157,604 dollars, besides 278,000 dollars of Louisiana 54 per cent.

There are due from the State banks 2,625,996 dollars, and there are due to them 1,175,905 dollars.

The deposits of the treasurer of the United States are 847,706; those on account of public officers, 1,507,813; on account of individuals, 3,794,267—making a total of 6,149,787.

The item of “discount, exchange, and interest,” is stated at 645,723 dollars, and that of “profit and loss, and contingent interest” is stated at 2,668,244 dollars. On the opposite side we find the debt from certain individuals in Baltimore stated at 1,540,000 dollars; the “real estate, permanent expense, and bonus,” at 1,393,247 dollars; “deficiencies,” at 310,445 dollars, and some smaller items.

The amount of specie on hand is very large, being 6,051,490 dollars, besides 671,000 dollars in a course of remittance or transmission.

The amount of bank and branch notes is stated at 11,621,380 dollars; the amount thereof on hand at

at 6,295,992 dollars, leaving for the difference between these two the amount of notes in circulation sums.

### I.—THE REVENUE.

The net revenue arising from duties upon imports and tonnage, internal duties, direct tax, public lands, postage, and other incidental receipts, during the year 1815, amounted to 49,555,642 dollars 76 cents.

That which accrued from the same sources during the year 1816, amounted to 36,657,904 dollars 72 cents.

That which accrued from the same sources during 1817, amounted to 24,363,227 dollars 24 cents.

And that which accrued from the same sources during the year 1818, amounted to 26,095,260 dollars 65 cents.

It is ascertained that the gross amount of duties on merchandize and tonnage, which have accrued during the three first quarters of 1819, exceeds 18,000,000 dollars.

And the sales of public lands during the same period have exceeded 8,700,000 dollars.

The payments into the treasury during the three first quarters of the year are estimated to amount to (inclusive of 169,594 dollars 7 cents. in treasury-notes)	Dollars.
	19,550,687 17

And the payments into the treasury during the fourth quarter of the year, from the same sources, are estimated at	
	5,000,000

Making the whole amount estimated to be received into the treasury during the year 1819, (exclusive of 169,594 dollars 70 cents. in treasury-notes)	
	24,381,013 10

Which added to the balance in the treasury on the 1st day of January last (exclusive of 32,155 dollars 51 cents. in treasury notes), amounting to	
	1,446,371 23

Making the aggregate amount of	25,827,384 33
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The application of this sum for the year 1819 is estimated as follows, viz.

To the 30th of September the payments (exclusive of 81,161 dollars 79 cents. in treasury notes, which have been drawn from the treasury, and cancelled) have amounted to	
	18,192,387 43

During the fourth quarter it is estimated that the payments (exclusive of 120,587 dollars 79 cents. in treasury notes, which will be drawn from the treasury, and cancelled) will amount to	
	7,300,000

Making the aggregate amount (exclusive of 201,749 dollars 58 cents. in treasury notes, drawn from the treasury and cancelled) of	
	25,492,387 43

And leaving, on the 1st of January 1820, a balance in the treasury, estimated at	
	394,996 90

## II.—THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The funded debt which was contracted before the year 1812, and which was unredeemed on the 1st day of October 1813 (as appears by Statement I.) amounted to

Dollars.  
29,681,230 07

And that contracted subsequently to the 1st day of January 1812, and unredeemed on the 1st of October 1818, as appears by the same Statement, amounted to

68,146,039 84

Making the aggregate amount of

97,827,319 91

On the 1st Jan. there was added to the amount, for treasury notes brought into the treasury and cancelled, and for which the following stock was issued :

51,670 71

Making

97,879,990 62

From which deduct

5,230,813 27

Making the public debt, which was unredeemed on the 1st January 1819 (as appears by Statement II.) amount to

92,648,177 35

From the 1st January to the 30th September inclusive, there was, by funding treasury notes, and issuing 3 per cent. stock, for interest on old registered debt, added to the public debt (as appears by Statement III.) the amount of

36,135 59

Making

92,684,312 94

From which deduct

955,785 43

Making, on the 1st of October 1819 (as appears by Statement III.) the sum of

91,728,527 51

Since the 30th September there has been redeemed

2,843,323 85

Leaving the public debt unredeemed on the 1st of January 1820, by estimate

88,885,203 66

### III.—THE ESTIMATES OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE AND OF EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR 1820.

In presenting the estimate for the year 1820, it may be proper to observe that on the 31st of December 1817, the permanent revenue, including those duties, was estimated at 24,525,000 dollars, whilst the annual authorized expenditure was ascertained to be less than 22,000,000 dollars. The

repeal of the internal duties reduced the former to 22,025,000 dollars, whilst the payments from the treasury during the year 1818 exceeded 26,000,000 dollars; and those of the present year will, probably, fall but little short of 25,500,000 dollars.

In the annual report of the treasury of the 21st of November 1818, the receipts for the present year were estimated at 24,220,000 dollars.

dollars. Although this estimate will be realized in its general result, deficiencies have been ascertained in the customs, the internal duties and direct taxes, the bank dividends, and the postage of letters. The deficiency which has occurred in the customs, internal duties, and direct taxes, will probably augment, in nearly the same degree, the receipts from those sources in the year 1820, by the payment of the revenue bonds, and of that portion of the internal duties and direct taxes, which, if

the accustomed punctuality had been observed, would have been received during the present year. But it is probable that the receipts of that year will be diminished by the non-payment of the bank dividends, and by the application of a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the redemption of the outstanding Mississippi stock. The receipts for the year 1820, applicable to the ordinary and current demands upon the treasury, may therefore be estimated at twenty-two million dollars, viz.

Customs	..	..	..	..	19,000,000	00
Public lands	..	..	..	..	2,000,000	00
Arrears of internal duties and direct tax	..	..	..	..	450,000	00
Second instalment due by the United States bank	..	..	..	..	500,000	00
Incidental receipts	..	..	..	..	50,000	00
Which, with the sum estimated to be in the treasury on the 1st of January 1820						..
						334,996 90

Make the aggregate amount of

The estimates of the expenditure for the year 1820 are not yet complete; but it is ascertained, from those which have already been received, that a sum not less than twenty-seven million dollars will be required for the service of that year. This deficit of nearly five million dollars, resulting from the excess of expenditure beyond the receipts, cannot be supplied by any application of the ordinary revenue. After paying the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, and redeeming the remainder of the Louisiana stock, about 2,500,000 dollars of the sinking fund will remain without application, if the price of the public stocks should continue above the prices at which the commissioners of the sinking fund are authorized to purchase. During the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, the average sum of five million

dollars of the sinking fund will also remain without application, if the price of the public stock should prevent its purchase. Any application of that portion of the sinking fund which, on account of the price of the public stock, may remain unemployed in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund, to other branches of the public service, if allowable under the provisions of the act making the appropriation, would only postpone the period at which additional impositions would be required to meet the public expenditure. Such an application would also have the effect of ultimately retarding the redemption of the public debt.

Under all the circumstances, the public interest requires that the revenue be augmented, or that the expenditure be diminished. Whether the revenue be

aug-

augmented, or the expenditure be diminished, a loan to some extent will be necessary.

The American government have at length passed an act putting an end to the slave trade, and a law was proposed to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States west of the Mississippi: doubts however were entertained as to the competency of congress to prohibit the existence of slavery in the formation of a new state; and these being well founded, the measure was abandoned.

During the session of congress in 1820, four new states were added to the union, viz. Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri; and as the territories of Michigan and Arkausaw will soon have a population to entitle them to become independent states, when this takes place the states will be double the original number that declared themselves independent of Great Britain on the 4th of July 1776. Party spirit seems nearly extinct in the United States: the election of members to compose the 17th congress, and the re-election of Mr. Monroe as president, both of which took place in 1820, sufficiently prove this. The discussions between Spain and the United States are still going on; but it is supposed that they will end in the cession of the Floridas to the latter.

Of South American affairs we know little certain; the contest is still carrying on in some parts with trifling success on the part of the

patriots. In other parts, a convention between the contending parties has taken place, in consequence of the revolution in Spain. This event, and the success of lord Cochrane it is supposed will establish the independence of South America.

The part of St. Domingo formerly under the French, for upwards of 10 years past has been under distinct and rival governments; that in the south a republic under Boyer; and in the north Christophe was crowned king in 1811. It was generally believed that he was a wise and humane prince; the reverse however was the fact: his avarice and ambition were boundless, and to them he sacrificed the property, liberty, and lives of his subjects. Hence in the month of October 1820 a revolt took place among his troops; and Christophe, perceiving that it was general, shot himself. In consequence of this event, the whole population of the western division of the island, or that which was formerly subject to France, was united under one government, of a republican form, at the head of which is general Boyer, who was president of the southern part of Hayti, and the rival of Christophe. Boyer is said to possess many of the virtues of his predecessor, Pétion; but to be endowed with more firmness and decision of character. By succeeding to Christophe, he has gained an accession of strength equal to 20,000 men, and the control over an immense sum of money hoarded up by Christophe.

PRICE of STOCKS for 1920.—N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1920.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	per cent.	4 p. ct.	5 p. ct.	Long Ann.	Irish.	Imper. 3 p. ct.	India Stock.	S. Sea Stock.	India Bonds.	Exch. Bills.	Com. Bills.	Omnium.
Jan.	{ 290 1/2 292 }	67 1/2 68 1/2	67 1/2 68 1/2	75 1/2 77 1/2	84 1/2 87 1/2	101 1/2 103 1/2	17 1/2 18 1/2	102 1/2	64 1/2 67 1/2	204 1/2 207	74 1/2 75 1/2	par 13 pr.	5 dis. 4 pr.	23 dis. 8 dis.	1 1/2 dis. 3/4 dis.
Feb.	{ 290 293 1/2 }	68 1/2 69 1/2	67 1/2 68 1/2	76 1/2 77 1/2	86 1/2 87 1/2	102 1/2 103 1/2	18 18 1/2		67 1/2 68 1/2	208 1/2 215	75 1/2 76	12 pr. 17 pr.	2 dis. 4 pr.	7 dis. 9 dis.	1 1/2 dis. 3/4 pr.
March	{ 224 1/2 224 }	69 69 1/2	68 68 1/2	77 1/2 78 1/2	88 1/2 88 1/2	103 1/2 104 1/2	18 1/2 18 1/2	105	67 1/2 68 1/2	219 1/2 214 1/2	75 1/2 76	9 pr. 17 pr.	3 dis. par.		3/4 pr.
April	{ 217 224 }	67 1/2 69 1/2	68 1/2 70	76 1/2 78	86 1/2 87 1/2	108 1/2 106	17 1/2 18 1/2		68 69 1/2	215 1/2 218 1/2	77 1/2 77 1/2	9 pr. 30 pr.	1 dis. 6 pr.	4 dis. 2 pr.	
May	{ 224 1/2 226 1/2 }	68 1/2 69 1/2	69 1/2 70	77 1/2 77 1/2	86 87 1/2	104 1/2 106 1/2	17 18 1/2		67 1/2 67 1/2	219 221	77 1/2	20 pr. 25 pr.	2 pr. 12 pr.	3 dis. 1 pr.	
June	{ 218 1/2 224 1/2 }	68 68 1/2	69 1/2 69 1/2	76 1/2 77 1/2	85 1/2 86 1/2	104 1/2 104 1/2	17 1/2 17 1/2		67 1/2 67 1/2	219 1/2 220		8 pr. 18 pr.	4 dis. 4 pr.	3 pr. 5 pr.	
July	{ 220 226 }	68 1/2 69 1/2	68 1/2 69 1/2	77 78 1/2	86 88 1/2	101 1/2 104	17 1/2 18 1/2		67 1/2 68 1/2	214 1/2 217 1/2		19 pr. 25 pr.	3 pr. 7 pr.	10 pr. 14 pr.	
Aug.	{ 220 224 }	68 1/2 69 1/2	67 1/2 68 1/2	76 1/2 77 1/2	86 1/2 87 1/2	103 1/2 103 1/2	17 1/2 18 1/2		67 1/2 68	215 1/2 218		18 pr. 25 pr.	1 pr. 5 pr.	6 pr. 9 pr.	1 1/2 dis. par.
Sept.	{ 221 221 1/2 }	68 1/2 68 1/2	66 67 1/2	76 1/2 77 1/2	86 1/2 87	102 1/2 103 1/2			65 1/2 67 1/2	213 215	79 1/2 75 1/2	18 pr. 22 pr.	par. 5 pr.		4 1/2 dis. 3/4 dis.
Oct.	{ 215 216 1/2 }	66 1/2 67 1/2	66 1/2 68 1/2	75 76 1/2	89 1/2 85 1/2	102 1/2 104 1/2	17 1/2 17 1/2		65 1/2 66 1/2	216 220 1/2	79 1/2 74 1/2	17 pr. 26 pr.	par. 6 pr.		3 1/2 dis. 1 1/2 dis.
Nov.	{ 215 219 1/2 }	67 69	67 1/2 69 1/2	76 77 1/2	84 1/2 86 1/2	103 1/2 106	17 1/2 17 1/2	105 1/2	65 1/2 67 1/2	221 224 1/2	75 1/2 76 1/2	23 pr. 27 pr.	par. 6 pr.		2 1/2 dis. par.
Dec.	{ 219 223 1/2 }	68 1/2 70	69 1/2 69 1/2	77 1/2 79 1/2	86 87 1/2	103 1/2 105 1/2	17 1/2 18 1/2	104 1/2 105	67 1/2 68 1/2	224 1/2 225		23 pr. 26 pr.	3 dis. 2 pr.		1 1/2 dis. 2 pr.

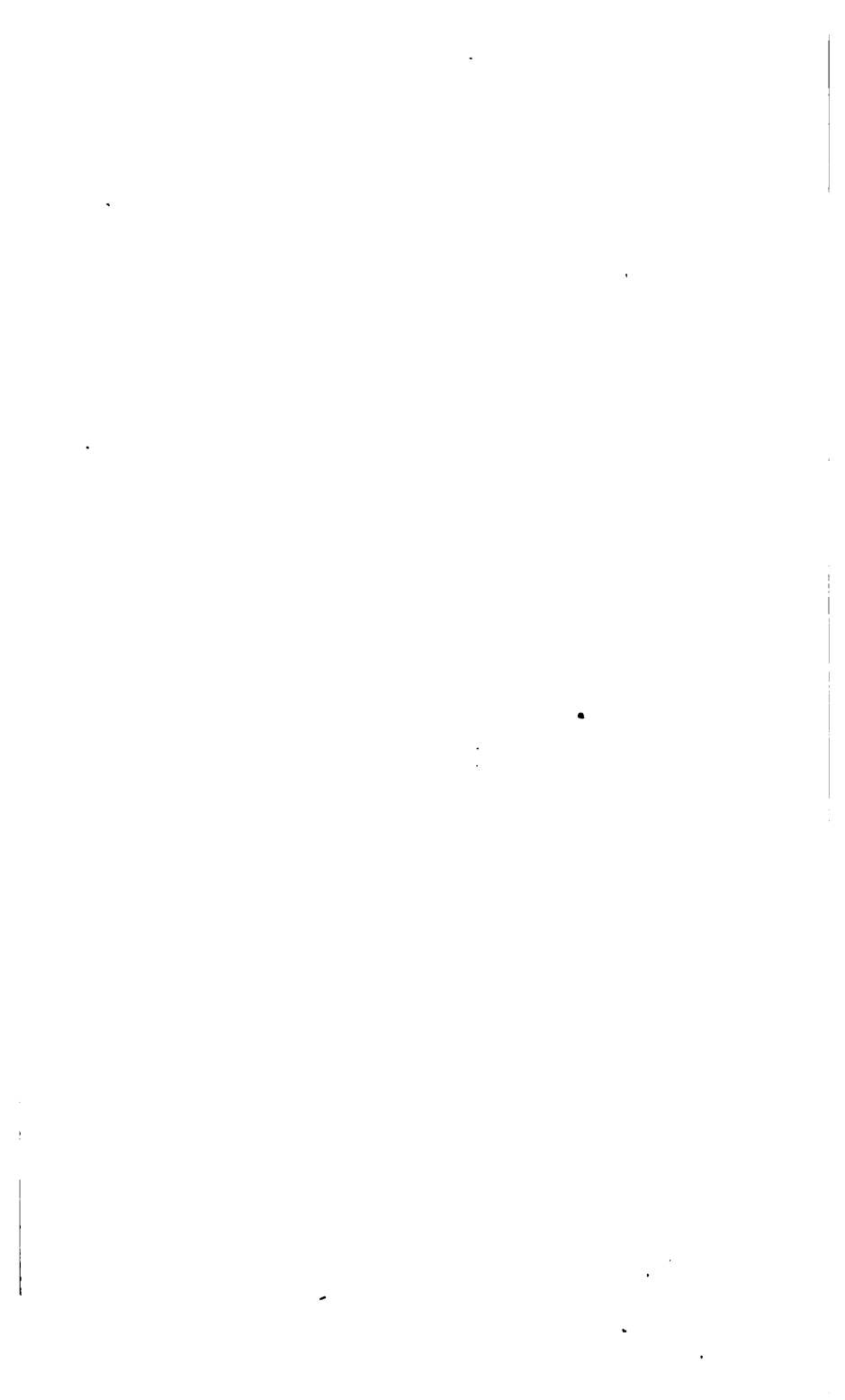
PRINCIPAL



**P R I N C I P A L  
O C C U R R E N C E S**

**In the Year 1820.**





# PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

In the Year 1820.

## JANUARY.

### FRANCE.

ON Tuesday, Dec. 28, the chamber of peers agreed to the *projet de loi* of the provisional collection of six-twelfths of the taxes, according to the assessments of 1819. After this business had been dispatched, a report was made by the committee of petitions: one of the petitions, from a sieur de Vincens, praying that the law of the 16th January 1816 which banished the regicides might be repealed as unconstitutional, incurred the high indignation of the peers; which they manifested by ordering the petition to be taken out of the chamber and torn to pieces; and it was further resolved, on the motion of marshal the prince of Eckmuhl (Davoust) that the committee should for the future take no notice whatever of any petitions of a similar character.

On the 3d instant the case of Savary, duke de Rovigo, came on before the first permanent council of war of the first military division, at Paris. The question was, as to the validity of the judgment awarded against him *par contumace*, on the 24th December 1816, by the council of war. It was, somehow or other, pretty well understood, before the duke

of Rovigo surrendered himself to abide the event, that this judgment against him would be set aside. All the requisite forms, however, were gone through, and a very able speech was made in his behalf by his advocate, M. Dupin. The result was, that the council, after deliberating for three quarters of an hour, unanimously acquitted the duke of Rovigo, and ordered him immediately to be set at liberty.

The king held his usual court on the 9th inst. which was attended by the ministers, the marshals, a great number of general officers, peers, deputies, &c. Marshal Soult duke of Dalmatia, was introduced, and received from the hands of his majesty the *baton* of a marshal of France. The prince de Talleyrand has been indisposed for some days; and the ex-director Barras is dangerously ill.

Under the head of Berlin, in the French papers, is the letter of a Prussian professor, M. Wette, to the mother of Sandt, after his assassination of Kotzebue; consoling her for the fall, and apologising for the deed of her son! His Prussian majesty has dismissed the professor from his chair, on account of this detestable production.

The greatest activity is exerted, and means, not of the most credi-

(A 2) table

table kind, employed by the liberals, to excite the petitioning zeal of the electors against any change in the law of elections.

The king, on the 6th, received, on the occasion of the new year, the queen of Sweden, who will reside at Paris, under the title of countess of Gothland.

On the recommendation of the duke de Berri, several establishments have been formed in Paris, for distributing cheap soup to the poor and indigent.

The females of Paris are still kept in a continual state of alarm by the monsters who prowl about the streets, inflicting wounds upon women; and who, strange to say, have hitherto escaped detection by the police. A lady has also been wounded in a church at Bourdeaux, and another at Soissons.

There appears a strangely mutinous spirit in the great schools of France. The schools of medicine and surgery at Toulouse are now rehearsing the scenes of turbulence and riot which broke out last year among the law students of Paris. It was found necessary to call in the military.

The Bourdelais ship of discovery has, after a voyage of three years and a half, arrived in Bourdeaux. This ship has traversed the Pacific Ocean, and collected at the Sandwich Islands some interesting accounts respecting the fate of the unfortunate La Perouse and his companions.

#### ITALY.

A private letter from Naples says, "On the 1st inst. snow fell here accompanied with much thunder. About the middle of the night, the inhabitants were awakened by a subterraneous noise;

and soon afterwards one of the most dreadful eruptions of Vesuvius commenced that has been witnessed for twenty years. The inhabitants of Torre del Greco, of l'Aumenziaata, and even of Portici, experienced the greatest disquietude, apprehending the fate of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The lava, however, fortunately divided itself into five torrents, and flowed to the foot of the mountain for the space of a league.

The crater is much enlarged, a part of its brink having fallen into the gulf. On the 7th the lava still continued to flow.

M. Steewen, a quaker celebrated for acts of philanthropy, lately had an audience of the pope, at Rome. As the principles of his sect did not permit him to take off his hat, he suggested that some one might do this for him in the ante-chamber; and it was done by M. Carrecini, of the secretary of state's office.

A circular has been addressed by the pope to the Irish prelates on the subject of the bible schools. Among other severe animadversions he remarks, that the "directors of these schools are, generally speaking, methodists, who introduce bibles, translated into English by 'the bible society,' and abounding in errors; with the sole view of seducing the youth, and entirely eradicating from their minds the truth of the orthodox faith." But notwithstanding this order, and though a rescript issued by the Roman catholic archbishop of Tuam, in accordance with it, is in circulation in his diocese, still the bible is sought for in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Galway, with the greatest avidity by the Roman catholic peasantry.

peasantry.—Mr. Walsh, Roman catholic bishop of Waterford, has lately addressed an apostolic charge to his diocese, peremptorily enjoining every member of the communion carefully to peruse the holy scriptures; pointing out also, that the difference of translation between the Douay and English bible should be no hindrance, as they are all alike in matter.

## ASIA.

An expedition, consisting of the Liverpool frigate, captain Collier, Eden, Catron, and Curlew sloops and four company's cruisers, with 4700 troops under major-general sir W. Keir, sailed from Bombay last September, to root out the pirates in the Persian Gulf.

It appears that lord Amherst is not the only ambassador who has failed in an embassy to the Chinese court. The Russian government, in 1805, dispatched a count Golowkin, on a mission thither; when the offensive ceremonial of the Kou-tou being insisted on, the count returned without reaching Peking.

## AFRICA.

Letters from Tripoli, dated the 11th November, announced, that the pacific system adopted by that regency is producing the happiest effects. Its commerce and navigation are flourishing. No corsair has issued from the ports of Tripoli since the 1st of July 1818; and the dey has solicited the mediation of England, to make his peace with all the christian powers. He offers to engage never more to molest any foreign flag.

It appears by recent accounts from Cape Coast Castle, that that part of the coast of Africa was infested by swarms of pirates of the

very worst description; who frequently, not content merely with plundering the vessel, murdered the crews also. This happened to a Dutch ship, called the Drie Vrienden, in Dexcure roads, which was boarded during the night; when the captain, mate, and all the crew, were inhumanly butchered; and the ship was afterwards blown up by the marauders.

Letters have been received from the Cape of Good Hope of the 30th of October. Lord Henry Somerset, up to that date, was still engaged in treating, it was reported, with the Caffre chiefs for the cession of a large portion of their territory. The late military operations have terminated in the total discomfiture and dispersion of the savages.

## AMERICA, &amp;c.

Advices from the United States say, that some important commercial arrangements have lately been entered into between the government of the United States and the king of Prussia. By these, all vessels belonging to his majesty are placed on the same footing, as to tonnage, as those of America; and also as to the duty on goods imported by them, being the produce or manufacture of Prussia. An order had been issued from the treasury department at Washington, addressed to the collectors of the different ports of the union, for carrying these regulations into effect.

Notwithstanding the prohibitory laws of the American legislature, two vessels sailed from New York on the 1st ult. wholly laden with arms and ammunition, known to be for lord Cochrane's squadron, and other patriot ar-

(A 3) maments.

maments. The cargoes were paid for in hard dollars.

King Christophe, of Hayti, has taken the prudent course of securing the attachment of his troops, by conceding to them grants of land, and advancing to them the means of cultivating them; while they are still within the reach of a summons to military duty. Conscious of his strength, the king rejects all overtures from France, that shall not come to him, with the recognition of his independence, as from one brother king to another.

The two houses of congress met on Monday, the 6th ult. In the senate, the proceedings were confined to the appointment of some standing committees, and other matters of regulation. In the house of representatives, an election took place for the office of speaker; when Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, was re-chosen, by a majority of 147, out of 155 votes. Mr. Clay, in his address of thanks, observed, that "during the session which was about to open, there was every reason to anticipate, that the matters which the house would be required to consider and decide would possess the highest degree of interest."—The houses having dispatched preliminary business, on the next day the president, Monroe, transmitted to the congress the opening message, or speech, which presents an interesting view of the political state of the union, with reference to its external relations and domestic economy. (See Public Papers.)

New South Wales.—The population in 1817, was 17,165: in 1818, 21,294. In 1817, the acres of land in cultivation were 230,361; in 1818, 284,852. In 1818, the

colony contained 3454 horses, 6457 horned cattle, 73,361 sheep, and 22,633 hogs.

December 21.—The beautiful new parish church of Dudley was opened by the solemn act of consecration. The bishop of Worcester performed the service in a very impressive manner, to a crowded congregation, and the vicar of the parish preached an appropriate discourse, from Gen. xxviii., 16, 17. "Surely the Lord is in this place! This is none other but the house of God; and this is the gate of heaven." The discourse, we understand, will appear in the two volumes, which will soon be published by that gentleman, towards liquidating the debt which the great and expensive work of building the church has necessarily drawn upon the parish. The edifice is in the florid Gothic style, and contains, we are happy to hear, a considerable number of free sittings for the poor. The windows are of cast-iron, covered with a stone paint of the same colour as the structure itself, whose lofty spire is a fine object to the surrounding country. In the parliamentary act for building this church, is a clause, which, though militating against his own interest, was adopted at the express desire of the present vicar, (viz.) that no vaults or graves be made in the aisles; a practice which, elsewhere, is too prevalent, detrimental not only to the fabrics thus excavated and undermined, but also, perhaps, to the health of the living worshippers, without any way benefiting the dead.

This being St. Thomas's day, as usual a stag was turned out from Blenheim Park, the property of his

his grace the duke of Marlborough. It directed its course towards Wickham; from thence it took the high road and proceeded to Oxford; and then formed one of the most beautiful and picturesque sights that can be imagined. The stag, and dogs in close pursuit, followed by a great number of well-known and experienced sportsmen, proceeded up the high-street, as far as Brazenose college; when, to the no small astonishment of hundreds of spectators, the stag took refuge in the chapel, during divine service; where it was killed, *sans ceremonie*, by the eager dogs.

In a petition presented by the presbytery of Hamilton, printed by order of the house of commons, it is stated, that "in many instances nearly one half of the weavers are unemployed at the looms, and even when so employed, the pittance of wages is in most cases so scanty, that when a family has to be supported by the earnings of one man, it is absolutely impossible for him, without other aid, to keep them in existence. Many families in the several parishes cannot now attend, as formerly, their public ministrations in church from the want of decent clothing; and the education of their children is now, in many cases, neglected from the same cause;" adding, "that if the pressure of want could be removed, they feel perfectly assured peace and quietness, so far as respects the great body of the manufacturing population, would follow of course." The heritors of the parish of Rutherglen make a statement concurring entirely with that of the presbytery of Hamilton as to the inadequacy of wages,

want of employment for, and sufferings of the manufacturing population.

26.—As Mr. Puddecombe, a respectable farmer, was returning from Barnstaple market with a considerable sum of money in his pocket, he was thrown by his horse over the bridge, and has not yet been found. It is supposed, some persons held a rope across, and by lifting it up when he was passing, frightened the spirited animal; and thus, by an idle frolic, caused his untimely and lamented death. He has left a wife and five small children to bewail his loss.

30.—Benjamin Surr, of Leeds, an unfortunate maniac, was lately discovered chained in his father's cellar, where he had remained about sixteen years: he was conveyed to Leeds workhouse, and there died on this day. The warmth and comfort which he experienced during the week that he was in the workhouse, were so different from the rigours to which his constitution had been habituated, that they produced the evil they were meant to avert.

*Sidmouth, Dec. 30.*

Yesterday and this day, the weather proving favourable, their royal highnesses the duke and duchess of Kent, and the princess, have been each day on the promenade, where they continued walking a considerable time. The dangerous practice of inexperienced persons being trusted with guns had yesterday been nearly attended with disastrous consequences: an apprentice boy, shooting at small birds, had the audacity to approach so near the residence of their royal highnesses, that the shot broke the windows of the

(A 4) nursery,

nursery, and passed very near the head of the infant princess, who was in the arms of the nurse. The delinquent was detected; but, at the request of the duke, he was pardoned, upon a promise of desisting from such culpable pursuits.

Jan. 7.—This morning the Birmingham theatre was totally destroyed by fire. The manager, Mr. Bunn, left the theatre at eleven: about one, the flames were discovered, and at three the roof fell. Pizarro had been performed that evening; and the wadding from the pistol fired at Rolla is supposed to have lodged in the scenery. It is remarkable, that to a like cause, in the same play, the destruction of Covent-garden theatre was attributed. The building was insured for 7000*l.* and the furniture for 2000*l.*

15.—On Sunday morning last, about half-past three o'clock, the range of building in the northern part of Magdalen Hall, in the university of Oxford, was discovered (by the guard of a mail coming into Oxford) to be on fire. The inmates of the hall and of Magdalen College were speedily alarmed, and by four o'clock the cry of "Fire" through the city brought the timely aid of engines, and a considerable number of persons to the spot, when every possible exertion was made to subdue the dominion of the destructive element. The severity of the weather had rendered most of the nearest pumps useless, which made it necessary to form a line with three engines to supply water from the river Cherwell—a distance from the fire of two hundred yards. There was a fourth engine, which was supplied (though

not fully) with water in buckets from the pumps. At this point of time, there appeared no hope of saving a single room out of the sixteen sets composing that part of the hall, which, being built mostly of timber, offered but little resistance to the then raging flames; and, as the wind blew directly towards the principal's lodgings, the chapel, and the hall, it was deemed prudent to demolish a small shed which connected them, and to apply the full force of the engines to prevent the communication of the fire which seemed to threaten. These measures, together with the praiseworthy exertions of those persons assembled, alone saved those parts of the hall. Several members of the university rendered their assistance; amongst whom no one was more assiduous than the learned, amiable, and venerable diocesan.—About six o'clock, the engines were played on the yet remaining part of the northern extremity of the building, and unexpectedly, though fortunately, preserved four sets of rooms, one of which is on the ground floor, and the other three storied above. Before eight, the fire was nearly extinguished: it was, however, thought necessary to work the engines until nearly twelve o'clock, when no appearance of danger any longer existed. We are unable to state the occasion of this fire satisfactorily; we only know that it commenced at or very near to the common room. Happily no lives were lost, and we have not heard that bodily injury was sustained by any person. Besides the destruction of the twelve sets of rooms, we are sorry to say, that a considerable number of valuable

ble books were burnt, together with several musical instruments, some plate, and most of the furniture.

Several informations have lately been laid against clergymen in Essex and Suffolk, for omitting to read the act against profane swearing.

On opening a cod-fish, a few days ago, by the cook of the King's arms tavern, at Plymouth-dock, a worm, about four inches long, was found in the fish, in shape like a sole, covered with green feathers, equal in brilliancy to those of the peacock : between the feathers are small sharp quills, resembling those of the porcupine. This extraordinary production of nature is now in the possession of the printer of the Plymouth paper, for the inspection of the naturalist.

A person crossing over the Severn, at the new passage, was asking the master of the boat, whether there were ever any people lost in the passage—"No, sir," answered the Monmouthshire tar, "never; my brother was drowned here last week; but we found him again the next day."

A short time ago, as a young man of Beckley, Kent, named Bates, and a relation of his, were passing each other, in a stooping attitude, under the mantle-piece of the kitchen fire-place, their heads came in contact; by which Bates received a blow in the frontal bone that produced an inflammation of the brain, and unhappily caused his death.

About the second year of the present king's reign, a man of the name of George King was convicted in Dublin of a capital felony. He drew up a memorial to

the king, which he forwarded with the following lines:—

George King to king George sends his humble petition,  
Hoping king George will pity George King's condition;  
If king George to George King will grant a long day,  
George King for king George for ever will pray.

The man was pardoned.

A few days ago was shot, near the entrance of Kilkenny harbour, a large sea fowl, having through its neck an arrow, such as those described by captain Cook to be used by the natives of the islands of the Pacific Ocean; the shaft of the arrow, which is about eight inches long, is of a kind of wood resembling bone, and is rudely bearded with iron. The beard and shaft shot at least four inches through the neck; and the flesh round the shaft is not only healed, but perfectly hard and callous.

*Windsor Castle, Jan. 1, 1820.*

"His majesty's disorder has undergone no sensible alteration. His majesty's bodily health has partaken of some of the infirmities of age, but has been generally good during the last month."

Dec. 30.—An inquisition was taken at the sun, Old Round court, Strand, before Mr. Higgs, the coroner, on the bodies of John Masters and Mary his wife, who were both found dead on Wednesday morning. The deceased was a jobbing porter, employed by several persons in the neighbourhood, and was of sober habits. He and his wife lodged upwards of a year in a little back room in Round court passage. Their floor was found locked on the inside, and a constable was called in, who broke it open, and found



found the man dressed, lying across inside the door, and the woman undressed, lying on the floor naked, both quite dead. There was some bread and butter in the room, and the man had one shilling in his pocket. They were very poor; but some persons used to bring them food. On Tuesday evening all the lodgers came to their room-door, in consequence of hearing them in the morning; and, finding the door shut, called to them to open it; but they made no answer, although the woman was heard to say to her husband, "Where are you?" and he answered, "Here I am." The constable and the beadle, who opened the door, were of opinion that they perished in consequence of the inclemency of the night; they had no bed nor firing. Mr. Taylor, one of the overseers, said, he gave the man a shirt, a pair of shoes and stockings, a shift and a pair of shoes and stockings for his wife, in November last; and during the last fortnight he paid them six shillings per week. The jury thought, as there was bread and butter in the room, they were not starved to death; but, not having clothing, bed, nor fire, during the inclement season, they perished. Verdict to that effect.

Jan. 6.—A wretched man named George Simpson, of Walthamstow, was this morning found in a ditch in the Homerton fields, where he had attempted to commit suicide (through distress), by hanging himself. He was taken care of, and afterwards sent to his parish.

12.—A case of considerable importance to electors for members of parliament in all parts of

the kingdom, but more immediately interesting to the householders of Westminster, was tried in the Guildhall of the city of London, before chief justice Abbott and a special jury. Mr. Cullen, a respectable householder of the city of Westminster, brought an action against Mr. Morris, the high bailiff, for refusing to accept his vote, which he tendered at the last election of a citizen to serve in parliament for Westminster, in the room of the late sir Samuel Romilly. It appeared in evidence, that Mr. Cullen had for many years uniformly and punctually paid his rates and taxes; but that, from some remissness on the part of the tax-gatherer, or other parish officer, some arrear was due at the period of the last election; and in consequence of this, when Mr. Cullen tendered his vote for one of the candidates, it was refused by the high bailiff. Mr. Cullen immediately paid the arrear then due, and again tendered his vote; but the high bailiff persisted in his original determination, and again refused to receive it. The lord chief justice was of opinion, that the vote had been improperly rejected; but he considered that an action was not sustainable against the returning officer, unless improper motives could be proved. Of that the jury were the best judges. The jury retired for an hour and half, but could not agree upon a verdict; and, at the judge's suggestion, and by consent of the parties, a juror was withdrawn. This case remains undecided.

A debate took place at the East India house, in the court of proprietors, upon the subject of erecting a statue to Warren Hastings,

ings, to testify the respect of the company for his memory, and the approbation of his services while governor-general of India. The motion was warmly opposed by Mr. R. Jackson, and also by Mr. Charles Grant, whose residence in India at the period of Mr. Hastings's government, and his official rank, enabled him to form a correct estimate of the proceedings that marked the administration of that extraordinary man. The motion was, however, finally adopted by a very great majority.

As some workmen were felling timber in a wood called Cold-fall, situated to the east of Finchley common, they discovered, under the stump of an old oak, within four feet of the surface of the ground, two large wooden chests, much decayed, in which were deposited several tin boxes, containing pistols, flints, remnants of wearing apparel, a quantity of brass buttons, and a few silver coins of George II. It is supposed, that they must have been placed there for safety, many years back, by some highwayman; a class of desperadoes who about 90 years ago greatly infested that particular spot.

13.—A meeting was held at Mr. Hick's warehouses, London-wall, to consider the propriety of adapting those premises to the reception of the indigent and houseless for the night, during the present inclement season. The meeting was respectably attended.—Among those who assembled on this benevolent occasion, were observed the bishop of Chester, arch-deacon Nares, rector of All-Hallows, sir C. Flower, bart., Mr. Rowcroft, Mr. D. Barclay, and Duncan Campbell, esq.

The lord mayor, having taken the chair, said, that every one must see the necessity of providing an asylum for the destitute and houseless poor during the present severe winter. The numbers of applications to magistrates for relief were almost incredible to those unacquainted with such matters. The present meeting was convened to endeavour as much as possible to alleviate the distress of our suffering fellow creatures; and he was sure that they would not suffer those who had fought the battles of their country to lie about the streets in a state of wretchedness and starvation. The magistrates found much difficulty, he was sorry to say, in getting parishes to provide for their poor; but there were, besides those entitled to parochial relief, great numbers who had no claim on the poor laws of this country. It was, therefore, proposed to raise a subscription in order to afford them temporary shelter from the inclemency of the weather, until they could be otherwise provided for; and in furtherance of this great object, Mr. Hick, of Cheapside, had generously given the use of his extensive warehouses in order to form that asylum.

The bishop of Chester presented himself to the meeting, amid loud plaudits. His lordship said, he had to apologize for trespassing on their time and attention, while he offered a few short observations. He did not know that such a meeting was about to take place till a few minutes before; when, taking up one of the newspapers, he saw it announced; and, as he highly approved of the plan, he immediately ordered his carriage. There were, he believed, some objections

jections against this mode of charity : but, indeed, there was no species of charity against which objections could not be urged. He was, however, sure that the advantages of this plan far outweighed and counterbalanced its disadvantages ; and, therefore, he was ready to bestow his mite on it. Indeed, he knew not how any man could sit down quietly in the enjoyment of wealth—could lay his head on his pillow with a clear and approving conscience, when thousands, many of them wretched females, were wandering through the streets, without a home to shelter, or a hand to succour them. He conceived his bounty was well bestowed on such a benevolent plan ; and it had his best wishes for its perfect success.

Mr. Bodkin said, that the premises which were to be devoted to this charitable object were in every respect fit for the purpose. There were four spacious floors, where the men and women could be separated, and the lower part of the building would answer for the preparation of food. Mr. Bodkin proposed a series of resolutions, relative to the intended objects of the meeting, which were carried unanimously. A committee was then appointed to manage the subscription, &c. ; and the mendicity and other charitable societies were requested to co-operate with them. Thanks were voted to the lord mayor, the bishop of Chester, and Mr. sheriff Rothwell ; and to Mr. Hick, for his generous grant of the use of his premises. The subscription then commenced, and upwards of 700*l.* were immediately raised ; and so active were the exertions in preparing the receptacle for immediate use, that many

wretched wanderers the same night enjoyed comparative comfort within its walls, who, but for this arrangement, would have continued houseless, and suffering from the inclemency of the weather.

15.—Abraham Van Brienan, who had swindled Messrs. Rivington, and numerous individuals, of property to considerable amount, on the faith of his credit at bankers, where he had ingenuity enough to persuade them he kept cash, was tried and convicted at the Middlesex sessions on three indictments. The court apprized Mr. Van Brienan that he was too clever a man for a permanent residence in this country. He was, therefore, ordered to take up his residence for the next seven years of his life in Botany Bay. The prisoner, who is a dashing-looking fellow, received his sentence with perfect composure.

Prince Leopold has presented the family of the late Mr. Bird, R. A. with a purse of one hundred guineas, and also given the artist's picture of the surrender of Calais, in his royal highness's possession, to be disposed of for the benefit of the family. This picture was presented to the lamented princess Charlotte of Wales, when Mr. Bird had the honour of being appointed historical painter to her royal highness.

At Ashford, a boy experienced so violent a fall whilst amusing himself at sliding, that he expired almost immediately.

17.—A dreadful fire broke out this morning, at five o'clock, in the house of Mr. Kerr, a boot and shoemaker, at the corner of Norfolk-street, in the Strand. The flames

flames were first discovered in the lower part of the house by the watchman and some passengers, and an alarm was given. By this means the family were saved from untimely death. Mr. K. escaped with scarce an article of dress on him. Of all the property on the premises, a few of Mr. K.'s account books only were saved. The flames advanced with an overwhelming rapidity, and in a few minutes the house was enveloped in one awful blaze. The firemen were successful in Norfolk-street in checking the progress of the flames; but in the Strand they were not equally fortunate. The flames soon caught the dwelling of Mr. Cary, the chart-seller, and in a short time that building added to the melancholy grandeur of the spectacle. Soon afterwards the roof and front of Mr. Kerr's house fell with a tremendous crash. The flames in Mr. J. Cary's premises soon advanced to the adjoining house of his brother, Mr. Cary, the optician, which was also destroyed. At half-past ten the fronts of these houses were precipitated into the Strand, but happily no injury was sustained by the crowd which was collected. In the back of these buildings still greater mischief is sustained. The amount of property destroyed has been immense. Mr. Kerr, whose house has twice before been on fire within the last four years, we understand, is not insured. A rumour prevails that the accident is attributable to the gas.

20.—Between six and seven o'clock, a fire broke out at the sugar houses of Messrs. Martin and Co. in Bell lane, Spitalfields. About half past eight o'clock it was subdued, but not till the inte-

rior of the building and a considerable quantity of sugar were consumed.

21.—Between 10 and 11 o'clock, a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Taylor, a hatter, in Garden-row, London-road. The wind was high, and blew the flames into a court at the back, inhabited by poor people. Great confusion ensued in bringing out the furniture of the inmates; many were seriously hurt, and a great part of the furniture was destroyed; and by two o'clock the fire was subdued, as was supposed, finally, leaving four or five houses gutted completely; but about four o'clock in the afternoon the flames again burst forth with great fury; however, the firemen were on the spot, and succeeded in extinguishing it totally. The loss was considerable.

22.—About half-past two o'clock the utmost confusion prevailed in the neighbourhood of Thames-street, in consequence of a most alarming fire which broke out in the premises of Messrs. Childe, porter and cyder warehouse, in Swan-lane, leading to the Thames, adjacent to London-bridge. The fire was discovered by the family residing in the opposite premises, who were alarmed by the flames insuing from the windows of the lower part of the house; the family at Mr. Childe's made their escape with great difficulty. The fire spread with such rapidity that in a short time the flames communicated to the warehouse of Mr. Matthews (at the back part), and a stock of wood and other materials used in Mr. Matthews's trade (brush-making) having caught fire, the whole of the front premises were in less than

than an hour completely burnt through into Thames-street. The engines by this time were on the spot; but owing to a great scarcity of water, in consequence of the frost, and the water being turned off, the flames extended to several other houses at the back of Swan-yard, leading into Thames-street. After some time had elapsed, the supply of water became plentiful, and the firemen played with great activity. The houses of Mr. Ronalds, Mr. Cudber, and Mr. Simpson, of Thames-street, shortly afterwards caught fire, and were much injured; and the Bridgewater school, with four or five other houses in Swan-alley and Black Raven-yard, were completely burned to the ground. It was anticipated several times that Fishmongers'-hall would be destroyed; but the attention of the firemen apparently was fixed upon it; they played on the adjoining houses, and it escaped with less injury than was expected. At about half-past four the roofs of Mr. Childe's and Mr. Matthews's houses fell in with a tremendous crash, and greatly spread the flames. The iron manufactory office, on the bank of the Thames, was surrounded by flames, but escaped without injury. The fire continued burning at an alarming rate, until half-past ten o'clock in the morning, when an explosion, supposed from saltpetre, took place, which tore off the roofs of several of the houses, and caused great apprehension; tiles, bricks, and wood, were scattered about in every direction. Some persons standing near the spot were much hurt, in consequence of their falling on them; a boy had his arm lacerated very much, and some of

his fingers torn off. Shortly afterwards the whole of the houses in Swan-lane fell down, and completely blocked up the roadway; and the whole of the other houses mentioned were, with the furniture and property, a mass of ruins.—We are happy to add no lives were lost, or any material accident occurred. The loss of property is estimated at 200,000*l*.

An official account of the total weekly amount of bank-notes and bank post-bills in circulation, from the 23d November 1819, to the latest period to which the same can be made up, states the total for the week ending the 30th November, at 25,248,340*l*. of which 6,745,850*l*. are under 5*l*.; for the week ending the 7th December 22,536,690*l*. of which 6,694,040*l*. are under 5*l*.; for the week ending 14th December 22,418,220*l*. of which 6,621,990*l*. are under 5*l*.; and for the week ending the 21st December 22,194,650*l*. of which 6,569,560*l*. are under 5*l*. It appears from this account, that the bank has reduced its issue of bank-notes within the last month, to the amount of upwards of one million.

## FEBRUARY.

### FRANCE.

14.—At eleven o'clock at night, his royal highness the duke de Berri was assassinated on leaving the opera, by Louvel, a saddler's servant (*garçon sellier*), formerly a soldier in the old imperial guard, who appears to have been impelled to this dreadful act by the most atrocious political fanaticism. He was immediately arrested; not having, indeed, made any effort to escape. He declared that he had meditated the crime for four years. The prince was im-

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immediately carried into one of the saloons of the opera house, where all the assistance the medical art could supply was administered to him, but without effect, the weapon having penetrated too deep not to inflict a mortal wound, and he expired at 6 o'clock in the morning; all the princes of the royal family, and even the king himself, being present with the duke in his last moments. Political fanaticism armed the hand of this wretched assassin, as formerly religious fanaticism armed that of Ravallac. The last words which the prince uttered were in favour of his assassin. He entreated his uncle to spare the life of this wretched man. It is incidentally mentioned in some of the letters, that the widowed duchess is *enceinte*, which may give the royalists the prospect of a prince in the lineal descent, as heir to the crown. Some have imagined that the assassin perpetrated the crime in the presence of the duchess, with the view that the shock might deprive the nation even of this feeble hope.

#### SPAIN.

News from Madrid, dated the 8th of January, state, that "the agents of the rebels of America had sown the seeds of insubordination in the army of the intended expedition stationed in the villages about Cadiz, Granada, and Seville. It spread from the out-posts to the head quarters, where they seized the person of the commander in chief, who had no troops with him but his guard of honour. On the 3d, the mutineers endeavoured to take possession of the magazines, but were alarmed by the appearance of the militia of Cadiz in arms; they accordingly

dispersed, and their leaders escaped across the mountains. The troops of the expedition, under the orders of Don Manuel Freyre, had, on the 5th, begun their march to restore and maintain tranquillity."

It appears, that Madrid is in an agitated state; the troops parading the streets with drawn swords to keep the people within doors. Ferdinand is stated to have demanded 25,000 men from the king of France, to put down the rebellion.

#### *Bayonne, Jan. 18.*

In the night of the 1st of January, six battalions of the expeditionary army, encamped near Cadiz and Seville, broke out into open insurrection. Their force amounts to 5 or 6000 men.— Their chiefs, commanders of the said battalions, Quiroga and Riego, and lieutenant colonel Miranda, an intrepid man and extremely able military officer, took the lead. They seized on the person of count Calderon, commander-in-chief, and general Sancha Salvador, chief of the staff, whom they imprisoned in the castle of Arcos. They have also arrested general Cisneros, governor of La Isla de Leon. They seized on the military chest, arms, &c. The garrison of Cadiz made a *sortie* in order to oppose the progress of the insurgents. The latter were beaten and forced to evacuate La Isla. General Freyre was at the head of the royalist troops. The cavalry and artillery, it is said, have taken no part in the insurrection.

The Cadiz papers of the 28th ult. contain the following proclamation, dated January 25:

"The governor is penetrated with gratitude for the faithful and heroic conduct of the worthy inhabitants

habitants of this city, in the deplorable event of last evening. A handful of factious persons were led on by colonel Nicholas Santiago Rotalde, who was officer of the day at the marine gate, and who, wanting to the confidence of the government, wished to disturb the tranquillity of this noble and illustrious city. You are aware that the plot was foiled, and I flatter myself, that similar seeds of discord will not again be reproduced; but you ought also to know that similar crimes cannot remain unpunished, and that in making use of my authority, I am bound to take the most energetic measures, in order that all good men may enjoy repose in their houses and families. Wherefore the said Rotalde having fled in order to avoid the punishment he deserved, I command the inhabitants of this city, if they discover him, to deliver up to me the person of this rebel, or to point out to me the place where he may be. At the same time I recommend you to prevent all assemblies being held within or without the city, and if they take place, I command that they be dispersed by the armed force. Inhabitants of Cadiz, I thank you for your conduct, and I hope that, henceforwards, you will in the same manner correspond to my esteem and affection for you.

"ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ VALDES."

#### DENMARK.

The shutting of the English ports against foreign corn begins to be sensibly felt in the Baltic. A Copenhagen article, January 1, inserted in the foreign journals, says, "The prohibition to import corn into England, and the high duty imposed on it in Sweden, ha-

ving contributed still more to depress the prices of grain, to the great prejudice of the farmer, it has been proposed to lay a duty on the importation of foreign corn into Denmark, which is to prohibit it for some time."

#### PRUSSIA.

An ordinance has been issued by the king of Prussia, for strictly prohibiting the introduction into his dominions of any newspaper in the German language, published either in England or France; and of all papers published in the Netherlands, except with license of the Prussian ambassador at Brussels.

#### RUSSIA.

The emperor Alexander has signalized his birth day by releasing his subjects entirely from the burden of war-taxes.

#### ASIA.

Accounts from Batavia, in the Dutch papers, confirm representations received by previous letters from thence, and exhibit a very unfavourable picture of the state of the Dutch colonies in the Indian Archipelago. The Dutch tenure of those insular possessions even seems in a high degree precarious. The authorities of the king of the Netherlands are carrying on a contest with the Sultan of Palembang; while discontent and insurrection threaten them at Sappoor, at Macassar, in the Isle of Ceram, at Banca, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Batavia itself. The natives appear tired of the Dutch government. The new settlement at Sincapoor, founded by sir Thomas Raffles, is rapidly advancing in strength and population.

#### AMERICA.

It appears by the American papers,

pers, that most of the states are earnestly labouring to banish slavery from the union altogether. Congress is occupied with the admission of young states as independent members of the union.

The American government is employing an expedition to explore the Copper Mine river: this is described as part of a system of measures, for the security of the north-western frontier of the united states, and for the protection of their fur trade.

In congress, on the 17th December, a resolution was submitted for preparing a bill to indemnify those citizens of the united states who lost their property in consequence of the general conflagration by the enemy on the Niagara frontier, during the late war. The annual treasury report was presented by the American government to congress on the 10th. This document contains a full exposition of the amount of the revenue for five years past; viz. from 1815 inclusive. It exhibits likewise a concise account of the public debt in its separate branches. The whole revenue for 1815 was 49,555,642 dollars; in 1816, the second year of peace with England, 36,657,904 dollars; in 1817, 24,365,227 dollars; in 1818, 26,096,200 dollars; and in 1819, (calculated at) 25,827,824 dollars. The customs in 1815, when the ports of America were first opened to the introduction of British merchandize (after the war), amounted to upwards of 36,000,000 of dollars; 1819, about 20,000,000 of dollars. The public expenditure for the last year is stated at 25,492,387 dollars, leaving a small balance in the treasury. The total of the public debt unre-

1820

deemed on the 1st January is estimated at 88,885,203 dollars. The revenue for 1820 is estimated at 22 millions dollars, being about 4 millions less than 1819; of this sum the customs are taken at 19 millions, which is less by one million than their produce last year—a proof that the government is not sanguine in its speculations as to a speedy increase in the prosperity of foreign commerce. The expenditure for 1820 is estimated at 27,000,000, being 6,000,000 more than the revenue; and the reporter adds, that “it is probable that the estimate for succeeding years will exceed, rather than fall below it.” The president, in consequence of this view of the finances, submits to congress the expediency of augmenting the revenue, or reducing the expenditure.—Should the former part of the alternative be resorted to, he recommends an addition to the duties upon certain articles of foreign merchandise, of which the description may be easily guessed, from his subjoining, that the present he conceives to be a favourable moment for affording “protection to the cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures” of the united states, so as to secure them the home market. The report states that a loan is absolutely necessary.

Our present most gracious majesty, George the fourth, has been proclaimed in most of the principal towns of the united kingdom with the greatest ceremony. The corporations, and the principal gentlemen of different towns and cities, have formed the most splendid processions to celebrate the accession of his majesty to the throne of his ancestors.

2.—A destructive fire broke out  
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this evening, at the house of Philip Aldevel, esq. called Somerton-lodge, Herts. It was occasioned by the negligence of a maid-servant in suffering a candle to set fire to a bed-room on the second floor. Instead of endeavouring to extinguish the flames, she ran down stairs and alarmed the house; in the interval, the room was on fire in all parts. The southern wing of the house, consisting of eight rooms, together with the valuable furniture, which was uninsured, was destroyed in less than two hours. A strong wall confined the flames to this wing of the house. The damage sustained is estimated at 3,000/.

13.—A curious circumstance occurred at Market Lavington, Wilts. A person named Jane Webb attended divine service attired precisely in the same suit of mourning for our late sovereign George III. as was worn by her for king George II. The singularity of its make attracted much notice. This venerable and frugal spinster has attained her 76th year.

A druidical temple is to be seen in the highest point of the farm of Craigmurthro, a mile south from Forfar.—It is a circle of large stones, the largest in the middle. The field was fallowed last year, and this temple trenched; from which a great quantity of stones were turned up: nothing else appeared, except a few stones that went to dust. The field this year was sown with barley, and this trenched part with the rest: now, as far as this space extended, there are considerable quantities of oats of various kinds sprung up among the barley, the seeds of which must have remained there

more than 1000 years! Without the trenched ground there is not the least head of oats to be seen. Orders have been given to preserve these oat plants.

Accounts from Ireland describe Roscommon, Mayo, and Galway as in a very disturbed state—infamous oaths administering to the lower orders, and arms seized by them for illegal purposes—they swear—"No protestants;" and part of their creed is, to pave a new road that is to be made by them with protestant bones, and an abolition of tithes, division of property, and no more than a certain sum to be paid per acre.

*Norwich, Feb. 2.*

On Wednesday evening last, about half past eight o'clock, the north bank of the Wissey (about three furlongs above Hilgay-bridge) suddenly gave way, making a breach to the extent of upwards of 50 feet; through which the water rushed with such impetuosity, that in a very short time a tremendous gulf of 22 feet in depth was formed. We are sorry to add, that by this calamitous event, several hundred acres of land (a great part of which was sown with wheat), in Roxham and the vicinity were from two to three feet under water.

1.—The following singular circumstance occurred:—A stag which was turned out, we believe, in the neighbourhood of lord Derby's seat, at Seven Oaks, after leading his pursuers a circuit of near forty miles, made towards the metropolis, and entered the suburbs at Vauxhall: he crossed towards Kennington, and by cross streets and by-ways got into Lambeth Walk; here, being hard pressed by the dogs, he turned up  
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King-street, and bolted through a window into a room in which a poor shoemaker was sitting at work: he was followed by the dogs, to the great alarm of the descendant of Crispin. His life would soon have fallen a sacrifice to the dogs, had not the whipper-in arrived at the instant, and interposed to save him; he was secured, and conveyed in safety to Mumford's livery stables, Kennington-cross.

8.—*Butt v. sir Nathaniel Conant.*—The final judgement of the court of common pleas, was this day given in this case. It was an action of trespass and false imprisonment, brought by the plaintiff against sir Nathaniel Conant, for having issued a warrant, by which the plaintiff was arrested, and subsequently committed for want of bail. The warrant had been issued on account of the publication of two libels; one on lord Ellenborough, the late chief justice of the court of king's bench, and the other on lord Castlereagh. The case had been brought to trial before chief justice Dallas, who declared at the time, that the defendant, as a magistrate, was justified by the law in doing what he had done. The jury, not agreeing with the learned judge, found a special verdict, and the point of law now came on to be argued for the second time.

Lord chief justice Dallas gave judgement that a magistrate is bound to commit in not only actual, but expected, breaches of the peace, and that on information on oath a person may be arrested and held to bail, if it be suspected that he is about to fight a duel. His opinion, therefore, was, that the defendant was justified in what he

had done, and the plaintiff could not maintain his action." The other judges concurred; and a verdict was therefore entered for defendant.

12.—A most respectable meeting of the merchants of this city engaged in the commerce with the Netherlands, took place at the London Tavern, for the purpose of raising a subscription among their own members, to be appropriated to the relief of the sufferers by the late inundations in that country. William Ward, esq. was invited to preside on the occasion, and opened the business of the day by a short, but perspicuous, statement of the views of that assembly, and the peculiar propriety of their interference in endeavouring to alleviate so signal a calamity. As merchants connected with Holland, they had met to perform an act of charity, and they would perform it without ostentation. As an introduction to the business of the meeting, the rev. Dr. Werninck then read a detailed description of the calamity that had called forth this benevolent interference, the recital of which produced an evident emotion in the whole company. The inundations have been more fatal and more extensive than any that have before occurred, even in a country peculiarly exposed to that species of devastation. It appears, too, that no part of the calamity is chargeable upon the neglect of those whose business it was to take measures for protecting the country against the overflow of the waters. On the contrary, the most extraordinary exertions were every where made to exclude them. Upon one dyke, for instance, of only three miles long, upwards of 1,500 men were

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constantly at work ; yet such was the rapid and unexampled increase of the water, occasioned by the melting of the immense quantity of snow in the higher parts of the interior, and the incessant rains, that all precaution availed nothing. As the ice in the lower parts of the rivers remained firm, and became gradually piled up, by the accumulation of the floating masses, till it formed an immovable barrier, the water was stopped in its course, and prevented from running down into the sea. Some idea may be formed of this sudden and unparalleled augmentation, when the fact is mentioned, that on the 27th of January, at Dalem, and the adjacent villages, in the province of South Holland, the water having increased at noon to the height of seven feet from the ground, obtained by new breaches in the dyke such an immense addition, that at two o'clock it had risen to the height of eleven feet. Some cases of particular distress, in this general picture of human suffering, are too striking not to be recorded in this place and on this occasion. A breach in the dyke of so large a magnitude took place near to the village of Leinden, in Guelderland, that the violence of the water rushing through it, accompanied with heavy masses of ice, swept away many of the dwellings ; and the inhabitants, with the greatest difficulty, and with the loss of their children and sick and aged relations, saved themselves by running to the church, which, standing on an eminence, was protected by some intervening houses from the violence of the flood. In this church upwards of 750 persons took refuge, without being able to save

an article of property, lamenting the loss of relations, dwellings, and cattle, and reduced at the same time to a state of starvation ; for they remained two or three days in this situation before any provisions could be brought to them ; not only because all the provisions in the village were destroyed, but no boats were able to reach them from other places ; for the wind, which blew very hard, and the impetuous flowing of the water, prevented all intercourse. At Leut, another village in Guelderland, a similar occurrence took place. The people were compelled to fly to a nobleman's seat in the vicinity, where they were humanely received, to the number of 200. Even then they were in great danger ; but, fortunately, the strength of the building withstood the violence of the ice, and the impetuosity of the flood. At Oosterhout, a village in the other part of Guelderland, the Roman catholic church, parsonage-house, and many other buildings, were driven from their foundations, and a great number of the inhabitants drowned. These melancholy scenes, particularly in the night, were rendered still more awful by the guns firing continually signals of distress, announcing new calamities, occasioned by additional breaches in the dykes. The inundations in the years 1799 and 1809 were partial and limited compared with this. Such is the present extent of the calamity, that in the province of Guelderland alone, seventy-two villages are under water. In each of the provinces of South Holland and Utrecht, the inundation has covered more than 120,000 acres of land. The flood has risen higher, and

and increased more rapidly, than any remembered by the oldest inhabitants. The exertions made by the people of Holland, to administer help to the sufferers, have only been limited by their ability. Many instances of personal intrepidity, in attempting the rescue of persons overwhelmed by the flood, have also been recorded. That of Mr. Langendam, the master of a large vessel, is perhaps the most extraordinary. He sailed through one of the breaches in the dyke of the river Waal, over the inundated fields, for the purpose of rescuing his unfortunate fellow-creatures from a watery grave, risking not only the loss of his vessel, but his own life and that of his crew. To the astonishment of every one, his intrepidity and humanity were amply rewarded, and crowned with success. He saved a great number of persons whom he found floating on pieces of the roofs of their houses, or clinging to the tops of their dwellings; among whom were many women, who had been two or three nights in these perilous situations, with their infants at their breasts, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost starved to death.

After the resolutions had all been put and carried, which was done with perfect unanimity, a liberal subscription was entered into, and, before the meeting separated, amounted to a very considerable sum.

Mr. Henry Hunt, after several applications to the court of king's bench, has obtained a writ of *certiorari* for removing the trial of himself and others (on a charge of conspiracy on the 16th of August at Manchester) from Lancaster to some other county. The

ground of his application was, that an impartial trial could not be expected in Lancashire. The condition on which the judges consented to remove the *venue* was, that the defendants should enter into recognizances to appear at the court appointed for such removal, and undertake to go to trial at the next assizes.

In the court of king's bench, Wm. Peel, esq. M. P. for Tamworth, and R. G. Dawson, esq. M. P. for Londonderry, for having challenged — Floyer, esq. to fight a duel, have both been sentenced to one month's imprisonment; to pay a fine of 500*l.* each, and to give securities to keep the peace; themselves in 4000*l.* each, and two sureties in 2000*l.* each.

The executors of the late lord Ellenborough are said to have discovered securities among his papers, to the amount of 80,000*l.* more than they had calculated to be the property which his lordship died possessed of.

It is a fact worthy of notice, that no less than ninety-seven lives were lost, during the last year, within the bills of mortality, by fire.

It is ascertained by the books at the custom-house, that in the year ending 5th January last, the enormous quantity of 26,799,369 bushels of foreign corn and grain were imported duty-free.

The present law term continues, notwithstanding the decease of the king, to belong to the preceding reign, and not to that of his majesty's successor; so the session of parliament is the 60th of the king, not the 1st of George IV.

The British and Foreign Bible Society have promoted the translating  
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lating and printing the bible into no less than 127 languages and dialects.

The rev. Dr. Parr, who had long held one of the numerous prebendal stalls in St. Paul's Cathedral, which never produced him more than 10*l.* per annum, has been fortunate enough to negotiate a lease, in right of his stall, to the regent canal company for no less than 24,000*l.* sterling.—So says report, we hope truly.

23.—In consequence of private information received by the civil power, that it was in the contemplation of a gang of diabolical ruffians to make an attempt on the lives of his majesty's ministers, whilst assembled at the house of earl Harrowby, in Mansfield-street, to a cabinet dinner, this evening, R. Birnie, esq. with a party of 12 of the Bow-street patrol, proceeded about eight o'clock to the place which had been described as the rendezvous of these desperadoes in Cato-street, John-street, in the Edgeware-road; where, in a kind of loft, over a range of coach-houses, they were found in close and earnest deliberation. The only approach to this pandemonium was by a narrow ladder. Ruthven, one of the principal Bow-street officers, led the way, and was followed by Ellis, Smithers, Surman, and others of the patrol. On the door being opened, about 25 or 30 men were seen within, all armed some way or other; and, for the most part, they were apparently engaged, either in charging fire-arms, or in girding themselves in belts similar to those worn by the military. There were tables about the room, on which lay a number of cutlasses, bayonets, pistols, sword-belts,

pistol-balls in great quantities, ball-cartridges, &c. As the officers entered the room, the conspirators all immediately started up; when Ruthven, who had been furnished with a warrant from the magistrates, exclaimed, "We are peace-officers! Lay down your arms!" In a moment all was confusion. A man, whom Ruthven describes as the notorious A. Thistlewood, opposed himself to the officers, armed with a cut-and-thrust sword of unusual length. Ruthven attempted to secure the door; and Ellis, who had followed him into the room, advanced towards the man, and, presenting his pistol, exclaimed, "Drop your sword, or I'll fire instantly!" The man brandished his sword with increased violence; when Smithers, the other patrol, rushed forward to seize him; and on the instant the ruffian stabbed him to the heart. Poor Smithers fell into the arms of his brother officer Ellis, exclaiming "O God!" and in the next instant was a corpse. While this deed was doing, the lights were extinguished, and a desperate struggle ensued, in which many of the officers were severely wounded. Surman, one of the patrol, received a musket-ball on the temple; but fortunately it only glanced along the side of his head, tearing up the scalp in its way. The conspirators kept up an incessant fire: whilst it was evident to the officers that many of them were escaping by some back way. Mr. Birnie exposed himself every where, and encouraged the officers to do their duty, while the balls were whizzing round his head. At this moment, captain Fitzclarence (one of the gallant sons of his royal highness the duke of Clarence)

Clarence) arrived at the head of a detachment of the Coldstream guards. They surrounded the building; and captain Fitzclarence, with serjeant Legge and three files of grenadiers, mounted the ladder and entered the room, now filled with smoke, and only illuminated by the occasional flashes of the fire arms of the conspirators. A ruffian instantly approached the gallant captain, and presented a pistol to his breast; but as he was in the act of pulling the trigger, serjeant Legge rushed forward, and whilst attempting to push aside the destructive weapon, received the fire upon his arm. Fortunately for this brave man, the ball glanced along his arm, tearing the sleeve of his jacket from the wrist to his elbow, without wounding him. It is impossible to give a minute detail of the desperate conflict which followed, or the numerous instances of personal daring manifested by the peace-officers and the military, thus brought into sudden contact with a band of assassins in their obscure den, and in utter darkness. Unfortunately, this darkness favoured the escape of many of the wretches, and the dreadful skirmish ended in the capture of only nine of them. These were instantly handcuffed together, placed in hackney-coaches, and brought down to the police-office, Bow-street, under a strong military escort; and Mr. Birnie, having arrived at the same moment, instantly took his seat upon the bench, and prepared to enter into the examination of the prisoners. They were immediately placed at the bar in the following order:—James Ings, a butcher; James Wilson, a tailor; Richard Bradburn, a carpenter; James

Gilchrist, a shoemaker; Charles Cooper, a bootmaker; Richard Tidd, a bootmaker; John Monument, a shoemaker; John Shaw, a carpenter; and William Davidson, a cabinet-maker.

Davidson is a man of colour, and a worthy coadjutor of messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, and co. upon many occasions. At the meeting in Finsbury market-place a few months ago, he was one of the principal speakers.

Ings is a hoary ruffian, a short squat man, apparently between 50 and 60, but of most determined aspect. His hands were covered with blood; and as he stood at the bar, manacled to one of his wretched confederates, his small fiery eyes glared round upon the spectators with an expression truly horrible. The rest had nothing extraordinary in their appearance. They were for the most part men of short stature, mean exterior, and unmarked physiognomy.

The office was crowded with soldiers and officers, bringing in arms and ammunition of various kinds, which had been taken on the premises; muskets, carbines, broadswords, pistols, blunderbusses, belts, and cartouch-boxes, ball-cartridges, gunpowder (found loose in the pockets of the prisoners), haversacks, and a large bundle of singularly-constructed stilettoes. These latter were about 18 inches long, and triangular in form; two of the sides being concave, and the other flat; the lower extremity having been flattened, and then wrung round spirally, so as to make a firm grip, and ending in a screw, as if to fit into the top of a staff. Several staves indeed were produced, fitted at one end with a screwed socket; and

no doubt they were intended to receive this formidable weapon.

The depositions of a number of officers, most of them wounded, and several soldiers, having been taken, their evidence substantiating the foregoing narrative, the prisoners were asked whether they wished to say any thing. Cooper and Davidson the black were the only ones who replied; and they merely appealed to the officers and soldiers to say, whether they had not instantly surrendered themselves. Ellis, the patrol, who received the murdered body of his comrade Smithers in his arms, replied, that Davidson made the most determined resistance. At the moment when the lights were extinguished, he had rushed out of the place, armed with a carbine, and wearing white cross-belts. Ellis pursued him a considerable distance along John-street, and, having caught him, they fell together; and in the deadly struggle which ensued, Davidson discharged his carbine, but without effect, and Ellis succeeded in securing him.

Captain Fitzclarence had seized and secured one or two of the prisoners with his own hands; and he was not only very much bruised, but his uniform was almost literally torn to pieces.

At eleven o'clock, the depositions having been taken, as far as the circumstances of the moment would permit, the magistrate committed the prisoners for further examination on Friday; and they were then placed in hackney-coaches, two prisoners being placed in each coach, accompanied by two police officers, with two soldiers behind and one on the box, and the whole cavalcade

escorted by a strong party of the Coldstream guards on foot.

The following morning an extraordinary Gazette was issued, offering 1000*l.* for the apprehension of Arthur Thistlewood. He was taken by Bishop and a party of police officers, about 12 o'clock the same day, at No. 10, White-street, in Little Moor-fields.

The house is kept by a person named Harris, who is foreman to a letter-founder; at the time of the apprehension Harris was from home, and supposed to be at his work; but the officers took his wife with them to Bow-street. The house is full of lodgers; none of whom were aware of Thistlewood being on the premises till the officers entered; nor was he ever seen there before.

The following are circumstantial particulars of Thistlewood's arrest. At 9 o'clock in the morning, Lavender, Bishop, Ruthven, Salmon, and six of the patrol, were dispatched; and, arriving at the house, three of the latter were placed at the front, and three at the back door, to prevent escape. Bishop observed a room on the ground floor, the door of which he tried to open, but found it locked. He called to a woman in the opposite apartment, whose name is Harris, to fetch him the key. She hesitated, but at last brought it. He then opened the door softly. The light was partially excluded, from the shutters being shut; but he perceived a bed in a corner and advanced. At that instant a head was gently raised from under the blankets, and the countenance of Thistlewood was presented to his view. Bishop drew a pistol, and presenting it at him, exclaimed, "Mr. Thistle-

Thistlewood, I am a Bow-street officer; you are my prisoner;" and then, "to make assurance double sure," he threw himself upon him. Thistlewood said, he would make no resistance. Lavender, Ruthven, and Salmon, were then called, and the prisoner was permitted to rise. He had his breeches and stockings on, and seemed much agitated. On being dressed, he was handcuffed. In his pockets were found some ball-cartridges and flints, the black girdle, or belt, which he was seen to wear in Cato-street, and a sort of military silk sash. A hackney coach was then sent for, and he was conveyed to Bow-street. In his way thither he was asked by Bishop what he meant to do with the ball cartridges? He declined answering any questions. He was followed by a crowd of persons, who repeatedly cried out, "Hang the villain! hang the assassin!" and used other exclamations of a similar nature. When he arrived at Bow-street, he was first taken into the public office, but subsequently into a private room, where he was heard unguardedly to say, that "he knew he had killed one man, and he only hoped it was Stafford," meaning Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk of the office, to whose unremitting exertions in the detection of public delinquents too much praise cannot be given. Mr. Birnie, having taken a short examination of the prisoner, sent him to Whitehall, to be examined by the privy council. Here the crowd was as great as that which had been collected in Bow-street. Persons of the highest rank came pouring into the home office, to learn the particulars of what had transpired.

The arrest of Thistlewood was heard with infinite satisfaction. He was placed in a room on the ground floor, and vast numbers of persons were admitted in their turn to see him. His appearance was most forbidding: his countenance, at all times unfavourable, seemed now to have acquired an additional degree of malignity; his dark eye turned upon the spectators as they came in, as if he expected to see some of his companions in guilt, who he had heard were to be brought thither. He drank some porter that was handed to him, and occasionally asked questions, principally as to the names of the persons who came to look at him. Then he asked, 'To what gaol he should be sent?—he hoped not to Hors-ham.' (This was the place in which he was confined in consequence of his conviction for sending a challenge to lord Sidmouth.)

At two o'clock he was conducted before the privy council. He was still hand-cuffed, but mounted the stairs with alacrity. On entering the council-chamber he was placed at the foot of the table. He was then addressed by the lord chancellor, who informed him that he stood charged with the twofold crime of treason and murder, and asked him whether he had any thing to say for himself? He answered, that 'he should decline saying any thing on that occasion.' He was then committed to Coldbath-fields prison.

The other prisoners, apprehended the night before, were likewise taken before the privy council, and re-committed. In addition to the cabinet ministers, there were present, viscount Palmerston, the lord



lord chief baron of the exchequer of Scotland, sir William Scott, Mr. Sturges Bourne, the attorney and solicitor general, sir John Nicholl, &c. They continued in examination of the prisoners till past six o'clock, when the prisoners, who had been kept in separaterooms, were removed in hackney-coaches to the house of correction, escorted by a party of the life guards, amidst the execrations of those assembled round, and Thistlewood was loudly hooted and groaned at when he was taken from Bow-street office.

In the course of the day, further arrests took place. Among others secured is a man of the name of Brunt—who is stated to have been second in command to Thistlewood. He was apprehended at his lodgings in Fox-court, Gray's-inn-lane; in his room a vast quantity of hand grenades, and other combustibles, were found. These were charged with powder, pieces of old iron, &c., calculated, upon explosion, to produce the most horrible consequences. A great number of pike-blades, or stilettoes, such as were discovered in Cato-street, and a number of fire-arms, were likewise found. The whole of these, together with the prisoner, were taken to Bow-street. He was afterwards sent to Whitehall, and then committed to Coldbath-fields.

Firth, the person by whom the stable was let to Harrison, has likewise been arrested. He admits that he has attended some of the radical meetings, but denies any knowledge of the conspiracy. Warrants have been issued for securing six others, whose names and descriptions are known,

John Harrison, who hired the room in Cato-street, was apprehended in his lodging in Old Gravel-lane. He was 10 years a private in the life guards, from which he was discharged about six years ago.

Robert Adams, who had been five years a private in the Oxford blues, and Abel Hall, have also been taken. Adams is a middle-aged man, and of respectable appearance.

The lodgings of Thistlewood, and of all the others who were in custody, have been searched, and several important papers, and quantities of arms, have been discovered and seized.

It is a singular fact, that when Thistlewood was arrested, he had not a farthing of money in his possession. The same observation may be made with respect to his comrades, all of whom were in the most wretched state of poverty.

A man was apprehended by Taunton and Maidment, charged with making handles for the pikes which were seized at the stables. He was committed for further examination.

William Symmonds, a footman, at No. 20, Upper Seymour-street, was apprehended by Lavender and Bishop, charged on suspicion of being concerned with the assassins. He is suspected of giving them information respecting the transactions of the higher orders. He was detained.

Since obtaining the preceding intelligence, the following particulars have been received:—

A detachment of thirty of the Coldstream guards was ordered from Portman-street barracks a quarter before eight o'clock (the men

men thought it was to attend a fire); captain Fitzclarence headed them. On coming into the neighbourhood of Cato-street, captain Fitzclarence commanded them to halt and fix bayonets, and every man to be silent. Almost immediately afterwards they heard the report of a pistol: they were instantly commanded to advance in double quick time, upon the spot from whence it proceeded. On reaching the stable, a man darted out and was making off, but was prevented: finding his retreat intercepted, he pointed a pistol at captain Fitzclarence; serjeant Legge broke his aim by knocking the pistol off at the instant of its discharging, and was thus himself wounded in the right arm; the man was then secured. The captain then ordered the men to follow him into the stable; their entrance was opposed by a black man, who aimed a blow at captain Fitzclarence with a cutlass, which one of the men warded off with his firelock: he exclaimed, "Let us kill all the red-coats; we may as well die now as at any other time:" he was then also secured. They then entered the stable. Captain Fitzclarence being first, was attacked by another of the gang, who pointed a pistol, which flashed in the pan; the soldiers took him likewise, to whom he said, "Don't kill me, and I'll tell you all about it." The soldiers then mounted into the loft; there they found the body of the murdered officer, and another man lying near him; the latter, who was one of the gang, was ordered to rise; he said, "I hope you will make a difference between the innocent and the guilty. Don't hurt me, and I'll tell

you how it happened." Five more were then secured, one of whom declared he was led into it that afternoon, and was innocent.

Davidson was one of those who, at the last meeting in Smithfield at which Hunt presided, paraded the streets of the metropolis with a black flag, on which was described a death's head.

On Friday afternoon, an inquest was held on the murdered body of Richard Smithers, at the Horse and Groom, in John-street, Edgeware-road. Mr. Stirling was the coroner. After a long examination of witnesses, who produced evidence of the facts already stated, the coroner summed up. At a little after ten o'clock, the jury returned a verdict of Wilful murder against A. Thistlewood, J. Ings, J. Wilson, R. Blackburn, J. Gilchrist, C. Cooper, J. Tidd, J. Monument, S. Strange, W. Davidson, and divers other persons unknown. This verdict of course includes the whole of those who were on the premises in Cato-street and acting hostilely to the civil force in the conflict.

## MARCH.

### FRANCE.

Louis Pierre Louvel, who assassinated the duke de Berri, has been examined, and at once confessed the assassination, of which there was overwhelming evidence. It is said that he does not evince the least appearance of regret, and exhibits a tranquillity as inaccessible to all emotion as to remorse.

When he was told that his name would be for ever execrated, he answered, "You cannot be sure of that; wait till fifty years are

are passed—"Brutus's name is not execrated."

The assassin's name is Pierre Joseph Louvel. He has been examined before the ministers; when his replies were as follow :

Q. What induced you to commit this crime?—A. My opinions—my sentiments.

Q. What are they?—A. I think the Bourbons are tyrants, and the most cruel enemies of France.

Q. In that supposition why did you attack the duke de Berri in preference to the rest?—A. Because he is the youngest prince of the royal family, and seemed to be destined to perpetuate that race hostile to France.

Q. Do you repent your act?—A. No.

Q. Had you any instigator—any accomplice?—A. None.

Q. If the justice of man cannot induce you to tell the truth, reflect on the justice of God.—A. God is merely a word; he never came upon the earth.

Q. What could induce you to commit an action so guilty?—A. I wished to have refrained from it, but it was beyond my power to do so.

Q. What was your motive?—A. It will serve as a lesson to the great men of my country.

Q. Do you persist in saying that no person inspired you with the idea of this crime?—A. Yes! moreover, it is in the hands of justice; let her, therefore, do her duty, and let her discover those whom it is presumed are my accomplices.

These are the only answers that could be obtained from this wretch; he signed them, and was escorted back to the Conciergerie. It is impossible to convey an idea of his matchless *sang froid*; neither

the aspect of the unfortunate victim, nor the presence of the magistrates, caused in him the least emotion, even for an instant. As soon as the interrogation was concluded, they proceeded to open the body; four of the late prince's valets-de-chambre bore him from the state couch into an adjoining apartment, where were assembled the doctors Portal, Dupuytren, and several others. From their observations, it appeared that the murderous weapon had penetrated six inches between the 5th and 6th ribs, and had pierced the membranous muscles of the heart. The physicians drew up and signed a very detailed attestation.

When the late duke de Berri was near expiring, he mentioned to his wife that he had two children born in England and one in France, whom he wished her to take care of.—The moment she was removed from the body, she desired to see the children; and on their being brought to her, she cut off some of her hair, and giving a lock to each of them, and also one to her own little daughter, she said they were sisters and brothers, and that she would be their mother. The princess then went to St. Cloud, and took the children with her.

The *Moniteur* contains a royal ordinance, declaring the king's acceptance of count de Cazes's resignation, which had been tendered by him on the ground of ill health; another ordinance, of the same date, creates him a duke of France; and a third announces the appointment of the duke of Richelieu as president of the council of ministers. The official journal also contains a notification of the appointment of the duke de Cazes

as ambassador to the court of London.

The duke de Cazes's place of minister of the interior is filled up by count Simeon; and baron Mounier succeeds him in the police.

The most recent French papers bring the particulars of several interesting discussions in the chamber of deputies, on the important law introduced by de Cazes for authorizing the arrest of suspected persons (similar to our Habeas Corpus suspension act). The debates have been exceedingly warm; the liberals opposing the *projet* most strenuously; while the ministerialists and ultras vigorously defend it, as necessary to preserve the throne of the Bourbons, and to prevent the country again relapsing into anarchy and revolution. A specimen of the violence of party was presented in the sitting of the 13th inst. General Foy, while discussing the provisions of the law alluded to, touched, in a desultory manner, upon the royalist persecutions of 1815; and said, that the nation tolerated the faction of that day, merely because it was overawed by foreign bayonets. This produced a violent outcry among the ultras: but the orator was roused to stronger language—"Yes," said he, "if foreign bayonets were away, ten thousand insurrections would have burst forth in France. Could we, Frenchmen, have been such cowards as to bear the insults and outrages of a handful of miserable creatures, whom we have seen despised and in the dust for the last thirty years?" During this sentence the agitation was dreadful.

SPAIN.

French papers to the 17th inst.

have brought the important intelligence from Spain, that Ferdinand, yielding to the terrors of present danger, on the 7th of March issued a decree convoking the Cortes; but this not tranquilizing or satisfying the people, on the next day another decree was issued, in which he declared that he had resolved to accept, by oath, the constitution promulgated by the general and extraordinary Cortes in 1812.

The Moniteur states, that upwards of forty thousand men, soldiers and others, went to the castle of Aranjuez, after the declaration of Ferdinand, to swear fidelity to the constitution; that the king appeared to them publicly, and declared he accepted the constitution, on which the people shouted, "Long live the king! long live the constitution!"

In another paper it is mentioned that the determination of the king was hastened by the defection of the count d'Abisbal (O'Donnel), who left Madrid on the 4th, at the head of the imperial regiment of Alexander, and proclaimed the constitution at Ocaña, ten leagues from the capital. A regiment of cavalry is also said to have deserted to the insurgents. It is further stated, that general Ballasteros was on the 8th appointed commandant of Madrid by the king; and that all who had been imprisoned for political causes were liberated, as also those who had been confined in the dungeons of the inquisition. The city was illuminated in the evening, and likewise the royal palace. A stone pillar, on which the constitution is engraved, and which was overturned in 1813, has been replaced in its former position.

Sara-

Saragossa declared itself on the 5th; and the journal of that city, published on the 6th, contained the form of oath to the constitution which had been taken by the authorities, at the head of whom were the marquis of Laxan, captain general of the kingdom of Arragon; and Martin de Garay, counsellor of state, and ancient minister of finance; besides many generals and persons holding public situations of distinction. A proclamation was addressed to the Arragonese on the same day; and on the next the Arragonese addressed a proclamation to the people of Spain generally, explanatory of their conduct in adopting the constitution. Letters from Bayonne mention, that Oviedo, the capital of the Asturias, as well as St. Andero, had followed the example of Galicia. On the same authority the kingdom of Murcia is said to have adopted the constitution.

Other accounts inform us, that on the 7th inst. the grand inquisitor received from his majesty a notice, that the inquisition had ceased to exist.

#### ITALY.

Malta.—“This whole place has been in a state of agitation in consequence of the trial of the pirates (eight in number, including captain Delanoe). The whole were found guilty, and are to be hanged on board the William, the vessel they were on board of when the piracy was committed. Four of them are to be hanged in chains; viz. the captain, the mate, and two of the seamen. It appeared in evidence, that the William is a British vessel, and was bound for Smyrna. In the Mediterranean she fell in with another

British vessel, which the sailors boarded; and having driven the crew below, they plundered, and then scuttled the vessel, and left her to sink, expecting thereby to conceal the whole transaction. The William then proceeded to Malta, there sold the plundered property, and afterwards pursued her voyage to Smyrna. Providentially, the men who had been left in the plundered vessel found means to get upon deck, and escaped in the boat to the coast of Spain; and soon after captain Delanoe had sailed from Malta, they reached that island, and gave information of the circumstances.

A swift-sailing vessel was immediately dispatched in pursuit of the William, and brought her back, with her crew, to Malta, where the pirates have, no doubt, suffered for their crimes.”

#### GERMANY.

Private letters from Vienna state, that there has been in the vicinity of that city an alarming overflow of the Danube: the adjacent country was laid under water, and several bridges were carried away by the violence of the inundation.

#### SWEDEN.

The herring-fishery has been unusually successful on the coast of Norway. On the 9th ult. between 50,000 and 60,000 tons, and of the best quality, had been caught and pickled.

#### AFRICA.

Accounts from Alexandria state, that the great canal of Romanich, the most colossal work of the age, is finished; the water of the Nile was let into it on the last day of December. The whole population of Alexandria went to be spectators of this interesting event.

#### AMERICA.

## AMERICA.

The senate has determined, by a vote of nearly two to one, that the congress does not possess the right to impose upon the people of Missouri the proposed restriction as to the right of domestic slavery, as a condition of their admission into the union. The question is still under discussion in the house of representatives.

The African expedition, consisting of the United States ship Cyane, and the ship Elizabeth, has sailed from New York. The Elizabeth, chartered by the government, proceeds to the western coast of Africa. She carries out agents and artisans, mechanics and labourers, for the purpose of negotiating with the local authorities of the country for permission to land and provide for recaptured or liberated Africans; and to build houses and cultivate land for their use. This expedition, it is said, has no direct or necessary connexion with colonization. The Cyane proceeds on a cruize on the western coast of Africa against the slave traders.

An official report has been made by the secretary of the treasury on the subject of prohibiting the importation of cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures; and he is not favourable to such a prohibition. He estimates that the revenue would lose by it six millions of dollars annually.

A dreadful storm occurred on the 17th of January, at New York, productive of extensive damage to the shipping in the harbour, and to the buildings in the city. The storm was attended with heavy rain, and an unusual high tide, which had caused much damage by inundation on the

banks of the Hudson river, as well as to bridges and mill-dams in different parts of its course.

Subscriptions have been liberally entered into, at New York and other places, for the relief of the sufferers by a dreadful fire at Savannah. From an estimate presented of the injury sustained by the conflagration, it appears that 463 buildings have been levelled with the ground, and property destroyed to the amount of 4,000,000 of dollars.

The intelligence from Ireland is, we regret to say, of the most painful description. Some of the wretched men who have been concerned in the atrocious excesses committed by the Ribbonmen, and whose trials took place at the Roscommon assizes, have been executed. Others are to be transported.

The whole of the eastern wall and window of the chancel of old Buckenham church, in Norfolk, fell with a tremendous crash, during the late storm of wind and snow.

At the York assizes, William Booth, and two of his companions, were found guilty of shooting a gamekeeper of Mr. S. Wortley's while out poaching.—Booth alone was executed.

3.—This morning, at two o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Hill's, a baker's, in the main street, Chatham; and the wind being extremely high, it spread with great rapidity, crossing the street, which is very narrow, and overwhelming the houses on each side in one common destruction. To add to the confusion and distress of the moment, a heavy sleet began to fall; which, aided by the violence of the wind and extreme cold, almost paralysed

paralysed the exertions made to put a stop to the flames. At five o'clock, such was the fury of the devouring element, and the apparent inadequacy of the means to check its progress, that an express was sent off to London to obtain engines, and experienced firemen to work them. Both these were dispatched; but before they could arrive the chief necessity for their assistance ceased to exist; as by eleven o'clock the flames were almost subdued, by taking down several houses on each side of the devouring element. Nothing was visible of the conflagration but a heap of smoking ruins. The whole number of houses destroyed amounted to thirty-six, among which were the Sun tavern, with the dwelling-house and part of the brew-house belonging to Mr. Best. The violence of the wind was such, that large flakes of burning matter were conveyed to some hundred yards distance. One of these flakes fell upon a large stack of hay, about 150 yards from High-street, which consumed that, and two others which were close by.—An unfortunate soldier, it is said, was killed by the front wall of one of the houses. The fire is supposed to have originated from the carelessness of one of the bakers near, who carried out some hot ashes which he emptied near a rick of faggots, and which was fanned into a blaze by the excessive high wind. It is something very remarkable, that a fire broke out in the very same spot in June 1800 and did nearly equal mischief.—Several horses, thirteen hogs, cats, dogs, birds, &c. fell a prey to the devouring element. The entire amount of property destroyed is estimated at 100,000*l*.

of which about 70,000*l*. are insured in the Hope, the Kent, the Norwich Union, the Phoenix, the Eagle, the Sun, and the West of England; among which the largest loss will fall upon the Hope, and the least upon the West of England.

5.—A tremendous fire broke out this night, at Luton Lees farm, near Nettlebed, which destroyed the house, a barn, and four ricks, in less than two hours, together with three valuable horses. The farm was occupied by Mr. Tidmarsh, whose son and three other youths set fire to the thatch of a wheat-rick close to the house, in catching sparrows with a clapnet, by which a candle is held up for the birds to fly into the net. A strong northerly wind drove the flames directly upon the house, which was in one blaze before any water could be got, as it was built chiefly of wood. The premises were lightly insured. A boy was severely burnt in escaping from the attic, and his life is despaired of.

6.—The theatre at Exeter was destroyed by fire this night, with the scenery and wardrobe, on which a considerable sum of money had recently been expended. The fire is supposed to have been caused by the wadding of some muskets discharged in the melodrama of the Falls of the Clyde, which was the after-piece on that night.

10.—Two horses, the property of Mr. William Cook and Mr. Hircock, of Whaplod, Lincolnshire, having rubbed open a door of a barn belonging to the latter person, ate so immoderately of some wheat which lay on the floor, that both died soon after.

13.—A most alarming and destructive

structive fire broke out in the village of Coveney, Bucks, at midnight, on the farm of Mr. Shorter; which was occasioned by the negligence of a boy, in setting fire to some straw in the stable, on the return home of his master. In less than ten minutes the stable was consumed, and seven pigs were burnt in a sty at the back. The flames communicated to two barns, which were also consumed in a very short time. A strong wind communicated the flame to the timber roof of the dwelling-house, and at this time the fire was seen miles off. A whole range of houses, seven in number, were burnt, but most of the furniture was saved. A man of the name of Bartholomew was dangerously hurt by some timber falling upon him.

15.—About two o'clock, as Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, of Great Billing, near Northampton, was sitting in front of the Northampton coach, with a child in her lap, and a niece on each side of her, she was cautioned by the coachman so stoop while passing the gateway, at the White Hart, St. Alban's. Mrs. Wilson instantly repeated the admonition to her nieces; but, unhappily, forgetting herself to follow the advice, she received a blow on her head, by which the spine of her neck was broken, and she died instantly without being heard to utter a sigh or a groan.

17.—Mr. William Radcliffe, rouge croix pursuivant of arms, was tried at the York assizes, upon an indictment charging him with having, in the year 1801, forged, in the parish register of Ravensfield, in that county, an entry,

purporting to be the marriage of Edward Radclyffe and Rosamunde Swyfte, 24th of February, 1640; and with having set forth such false entry in a pedigree presented by him to the heralds' college, whereby he had pretended to show his own descent from the ancient family of Radclyffe, formerly earls of Derwentwater, with a view to impose upon the college, as well as upon the governors of Greenwich hospital, in whom the forfeited estates of that noble family were vested. The register was produced; and it appeared that the rev. Thomas Radford, the curate of the parish at the time of the interpolation, and since deceased, had, in February 1802, attested the entry to be a forgery. The persons who had had the custody of the register proved the time and place of the forgery; and Norroy king of arms and register of the heralds' college, and York, Richmond, Somerset, and Windsor heralds, and portcullis pursuivant, were examined, and proved the hand-writing to be that of the defendant, and the circumstances attending the discovery. Mr. Locker, secretary to Greenwich hospital, produced two memorials addressed by the defendant, in 1810 and 1816, to the governors, for a beneficial lease of a considerable estate anciently belonging to the noble family in question.—There were also produced from Christ's hospital a memorial and pedigree, presented by the defendant in 1809, whereby he had succeeded in obtaining admission for his younger brother upon the foundation of that charity, as being of kin to the founder, king Edward VI.; and in which pedigree



gave the said marriage, so forged, was asserted, and the descent of the defendant drawn from it.

Mr. Scarlett opened the case in a luminous speech, in which he pointed out the enormity of the offence, and a variety of other fabrications in defendant's pedigree, which, he stated, he was prepared to prove by several witnesses then in court.—The learned counsel further observed upon the importance of the case, not only as it affected the character of the members of the heralds' college, but the general interests of the public ; that it had not been brought forward to answer any vindictive purpose, but to protect an honourable body from the stigma which might attach to it from the improper conduct of one of its members, and to show that the valuable records intrusted to their care would not be neglected by those appointed to preserve them.

Mr. serjeant Hullock made an able speech for the defendant, but called no evidence for the defence.

Mr. justice Park summed up in a comprehensive charge to the jury, in which he stated the law as applicable to the case, and said, if the forgery had been committed in a parish register of a date subsequent to the marriage act in 1753, it would have constituted a capital offence ; but that, in the case before the court, it was only a misdemeanour at common law.

The jury retired for about a quarter of an hour, and returned with a verdict of guilty ; whereupon Mr. justice Park sentenced the prisoner to pay a fine of 50*l.*, and to be imprisoned in York castle for the term of three months.

23.—This day the trial of sir Francis Burdett was brought forward at Leicester, before Mr. justice Best and a special jury. The information set forth that sir Francis Burdett had addressed a letter to lord Sidmouth, on the 28th of August, containing seditious and libellous aspersions on the government of the country, and tending (by scandalous animadversions on the proceedings at Manchester) to excite disaffection amongst his majesty's subjects. Sir Francis pleaded his own cause with considerable eloquence, and contended for the illegality of the proceedings. The learned judge, in summing up, pronounced the letter written by sir Francis to be a seditious libel. The jury immediately returned a verdict of guilty.

His majesty has been graciously pleased, by a royal grant to the master, fellows, and scholars, of St. John's college, Cambridge, to remove the restrictions in their statutes, which prevented the election of more than two fellows from the same county, into the foundress's fellowships. These fellowships are now open to all candidates born in any part of England and Wales.

His majesty, it is said, has presented captain Fitzclarence with a valuable sword, as a mark of his approbation of that gallant young officer's services in Cato-street.

3.—The conspirators who were arrested in Cato-street underwent a final examination before the privy council ; and at the close of the inquiry Thistlewood and seven of his wretched associates were committed to the Tower. The following are the particulars of what

what occurred at the examination : —Soon after eleven o'clock, Lavender, Salmon, and other officers of the Bow-street police, arrived in three coaches at Coldbath-fields prison, with orders from the secretary of state for the home department to bring immediately to Whitehall the conspirators confined in the house of correction, for examination before the privy council. Mr. Adkins, the governor of the prison, immediately delivered over the following prisoners into the care of the officers, viz. Thistlewood, Monument, Wilson, Davidson, Tidd, Gilchrist, Ings, Bradburn, Shaw, Cooper, and Brunt. They were immediately conveyed in the coaches provided for their reception to Whitehall. The prisoners were all handcuffed to each other. About the time that this detachment reached Whitehall, Mr. Nodder, the keeper of Tothill-fields prison, arrived at the same place in a coach, with Preston the cobbler (who had been apprehended in the course of the week), Simmonds (the footman), Harrison (late a life guardsman), Abel Hall, and Firth the keeper of the loft in Cato-street.

The council having assembled, they issued their orders that the prisoners should be brought before them separately. Thistlewood was first taken up stairs to the council chamber. Lavender, the officer of Queen-square, went before him ; and Lavender, of Bow-street, and Bishop, on each side. He walked in a hurried step, and appeared a little agitated. He was attended by the officers to the presence of the council, and was simply told that he stood committed for high treason and murder. He was then taken back to

the room below, and Brunt was led up in a similar manner. The same course was observed with respect to all the other prisoners, Preston excepted. Simmonds was twenty minutes before the council, and Monument about the same time. The latter is a man of very diminutive stature, but is said to possess some intellect. On the present occasion he seemed to be suffering under the agonies of terror. After they had all undergone an examination, they occasionally entered into conversation. Thistlewood wore his hat, and looked as if he had made up his mind to meet his fate with firmness.

The council, after a deliberation of nearly two hours, announced through the medium of Mr. Hobhouse, the under secretary, that eight of the prisoners were to be committed to the Tower upon a charge of high treason. These were, Thistlewood, Brunt, Davidson, Ings, Wilson, Tidd, Harrison, and Monument. These were then handcuffed in pairs, and an escort of the horse guards were sent for. On the arrival of the guards, four hackney coaches were procured, in each of which two prisoners were placed. They were accompanied by the fort-major of the Tower, captain J. H. Elrington, Lavender, Bishop, Ruthven, Taunton, Salmon, and several other police-officers. The horse guards surrounded them on all sides. Every thing being in readiness, the carriages were driven over Westminster-bridge, and by that route over London-bridge, up Fish-street-hill, through Fenchurch-street, and the Minories, to the Tower. An immense crowd witnessed their departure, and followed their course ; but there was

not a single sympathizing expression uttered by the throng.

After the departure of the men thus committed for high treason, six of those who remained—Bradburn, Cooper, Gilchrist, Strange, Hall, and Firth, were committed to the custody of Mr. Adkins, governor of the house of correction, under different charges; some for murder, and others for shooting at persons with intent to kill. They were conveyed to their place of destination under an escort of horse guards, and accompanied by several police-officers.

Each prisoner is confined in a separate apartment; two warders, armed in the usual way, with cutlasses and halberds, are in each room; and at each door is stationed a sentinel armed, to whose care is intrusted the key of the room, with strict orders not to permit more than one warder to be absent at a time, and that only for occasional purposes.

Thistlewood is placed in the prison known by the name of the Bloody Tower.—Davidson is in the prison over the water-works.—Ings is in a different room of the same prison.—Monument is in the prison at the back of the horse-armoury.—Brunt and Harrison occupy separate apartments in the prison over the stone-kitchen.—Tidd is secured in the seven-gun battery prison; and Wilson in the prison over the parade.

The prisoners have, by the indulgence of the law, what is called state allowance, for their daily maintenance.

The iron gate at the east end of the Tower is closed, as is usual upon such occasions.

The examination of the prisoners before the council, the ques-

tions and replies, are, of course, confined to that chamber. As to the possibility that there are ramifications of this plot, which is a subject of great interest, no proceedings on the part of government indicate such a belief.

The accounts published respecting Thistlewood are very incorrect. His father was a surveyor and civil engineer in Lincolnshire; where his brother, a gentleman of handsome fortune, now resides. Arthur (whose real name we are informed is Thistlethwaite) served his time as an apothecary at Newark-upon-Trent, and afterwards held a commission in the militia. With his first wife he had a fortune of 20,000*l.* the greater part of which he lost at play and on the turf. The present Mrs. Thistlewood is the daughter of a respectable grazier at Horncastle.

6.—Mr. Baker took his seat, for the first time, at the public office, Bow-street, as chief magistrate, in the room of sir Nathaniel Conant, who has retired on account of ill health.

16.—This morning a fire broke out at the house of Mr. Jeffry, a potatoe merchant, in High-street, Ratcliff, which communicated to the next house, Mr. Colson's. Some tenements at the back of the house sustained damage, as did several houses in the front street. We regret to add, that three poor sailors are said to have perished in the attic of one of the houses.

This being the day appointed for the publication of the sheriffs' formal return of the names of the successful candidates, a most respectable assemblage of liverymen took place. The common crier then made proclamation that the sheriffs did declare, that the votes polled

polled by the several candidates during the election were :

For Mr. alderman Wood 5,370

Thomas Wilson, esq. ... 5,358

Sir Wm. Curtis, bart. ... 4,908

The lord mayor ..... 4,259

Mr. alderman Waithman 4,110

Mr. alderman Thorp ... 3,921

And that, consequently, alderman Wood, T. Wilson, esq. sir W. Curtis, and the lord mayor, had been duly elected.

The trial of Mr. Hunt and nine others, charged with a conspiracy to alter the legal frame of the government and constitution of the realms, and with meeting tumultuously at Manchester, on the 16th August last, with 60,000 persons, many armed with sticks, &c. commenced at the York assizes on Thursday, March 23, before Mr. justice Bailey.—Mr. Scarlett conducted the prosecution.—Mr. Hunt conducted his own defence. The persons prosecuted were Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, James Moorhouse, Joseph Healey, John Thacker Saxton, Robert Jones, Samuel Bamford, George Swift, and Robert Wilde. The number of witnesses put down for the prosecution exceeded 80; for the defence 105. The defendants' witnesses, in two bodies, marched from Rochdale by way of Huddersfield and Halifax. They joined at Leeds, where they slept. They carried two banners, inscribed "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

The examination, as far as it went the first day, related to facts antecedent to the 16th of August, particularly to the drilling at White Moss, on the 15th, where Murray and Shawecross were so outrageously assaulted. Hunt took

an objection to this evidence, and Mr. justice Bailey doubted whether it could be received; but Mr. Scarlett proceeded to show that some of the persons who were in training, and who assaulted Murray, attended the meeting on the 16th; the evidence was then allowed to be given.—This important investigation continued Friday and Saturday. Their evidence was designed chiefly to prove that the Manchester meeting excited terror, alarm, and danger in the town, and therefore was illegal: while Hunt, who cross examined witnesses in his bold, fearless manner, endeavoured to substantiate that the meeting was perfectly legal, that the people committed no breach of the peace, and that when attacked they offered no resistance. The judge objected to have evidence gone into as to the conduct of the yeomanry, because they were not trying their conduct.

Mr. Scarlett entered into a luminous detail of the circumstances connected with the Manchester proceedings; and Mr. Hunt defended himself in an energetic speech of considerable length; but as Mr. justice Bailey's admirable and impartial charge to the jury contains the substance of the whole evidence, we shall content ourselves with presenting a copious abstract from the same.

Mr. justice Bailey, in summing up, said, it was his duty to lay down the law, and to make such remarks on the evidence as might assist them in forming their judgment. They were to put entirely out of view, on the present occasion, the conduct of the magistrates and military, whether right or wrong, and to confine them-

selves to the consideration of the character and conduct of the meeting, and those of the defendants as connected therewith. The indictment against the defendants contained a charge of conspiracy, a charge of unlawful assembly, and a charge of riot. The last mentioned charge might be, in this case, put entirely out of consideration. There were different counts; one charging the defendants with conspiring to meet, and causing others to meet, for the purpose of disturbing the public peace; another charged them with having met together for the purpose of raising and exciting discontent and disaffection in the minds of the subjects of our lord the king, and also to incite them to contempt and hatred of the government and constitution, as by law established. Another count set forth, "That the defendants met and assembled, together with divers others, to a very great number, in a threatening and menacing manner, with sticks and other offensive weapons, and with divers seditious ensigns and flags, on which there were various inflammatory inscriptions and devices, to the great terror of the peaceable subjects of our lord the king." It would be for the jury to consider whether the conduct of the defendants fell under any, and which of these charges. It had been laid down by serjeant Hawkins, that bodies of armed men meeting to consider of grievances, or numerous bodies meeting, though unarmed, under such circumstances as could not but endanger the public peace, and raise fears and jealousies among the king's subjects, were unlawful assemblies. In applying this doctrine to the case under considera-

tion, the jury were to look to the purpose for which the people met, the manner in which they came, and the means which they were using to effect their purpose. A great number of persons might meet under such circumstances as were not calculated to raise terrors, fears, or jealousies, in the minds of the people in the neighbourhood. But, in an assembly so constituted, and met for a perfectly legal purpose, if any individuals introduced themselves illegally, in order to give to that meeting an undue direction, which would produce terror in the minds of his majesty's subjects, although 59,000 persons out of a meeting of 60,000 were completely innocent, yet there might be twelve or twenty illegally met there, and those twelve or twenty would be liable to be tried on the ground of having illegally assembled. The case, as it was stated by Mr. serjeant Hawkins, seemed to contemplate the event of immediate danger resulting from the meeting. He, however, was not prepared in his own mind to say that the appearance of immediate danger was necessary to constitute this offence. If the jury conceived that, from the peaceable demeanour of the people at the time, and the association of the women and children on the ground, the meeting was not sufficient to produce a feeling of immediate danger, though it might of future danger, he would recommend it to the jury to find a special verdict. With respect to the subject of conspiracy, it was necessary to observe that the defendants were not liable to be found guilty, although they were seeking the same end, if the jury were not of opinion that they were acting

acting in pursuance of one common design, with the privity of all. It might be, that, in a case of this kind, twelve or twenty persons might go to a meeting, each of them intending to sow sedition; yet, if such person intended to sow that sedition, from the mere motive and impulse of his own mind, and not in common with the other parties, they could not be found guilty of conspiracy. On the other hand, to prove conspiracy, there was no necessity to show the absolute meeting together of the parties accused. If the circumstances were such as to induce the jury to believe that they could not have occurred without the previous concert and combination of the parties accused, it was sufficient. But if the jury were of opinion that they might have met together by accident, without previous arrangement, then the charge of conspiracy must be dismissed from their minds. A party expressing an intention to go to this or any other meeting might induce other persons who heard of it through him, to attend also, without any previous design. They could only implicate, in the offence of conspiracy, those persons who the evidence showed either actually were, or from circumstances must have been, parties to the formation of the original plan. Those who joined in a plan, though at a late period of the transaction, could not be distinguished from those with whom it originated, because they agreed to all that had previously been done, and thus became conspirators. As to the question of assembling, it might be, that the avowed object of the meeting was lawful, but it might be attended by twelve persons in-

tending or attempting to give an improper direction to the conduct of those who were lawfully met; in that case such persons would be guilty of unlawfully assembling, though there should have been no conspiracy. With respect to banners bearing inscriptions, their illegality did not extend to every man present at the meeting, but only to those particular persons who adopted those banners, and the sentiments inscribed on them; or who, with a full knowledge of their existence, gave perfect confidence and co-operation to the meeting. So also in case of drilling. It could only affect those who knew that drilling was practised for illegal purposes. To show whether terror was or was not produced, he would state the testimony on both sides in this case. They would find in the evidence on the part of the prosecution a great deal which imported that no apprehension of immediate danger existed; and the circumstance of women and children being present would be worthy of their consideration in that respect. It was admitted that an attempt was made to keep peace at the meeting. But this might have been done in order to forward future objects. It might have been hoped, that, by this means, the prepared seed would be sown, while those who pursued this course would wait till the time of harvest to reap the benefit of it. The learned judge then proceeded to recapitulate the voluminous evidence adduced in the course of this interesting trial, briefly commenting on it as he went on. He observed, that a meeting of 60,000 persons, if they all came to a certain point, with a common know-

ledge of what was to be done, might create terror. With respect to the banners, he again observed that those only who showed that they were favourable to any motto inscribed on them, by carrying, or immediately marching under them, could be considered as liable to any penalty which the illegal nature of any of their inscriptions might warrant. It was given, he observed, in evidence, that Moorhouse was a religious man, and constantly read the bible to his family—a fact stated to induce the inference that he would not be guilty of an illegal or immoral act. It was also stated that Mrs. Moorhouse, though in the family-way, went through the crowd; and it was not likely, if danger had been apprehended, that her husband would have permitted her to attend. With respect to persons walking in the military step, to which several witnesses had sworn, it could not affect the persons charged, unless they were proved to have been cognizant of the fact. With respect to the inscription, "Equal Representation or Death," if it meant that those who adhered to such a standard would lose their lives unless they procured what they deemed "equal representation," it amounted to sedition; but if, as Mr. Hunt explained it, the inscription merely meant, that if the people did not procure "equal representation," they would be starved to death, it would not come within the character of sedition. Again, the inscription of "No Corn Laws" left the jury to consider whether the meaning of it was that the corn laws were so oppressive, that every means, legal or illegal, were to be taken, in order to get rid of them; or

whether it was a mere expression of disapprobation. In the former case it would certainly be sedition, in the latter it would not. As to the cap of liberty, it was one of the insignia of the crown; and when the king went to parliament, an officer of state always bore it before him. It did not, therefore, of necessity, mean any thing seditious. With respect to any stoppage of business occasioned by the meeting, it was positively sworn, by a great mass of evidence for the defendants, that it was not at all interrupted. The phrase sworn to by one of the witnesses, as having been used by a person going to the meeting, namely, that they would "make a Moscow of Manchester," seemed to be inconsistent with the general intention expressed by the reformers on that day. There was every reason to believe that Mr. Entwistle was mistaken in the expression of Hunt about their enemies, as applied to the soldiers. With regard to the shout set up when the military appeared, it might be the shout of consciousness of innocence, and a determination to remain on that consciousness, or it might be the shout of intimidation. Its nature was to be determined by the circumstances in which it was uttered. There was no other witness that spoke to threatening expressions but Mr. Francis Phillips. The multitude round the hustings appeared to this witness disciplined troops, ready to protect Hunt in case of any molestation. If he had a false impression in this case he might in another, and there seemed to be no evidence that the multitude were ready to fight, as the majority of them had no arms, most of them being even without sticks.

sticks. With regard to Mr. Hulton, the magistrate, it was to be considered that he was not in that situation which enabled him to observe so accurately what passed, as many of those whose evidence negatived the throwing of sticks, stones, and brick-bats. Situated as Mr. H. was, and having heard of drillings, &c. he might be agitated and not cool during the time he was considering that he might become highly criminal if he suffered such proceedings to go to such length as to endanger the peace of the town. The depositions submitted to Mr. H., had there been a million of them, could be of no avail, for the jury were bound alone to attend to *viva voce* evidence, given in open court. Nadin's statement to Mr. Hulton might justify the latter in issuing the warrant, but Nadin had not been produced to prove the circumstances under which he acted; neither had any of the magistrates been brought forward in corroboration of Mr. Hulton's evidence; and sitting there, as he (the judge) was to administer equal justice to all, it was his duty to tell them, if the omission were calculated to raise a doubt in the minds of the jury, the defendants were most certainly entitled to the benefit of that doubt.

His lordship then went on to recapitulate the leading points of the defence, as it bore on the defendants generally. As to Saxton, the crown has very properly given up the case against him. The character of the meeting was decidedly peaceable, and no proof had been adduced that terror was excited in the town of Manchester; but it had been suggested that future and not immediate

disturbances were in contemplation; this was for the consideration of the jury. He then repeated his observations as to what would constitute the meeting, or any part of it, illegal or otherwise. The meeting, it was said, had been called by 700 housekeepers, but of this no proof had been given. It did not appear what resolutions Mr. Hunt intended to propose; if the same as at Smithfield, and that the jury conceived they were calculated to excite discontent and disaffection, then *quoad* Mr. Hunt, the meeting would be illegal; and if he communicated such intentions to any others, and that they approved of them, then there would be a conspiracy; and if any three of them went to the meeting with such intent, the meeting would, as far as they were concerned, be illegal. He then stated the mottos on the different banners, with the interpretation put on them by the defendants and the prosecution. If any of those banners were meant to convey to the eye what in such a meeting no voice could convey to the ear—if they meant that the people should be disaffected or discontented till they had obtained those objects—then the parties who bore the flags, and those who marched with them, would be guilty of an illegal act, and the meeting, as far as they were concerned, would be illegal. The training and drilling, if intended merely to produce greater order and regularity in those who attended the meeting of the 16th, was perfectly harmless; but if it was intended, by giving this regularity, to give a greater degree of strength to the party, and thereby to overawe the government, or



to gain confidence to any seditious opinions to procure a legal object by motives of fear, then it would have been illegal, and the meeting at which they assembled, after such training, would be illegal also, as to those privy to such purpose, though it might have been attended by thousands of innocent persons. The learned judge then took a brief view of the evidence on both sides, as it affected the defendants individually.

He would now leave the case to them, with this one observation—not to give a verdict of guilty, unless they were fully satisfied of the sufficiency of proof—nor a verdict of acquittal, while such proof existed in their minds. If they had any doubt, they would give all the defendants the benefit of it.

It was very near twelve o'clock when his lordship concluded; and, in a few minutes after, the jury retired, and, after consulting together for five hours, returned into court at five o'clock. The foreman held a paper in his hand, and said the jury had agreed upon their verdict, which he read as follows:—

“Moorhouse, Jones, Wilde, Swift, Saxton—not guilty. Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Joseph Healy, and Samuel Bamford—guilty of assembling with unlawful banners an unlawful assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the king into contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established, and attending of the same.”

Mr. justice Bailey. “Do you

mean that they themselves intended to incite?”—The foreman. “Yes.”—Mr. Littledale. “This verdict must be taken on the fourth count.”—Mr. justice Bailey. “Let the verdict be so recorded. You find, gentlemen, on such counts as the words of your verdict are applicable to. You do not mean to find that they created terror, or incited it in the minds of the liege subjects of our king.”—The foreman. “We meant, my lord, to find on the first count, omitting a few words.”—The learned judge then requested they would retire and look over the counts of the indictment again, and say to which count they meant to apply their verdict.

The jury withdrew for a few minutes, and returned with a verdict of guilty generally on the fourth count, and not guilty upon the remaining counts.—Mr. justice Bailey. “I take it for granted the defendants are still under recognizances.”—Mr. Hunt. “We are, my lord.”—Mr. justice Bailey. “Then let them now additionally, in court, enter into their own recognizances to keep the peace and good behaviour for six months, Mr. Hunt in the sum of 2000*l.*, Mr. Johnson of 1000*l.*, Knight, Bamford and Healey 500*l.* each.

The parties immediately entered into their several recognizances.

## APRIL.

### FRANCE.

Letters from Angoulême contain the following account of a horrible outrage committed near Confolens:—A young couple, who were on the point of being married, went together to invite their relations

relations to the nuptials. The girl was mounted upon her lover's horse, followed by him on foot. On their arrival at a village where the young man wanted to see some person, he left his destined bride to wait his return in the road. Immediately after, three ruffians arrived, who, after grossly insulting the young girl, obliged her to alight from the horse, stripped her naked, committed outrages on her person which decency will not permit us to relate, and threatened to murder her; they then killed the horse, cut open his belly, took out the entrails, and in their place put the unfortunate young woman, sewed up the animal's skin, and made off. Some children who were passing by afterwards heard cries issuing from the bowels of the horse, and immediately ran in great fright to tell their parents that the devil was in a dead horse lying in the road. In the mean time the young man arrived, and heard the groans of his expiring mistress. She was dragged out of the horrid situation where the villains had placed her, and transported to the nearest barn, where every attention was paid to her. The police set directly about pursuing the horrid monsters who had committed an offence new in the annals of crime, and were fortunate enough to arrest them. They were recognised by the young woman upon confrontation. The unfortunate victim could not survive the outrages which had been perpetrated upon her, and expired five days afterwards.

## SPAIN.

The revolution in Spain has received its consummation by the acceptance, on the part of Ferdi-

nand, of the terms proposed to him by the constitutionalists. The following interesting particulars describe the circumstances which led to this most important event. From the beginning of March to the 8th, but especially from the 6th to that day, dispatches arrived at Madrid in rapid succession from the provinces, which convinced the government of the impossibility of supporting any longer the system of arbitrary power. They were too well apprized that the insurrection which broke out in the Isle of Leon was making a general progress throughout the nation, and the intelligence was assuming every instant a character more alarming. The troops under the command of Joseph O'Donnel had passed over to Riego. Those before the Isle of Leon had joined Quiroga; while the count L'Abisbal, who had secretly left the capital for Ocanana, abandoned the royal cause, and proclaimed the constitution, which was sworn to by him and his troops, and also by a regiment of cavalry quartered at the latter place. The news of these events was accompanied by information, not less conclusive, from Galicia, Leon, Old Castile, and Murcia. It was known, also, that the fine regiment of Malaga, with its colonel, Picquero, had taken the oath to the constitution in Ciudad Rodrigo, and was marching upon Astorga. These important events burst upon Ferdinand like a clap of thunder.—Ballasteros was sent for from Valladolid, whither he had been banished, and vested with the command of the army of the centre. On receiving this charge on the 5th instant, he observed to the king, that, under existing

isting circumstances, it would be necessary to convene the Cortes; and the powerful reasons he gave had great effect on the king's mind. As a preliminary step, however, the decree, calling on the various branches of the administration for their opinions, was issued; but it was not satisfactory, and created general murmurs. The people openly declared they would not be satisfied with any thing short of the constitution of 1812. Such was the state of things when Abisbal's defection threatened the capital, if the king did not instantly proclaim the constitution. Scarcely was this known, when two expresses brought advices that Arragon had revolted, as well as Valladolid, the moment Ballasteros left the latter city. These incidents caused a confusion that presaged a revolution in the capital, which must have been extremely serious; and in order to prevent it, Ballasteros went to the palace, and firmly told the king, that between the acknowledgement of the constitution and his dethronement, or perhaps worse, no alternative was left. He must now choose one extreme or the other, but not a moment was to be lost. Such was the dilemma in which the king stood at the moment, and thus in fact was he brought to his senses. He consented, and Ballasteros instantly went forth to tranquillize the people, already assembled on all sides, and calling out for the constitution. As soon as the popular ferment was allayed, the king ordered Ballasteros to proceed to Aranjuez to inform Abisbal of his consent, and to notify the same to the troops; but Ballasteros plainly told the

king, that it would not be so easy to pacify the latter as it was the people of Madrid; and that it would be useless for him to go, unless he could carry some positive proof of the king's sincerity. For this purpose, he added, it would be necessary to put the national code into operation at once; this alone would satisfy the public mind. In consequence of this, the king sent for the inquisitor general, and told him, that from that moment his functions ceased, and ordered him to set all his prisoners at liberty. This was done, and among the inmates of the infernal dungeons was found the count de Montijo, who it was supposed was at Santiago. The decree of the king, convening the Cortes, acceding to the constitution, &c. was made out, notified to the various departments of state, &c.; and furnished with all this, Ballasteros set out for Aranjuez.—On the day of the king's acceptance of the constitution, the whole city wore the appearance of a great public festival, rather than a national revolution, or change of the form of government; and all ranks participated in the general joy. The reflection that this beneficial change had been affected almost without the effusion of blood was common to all: and even the lower classes spoke of the circumstance to each other with pride and triumph.

Letters from Cadiz, dated the 14th of March, confirm accounts in the French papers of an outrageous act of treachery at Cadiz, which has covered the streets of that city with its slaughtered citizens. It appears, that general Freyre issued a proclamation on the

the 9th of March, declaring his attachment to liberal principles, and professing his readiness, and that of his army, to take the oath to the constitution, and avowing his intention of re-establishing it more sacred than ever. He also declared his intention of re-establishing the constitutional municipality as it stood in the year 1814;—yet on the same day, while preparations were making, according to the desire of Freyre, for the performance of the solemn act of adhesion, and while universal joy and confidence animated all ranks of the community on account of his proclamation, the troops suddenly fired upon the unarmed multitudes, and proved themselves worthy of rivalling in bloody execution the chief actors in the *Sicilian vespers*, or the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It is said that an attempt had been previously made to entrap Quiroga; but that he escaped the snare, by declining to enter Cadiz on the invitation of Freyre.

The estimate of the victims of the atrocious scene at Cadiz on the 10th ult. is as follows:—372 men, 39 women, and 27 children, dead; the wounded are in number 500, a great many of them grievously.

It is a fact worthy of being recorded, and greatly to the honour of the Spanish soldiery at Cadiz, that when the guilty regiments, who took the lead in the atrocities of the 10th, arrived at their quarters in Port St. Mary's, their former companions in arms were drawn up to receive them, and expressed their utmost abhorrence at their conduct. They were then, as a mark of ignominy, deprived of their arms and other in-

signia of a soldier, and marched barefooted to a small village called Chipiona, there to remain till otherwise disposed of.

His majesty has issued a decree, declaring all Spaniards who shall refuse the new oath to be incapable of holding public offices, and to be unworthy of remaining in the country.

The king has appointed the revenues of the late inquisition towards liquidating the expenses of the state. Mina is appointed captain general of Navarre.

The Spanish exiles who accompanied Joseph to France, are permitted by a proclamation of the supreme Junta to return to their native country, and recover their sequestered possessions.

#### ITALY.

An article from Turin mentions an instance of judicial cruelty in the punishment inflicted upon a postillion, named Dunan; who, having been accused of stealing the ornaments of a Madonna, has been burnt alive at Chambery, after having had both his hands cut off.

#### GERMANY.

The grand duke of Hesse, influenced as is believed by events in Spain, has given a constitution to his subjects.

The king of Prussia has recently testified his sense of the kindness shown by the British nation to his subjects, under the devastating consequences of the dreadful battles fought in the years 1813 and 1814, by presenting to the honorary secretaries of the subscription for that purpose, rings or gold snuff-boxes elegantly ornamented with his majesty's initials in diamonds. These were accompanied by letters written by his highness prince Hardenberg, by

by command of his majesty, and were transmitted through the means of the Prussian ambassador, baron Bulow.

#### ASIA.

Letters from Batavia, of the 11th of December, state, that the expedition of the Dutch against Palembang had wholly failed in its object, and was returning to Batavia.

#### AMERICA, &c.

The naval force of the United States of America consists of 36 ships of the line of 74 guns each, 25 frigates of from 44 to 14 guns, 11 brigs of war of from 20 to 12 guns, 12 schooners, and a great number of gun-boats.

The disasters attendant on the operations of lord Cochrane follow in quick succession. Accounts have reached London, from Chili, of November 4, stating that the squadron under lord Cochrane had been repulsed a third time off Callao.

A group of small islands has been discovered by captain de Peyster, of the ship Rebecca, in the Pacific Ocean, lying in the track between Valparaiso and the East Indies.

**New South Wales.**—By a late return it appears, that in 1818 the land cleared and cultivated, consisted of 284,000 acres, or double the surface of Rutland. That the produce was 1543 bushels of wheat, and 42,000 of maize; and the stock, 700 horses, 6500 cattle, 700 sheep, and 700 hogs; while the total population was 25,000. In the year 2000, perhaps, the republic of New Holland may sway the eastern archipelago.

As some men were lately making a drain on the premises of a gentleman in St. Giles', Norwich,

they accidentally discovered a well 76 feet deep: on a stone was the date of its construction, 1222 (598 years ago).

The latter end of last month, the college stables at Hereford were destroyed by fire. On the 2d inst. during divine service, a part of the roof of the college was discovered to be on fire by Mr. Hayter, the organist, who hastened to the part, and with assistance succeeded in extinguishing it. On the flames being extinguished, it was discovered that the beams and joists where they commenced had been partly saturated with spirit of turpentine; a quantity of brushwood from beesoms taken from a room near the place; hay, straw, and some matches, were also disposed of so as to spread the destructive element.

8. At Chester assizes, James George Bruce, and Jacob M'Innis, were tried for shooting at Birch, the Stockport constable, on his return thither after arresting Harrison, the preacher, at the Smithfield meeting. According to the evidence, while Bruce kept in front of Birch, holding him in conversation, M'Innis, who stood behind Bruce, fired the pistol. They were both found guilty. M'Innis on hearing the verdict, exclaimed in a stern tone, "Bruce is innocent: I am the man that shot at Birch; and Bruce knows nothing of it, nor any other person." Bruce likewise solemnly declared he was innocent and totally unacquainted with M'Innis. On being brought up to receive sentence, Monday morning, Bruce presented a petition to the judge, protesting his innocence—M'Innis, the other prisoner, said—"Bruce is innocent. I never spoke to

to the man before I shot at Birch. And though I did shoot at him; and I had many reasons for doing so, every man who swore against me swore falsely. Birch swore falsely, Pearson swore falsely. No man living knew a word about it but myself. I shot at him; this man is innocent."—Mr. Warren (chief justice of Chester) then passed sentence of death on both, and ordered M<sup>c</sup>Innis for execution. M<sup>c</sup>Innis—"Thank you, my lord: it's a good cure for a spin of the head." This wretched man for a time refused all the consolations of religion, disbelieving the existence of a God! After returning to the gaol, however, it is understood that he was brought to a proper sense of his awful situation. He has been since executed.—Bruce, it is supposed, will not suffer.

10.—At the Chester assizes, sir Charles Wolseley, bart. and Joseph Harrison, were tried on an indictment charging them with intending to excite commotion at a meeting at Stockport, on the 28th of June last; with unlawfully assembling to disturb the public peace, and by seditious speeches to stir up the people of this realm to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution as by law established. Mr. Pearson addressed the jury on behalf of sir C. Wolseley. Harrison spoke in his own defence, and at great length: his speech was a strange and unconnected medley of politics and religion, given with a violent methodistical twang, which occasionally excited risibility. The counsel for the prosecution next replied, and the judge summed up to the jury; who, after consult-

ing about three-quarters of an hour, returned with a verdict of guilty against sir Charles Wolseley and Joseph Harrison.

13.—Mitchell (denounced as a spy at the York meeting) was tried at the Pontefract sessions, for having, on the 4th of October last, made use of seditious words in a meeting at Halifax. He was found guilty, and sentenced by the court to be imprisoned six months in York castle, and find sureties, for two years, himself in 100*l*. and two sureties in 50*l*. each.

17.—This afternoon Rainer, the celebrated Kentish pedestrian, ran half a mile down Chatham Hill, a very steep and bad piece of ground for such an exertion, in the short space of one minute and fifty-eight seconds; being two seconds within the time for which he was matched to perform the task.

18.—Harrison, the preacher, was tried at the Chester assizes, on two indictments, which charged him with uttering seditious expressions in sermons which he preached at Stockport in August and December last.—The following formed the substance of the second indictment;—"kings, princes, dukes, lords, commons, parliaments, archbishops, bishops, prelates, rectors, high constables, constables, sheriffs, deputy constables, and bailiffs, are all corrupt; and the time is near at hand when they will be upset. The people should rise *en masse* to suppress such a tyrannical government as the one of this country; and it will not be long, but very soon, that it shall be overturned, and many a bloody battle may be fought, and many a one incarcerated in prison before it shall be accom-

'accomplished.' He was found guilty, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for each offence.

The election of sixteen representative peers of Scotland, took place at Holyrood-house, Edinburgh. The following were returned :

Marquisses of Queensberry, Tweeddale, and Lothian; earls of Home, Kellie, \*Elgin, Balcarras, \*Stair, and Roseberry; lords Forbes, Saltoun, Gray, Sinclair, Colville, Napier, and Belhaven — Those marked (\*) were new candidates, who have thrown out the duke of Roxburgh and visc. Arbutnot.

Flaxman's beautiful monument to the memory of the late countess Spencer has just been erected in Brington church, Northamptonshire. It consists of a tablet with an appropriate inscription; on one side of which is a group representing religion, personified by a female, whose eyes are fixed on high, holding in her right hand the New Testament, and in the left a cross; charity is represented on the other side of the tablet, by a mother fondly cherishing a sleeping infant to her bosom, while she is contemplating with maternal delight the caresses of its brother and sister.

His majesty has been pleased to appoint Mr. Colman, the popular dramatic author, lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, in the place of captain Davis.

Mr. Foster is the only commoner now alive who sat in parliament in the first year of Geo. III. and is now returned to the first parliament of Geo. IV.

2.—The Persian ambassador left town for the continent, on his return to Persia.

6.—The royal academicians elected sir Thomas Lawrence to be their president, in the room of the late Mr. West.

20.—Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman came into the court of chancery, Westminster, this morning, soon after the lord chancellor had taken his seat, and were addressed by his lordship in the following words :—"Gentlemen, I understand her majesty the queen has been graciously pleased to appoint you her attorney general and solicitor general: you will please, in consequence, to take your seats within the bar, next to the king's counsel."

22.—The catholic chapel, in Moorfields, was opened for public service for the first time. The chapel, which is capable of containing upwards of 2000 persons, was completely full; and among the congregation we observed several catholic families of distinction, as well as most of the ambassadors from catholic courts. The ceremonies of consecration and dedication were performed with all the pomp usually attendant on the proceedings of the catholic church. The ceiling of the nave is ornamented by paintings in fresco, in several compartments, representing the principal incidents in our Saviour's life. The altar, which is very handsome, is built of statuary marble, and is elevated upon seven spacious marble steps. The tabernacle is of statuary marble, and is very beautifully ornamented. The pulpit is very handsome, and bears an inscription stating it to be the gift of lord Arundel. Behind the columns of the sanctuary is a panoramic painting in fresco, representing the crucifixion. The time

time selected is that in which our Saviour yielded up the ghost. The chapel is, upon the whole, a very elegant building.

23.—The public will derive equal gratification with ourselves, on learning that Ely chapel has been bought and presented to the National Society, by one of its most zealous supporters, and ample provision has been made for the regular attendance of the children on public worship. The bishop of London (in the morning) and the archdeacon of London (in the afternoon) re-opened the chapel with appropriate sermons. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Ely and Landaff, &c. attended.

24.—In honour of the birthday of our beloved sovereign, the children of the London national schools (to the number of 1000) dined together at their first school in Coleman-street. They partook of roast beef and plum-pudding, and afterwards sang "God save the king."—The children of the central school of the national society in Baldwin's-gardens (upwards of 700) were also regaled in a similar way.

#### TRIALS OF THE CATO STREET CONSPIRATORS FOR HIGH TREASON.

Old Bailey, April 17.—The counts of the indictments were four :—The first and second counts were under the statute of Edward III., and charged the prisoners, first, with compassing, imagining, and intending to depose the king; and secondly, with compassing, imagining, and intending to excite rebellion and war against the king, and put him to death.

The third count was on the 1820.

statute of George III. and charged the prisoners with compassing, imagining, and intending to levy war, in order to compel the king to change his measures and counsels.

The overtacts charged were :—First, "meeting, conspiring, and consultiag, to devise, arrange, and mature plans and means to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established."

Second :—"Conspiring, &c. to stir up, raise, make and levy insurrection, rebellion, and war against our lord the king; and to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established."

Third :—"Conspiring, &c. to assassinate, kill, and murder, divers of the privy council of our lord the king."

Fourth :—"Procuring, providing, and having large quantities of arms, with intent thereby to arm themselves and other traitors, in order to assassinate, kill, and murder divers of the privy council."

Author Thistlewood having been placed at the bar, the attorney general opened the case for the crown, and detailed to the jury the plans and proceedings of the conspirators, as developed in the following evidence; from the whole of which he drew the conclusion that the prisoner at the bar was guilty of the treason laid to his charge. The learned gentleman's speech occupied the attention of the jury for nearly two hours.

Before the first witness for the prosecution was put into the box, all the prisoners named in the indictment were brought up, with

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the view, we suppose, of having an opportunity of hearing the evidence, it being principally the same which was to be adduced against most of them. They entered the court with much apparent indifference.

The first witness called was Robert Adams, examined by the solicitor general.—I live at No. 4, Hole-in-the-wall passage, Brook's-market. I am a shoe-maker. I was in the royal regiment of horse guards. It is 18 years last Christmas since I left them. I knew Brunt at Cambray, in France; he went then by the name of Thomas Morton, it is 18 years ago since I first knew him. I know Thistlewood. I knew him first on the 16th of January last. He then lived in Stanhope-street, Clare-market. I was introduced to him by Brunt and Ings. I saw him at his own place. We had some conversation together. When I went in, Brunt said to Thistlewood, This is the man I was speaking to you about. Thistlewood said, "You were once in the life guards?" I said, "No, I was not, I originally belonged to the Blues." Thistlewood said, "You are a good swordsman?" I said, "I could use a sword to defend myself, but I could not use it very expert, as I had not used any arms for a long time." Thistlewood said, there was no one who was worth 10*l*. who was worth any thing for the good of this country. As to the shopkeepers of London, they were all a set of aristocrats together, and were all working under the same system of government. He should glory to see the day that all the shops were shut up and well plundered. He then alluded to Mr. Hunt, and

said he was a d—d coward, and were he (Thistlewood) to go to Whitehall, he was sure he should find his (Hunt's) name there, as a spy to government. He then turned the conversation to Cobbett, and said, he was equally the same as Hunt, and for all his writings, he had no doubt he was also a spy. This ended the conversation then. I was afterwards confined for debt in Whitecross-street prison. The next interview I had with Thistlewood was on the 16th, at the White Hart public-house. It was in a room in the back yard. Thistlewood was present, and Ings, Brunt and Hall; and before they broke up, Tidd. On the 17th I went to prison, remained 14 days there. I came out on Sunday, the day after the death of the king. I saw Thistlewood on the Monday evening following. I saw him in the same floor in the house where Brunt lived, in a back room. This was in Fox-court, Gray's Inn-lane. There were Brunt, Ings, Hall, and Davidson, present. There was another particular took place that night. To the best of my recollection, I met them next on the Wednesday (by them he meant Thistlewood, Brunt, Davidson, Harrison, and Ings). I went into the room and saw a number of pike-staves, and Thistlewood wanted to have them ferruled. Thistlewood then asked why Bradburn (the prisoner) was not present; and he added, that Bradburn was intrusted with money to purchase ferrules, and was not satisfied lest he should not buy them. The staves were green, and seemed as if they had just come from the country. Thistlewood said he would not give a damn for a man who would spend the

the money in such a way. I do not recollect any thing further then. The meetings were held twice a day from thence to the 23d of February. The room was hired by Brunt for Ings; Brunt said so. I remember one circumstance that occurred: one evening, about ten days before the Cato-street business, I went in and saw Harrison, Thistlewood, and Brunt. Harrison said, he had been speaking to one of the horse guards, and he had told him that the whole of them would be down at Windsor at the king's funeral; and Harrison said, this would be a good opportunity to do something that night (the night of the funeral.) Thistlewood said, it was a good place, and added, that if they could get the two pieces of cannon in Gray's-inn-lane, and the six pieces in the artillery-ground, they could so help themselves as to have possession of London before morning; and he said, that when the news should reach Windsor, the soldiers would be so tired as not to be able, when they came back to London, to do any thing; but that by activity, some might go to Hyde-park, and prevent any person or messenger from going to Windsor. He also said that they should go over the water and take the telegraph, to prevent any communication with Woolwich. He then said that they should form a provisional government, and send to the sea-ports to prevent any gentleman from leaving England without passports. He particularly mentioned to send to Dover, Brighton, Margate, and Ramsgate. He said the present family had inherited the throne long enough, and it was of no use for the present king so think of

being crowned. Brunt and Ings came in after this, and Thistlewood mentioned to them what had passed; but they said that nothing would satisfy them but their plan of assassination. They had talked at a former meeting of this plan of assassination. Two or three of them had drawn out a plan of assassinating his majesty's ministers at the first public dinner they had. They talked of assassination at every one of their meetings. I could not say there were pikes in the room before this. I met them on Saturday, the 19th of February, at eleven or twelve in the forenoon. I saw Thistlewood, Davidson, Brunt, Harrison, Ings, and Hall. They were all set round the fire, and seemed in a conversation betwixt themselves. they all got up and turned round, and said, "It is agreed, if nothing turns out before next Wednesday night, next Wednesday we will go to work." It was said they were all sworn that they would not wait any longer. Thistlewood proposed they should meet the following morning at nine, to draw out a plan to go by. Thistlewood said to Brunt, "You had better go round this afternoon and mention it, in order to have the committee to-morrow."—Brunt said, he did not think he should be able to go, as he had some work to do, but he would go on the next morning, and perhaps he might see some of them; it was not necessary to bring a great many. Brunt appeared to be leaving the room then, and Thistlewood called to him, and said, "O Brunt, it will be highly necessary for those that come to-morrow morning to bring arms with them, in case any officers should come up." On

which Brunt said, "D—n my eyes, if any officer should come in here, the time is now so near, I would run him through the body. I would murder him here, sooner than we should be discovered." On the next morning I went there about 11 o'clock. It was a little dark in my eyes when I went in after the snow. There were Thistlewood, Brunt, Harrison, Cooke, Bradburn, Tidd, Edwards, Wilson, myself, and another. W. Cooke, on looking round the room, said, "There are twelve in the room, and I think it enough to form a committee." Thistlewood proposed that Tidd should take the chair. Tidd took the chair, and sat with a pike in his hand. Thistlewood was on his right, and Brunt on his left. Thistlewood said, "Gentlemen, you all know what we are met for ;" and then he turned to the door, as if unwilling to mention it, and said, "the West end job." Brunt said, "D—n my eyes, name it." On which Thistlewood again said, "Gentlemen, we are come to the determination to do this job, that we are talking about so long ; and as we find there is no probability of meeting them (ministers) all together, we shall, if no opportunity occurs of doing them together, take them separately, at their own houses, and do as many as we can. If we only get 3 or 4 at a time, we must do them." He also said "I suppose it will take 15 men to do this West end job ; and I propose to take the two pieces of cannon in Gray's-inn-lane, and the six pieces in the artillery-ground." He proposed Cooke to lead this party, and he himself would command. He said they should take the mansion house as the seat of

the provisional government. They were next to take the bank of England ; and Palin should be the man who should set fire to the barracks and several parts of London. This was the principal part of the plan, but if any thing else occurred before Wednesday, they would think of it. Brunt was then going to put a proposition which he had for assassinating ministers ; but Thistlewood said, his plan should be first put from the chair, as they were nearly all agreed on it. He desired the chairman to ask if any of them had any thing to say, and that they should say it ; but none of them saying any thing, the plan was carried unanimously. Brunt then came forward with his plan, which was, that they should assassinate as many of his majesty's ministers as possible ; that they should draw lots to assassinate some of the ministers ; and whoever the fellow was on whom the lot fell, he should murder the minister, or be murdered himself ; and that if any man failed in the attempt, he (Brunt) swore by all that was good he should be run through the body. On which I got up, and said, "Mr. Brunt, do you not think it possible for a man to attempt such a thing and not succeed in it ? and do you mean to say he should be run through the body for not doing it ?" To which he said, "I do not ; if a man should attempt it and not succeed, he is a good man ; but if he shows any cowardice, he deserves to be run through the body." This proposition of Brunt's was then put to the meeting. Soon after this, Palin, Potter, and Strange came in. They were welcomed, and were desired to sit near the fire, as they were

were wet. Palin said, "There is one thing I want to know; if it can be done, it will be a great assistance to our plan: I want to know what men are to perform each part of the plan, and who are to take the cannon, I want to know, in calling upon the men, whether I can tell them in part or whole what is to be done." The chairman said, "I don't see where the harm is of telling what is to be done." Palin, seeing he had that liberty, sat down quite satisfied. Nothing regular was transacted in the chair after that. Thistlewood said, "O Brunt, that is well thought of, as Palin is here: you and Palin go and see if the house near Furnival's inn is fit for setting fire to." They went (Palin and Brunt), and reported it would make a d—d good fire. Thistlewood talked of getting means for a treat on Tuesday and Wednesday. Brunt said, he would be d—d but he would contribute the only 1*l*. note he had earned for a long time. They proposed the White Hart for the house. Thistlewood proposed his own room, but afterwards thought it would not do, as it might lead to suspicion. This was all on the Sunday morning. On Monday morning they met again. Witness then told them what Hobbes told him on Sunday night, of inquiries made respecting radical meetings at his house, and that information was given at Bow-street office, and at lord Sidmouth's office. Harrison turned round on witness like a lion, and said, "Adams, you have acted d—d wrong." Brunt said so too, and added, "whatever you have to communicate you have no business to communicate but to me and to Thistlewood." Wit-

ness said, it concerned all, and he should tell all of it. They repeated the same observations. They talked of calling a meeting of the Mary-le-bone union, as they wanted some money; and Brunt said, it would be of no use for that purpose. Witness and Potter went in the evening to the White Hart. Palin and Bradburn joined them. Next morning they were there too, and with them Thistlewood, Tidd, Ings, Harrison, and Brunt. Edwards came and told them there was to be a cabinet dinner next night. Thistlewood said he did not think it was true. A newspaper was sent for, and read by Thistlewood. He then read that they were to dine at lord Harrowby's, Grosvenor-square. Brunt then said, "I'll be d—d if I don't believe there is a God. I have often prayed that he would bring all these thieves together, in order to destroy them. He has answered my prayer." Thistlewood proposed that they should form a committee and sit immediately. Witness took the chair. Thistlewood proposed immediately a fresh plan to be formed respecting the assassination. Witness expressed a hope that they had paid due consideration to what he said yesterday. All got into confusion. Harrison said, "D—n that man who attempted to throw cold water on the plan, but he would run him through with the sword." Witness left the chair, and Tidd took it. Brunt moved that a watch should be set on the earl of Harrowby's house that night. The object was to see if any men or soldiers went into earl Harrowby's. Two were to go at six, to be relieved at nine, and they were to continue till twelve. The watch

was to be resumed at four next morning. Thistlewood said, he hoped they would be satisfied that no officers or soldiers went in. They would do what they had determined to-morrow evening : and added, that it would answer their purpose much better than to attack their houses separately, when only two or three could be got together. Here they would have 14 or 16 ; a rare haul to murder them all. " I propose," continued he, " when the door is opened, to rush in, seize the servants, present pistols, and threaten to kill them if they make any noise ; two to take the entrance to the stairs upwards, and two others to the stairs at the lower part of the house, armed with blunderbusses and hand grenades : and if any attempt to pass, to throw hand grenades and destroy them all. Others are to go where the ministers are, to murder them all. If there shall be any good men, kill them for keeping bad company." All agreed. Ings said, he would go first, with a brace of pistols and knives. The two swordsmen would cut off all their heads, and Castlereagh's and Sidmouth's should be flung in a bag by themselves. He added, " I shall say, my lords, I have got as good men here as the Manchester yeomanry ; enter, citizens, and do your duty." Harrison and witness were to beswordsmen. After the execution of lord Harrowby, at his house, Harrison proposed that some should go to King-street barracks, and set fire to the premises by throwing fire into the straw in the stable. Harrison and Wilson were to go to Gray's-Inn-lane, and in case they could not carry the cannon out of the military school, they were to wait till

a party come to assist them. Thence they were to proceed to the artillery barracks, to assist Cooke in taking the cannon there. If they found their strength sufficient to proceed, they were to advance to the mansion house. and plant three of the cannon on each side of the mansion-house, and to demand it. If it were refused, they were to fire, and then it would be given up. The mansion-house was to be made the seat for the provisional government. The bank of England was next to be taken. They would take the books, which would enable them to see further into the villainy of the government. The further parts of the plan were delayed till Wednesday. They agreed upon a sign and countersign. The word was " button ;" the man who came up was to say b-u-t, the other was to reply t-o-n. Being asked as to the watch, witness said, there are other things which I wish to state. I went there next morning, and found Edwards, Ings, and Hall, making fuses for the hand-grenades. Davidson went on watch at six. Witness and Brunt went to relieve the watch. They saw Davidson in the square, on the watch. They went into a public-house, where Brunt played dominoes with a young man. About 11, they went out into the square, and walked for some time, till witness got ashamed of himself. They went away at 12 o'clock. He went next day to Fox-court, between two and three. He found Brunt there. Strange came in, and in a few minutes after, two more strangers. Strange and another were trying the flints. They went into a back room to avoid the strangers, where witness

saw

saw cutlasses, blunderbusses, &c. Thistlewood, Ings, and Hall came in. Thistlewood said, "Well, my lads, this looks like something to be done." He touched witness on the shoulder, and asked how he was. Witness replied, that he was very unwell, and in low spirits. Thistlewood sent for beer and gin. Thistlewood then wanted some paper to write bills on. Witness said cartridge paper would do. The paper was brought, and table and chair were got. The bills were then written; they were to be set on the houses, to let the people know what had been done. Thistlewood read as part, "Your tyrants are destroyed—the friends of liberty are called upon to come forward—the provisional government is now sitting. James Ings, secretary. February 23d." Thistlewood was much agitated, and could write only three. Another bill was written, which was an address to the soldiers. Another person was employed to write it, and Thistlewood dictated to him. He saw Ings in the room while the bills referred to were writing. Ings was engaged in preparing himself as to the manner in which the ministers were expected to be assembled. He put a belt round his waist, in each side of which he placed a brace of pistols. He also had a cutlass by his side, and a bag on each of his shoulders, somewhat in the way that soldiers carry their haversacks. When thus equipped he exclaimed, "D—n my eyes, I am not complete yet;" on which he took out a large knife, which he brandished as if he were proceeding to cut off heads. He then said that he meant to cut off and put the heads of lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth into the two bags

which he carried, and also to cut off the right hand of lord Castlereagh, with a view to cure and preserve it, as it might be thought a good deal of at some future time. The knife which he brandished had a broad blade, and was about twelve inches long; all round the handle a wax end was twisted, which, as Ings said, would enable him to keep a firmer hold of it. They began to leave the room about half-past four or five, to go about the business. Palin came in half an hour before. Palin said they ought to be aware of what they were about, and to think within themselves whether they were to do their country service or not, and whether the assassination would be countenanced by their country. If they thought their country would join them, then the man who flinched should be run through on the spot. Unless they came to this determination, they would do no good. A tall man came in, and asked what the business they were about was. Witness had never seen him before. The tall man said, if they were to serve their country, he was their man, and if any one was afraid of his life, he ought to have nothing to do with such a concern as that. Thistlewood was then gone. Brunt was told, that inquiries were made by some who were present, as to the plan they were about. Brunt said, that was not the room for telling that; but they should go with him and they would know. Brunt proposed spirits; and the tall man cautioned against drunkenness, as ruinous to a cause like that. They went along the street, two and two, and at some distance, that they might not be observed. There was a cupboard

in the room, used for swords, hand-grenades, and flannel bags for cartridges, one of which was full. The rest of the arms were in Tidd's rooms; that was the depôt. Thistlewood was always in a hurry to carry every thing that was got ready into the depôt, lest any officer should see it. Witness carried a brass barrelled blunderbuss. There were pikes made of old files. Witness as he went on missed all his associates. He returned back, and met Brunt, who returned with him along the Edgeware-road, till they met Thistlewood. They went all together to the stable in Cato-street. Witness staid behind till Harrison came up, and made him go in. He saw there, Davidson and Wilson below, Thistlewood, Ings, Hall, Bradburn, Strange, Cooper, the tall man, and others, above. There were, as Thistlewood calculated, at least, 18 above, and two below.—There was a bench above and arms on it. Some beer was standing on the table. There were lights. There was a chest. Before Tidd came, Thistlewood went out for some time. Witness heard a deal of talk below, and he found Thistlewood, Brunt, Harrison, Davidson, and Wilson. They spoke of the good news; they heard that the carriages were arriving at lord Harrowby's as fast as they could. Witness went up to the loft, and saw Thistlewood and Brunt much agitated. They spoke of Tidd's absence. Brunt pledged his word that he would come. He soon afterwards came. Thistlewood said, "I hope you will not give up what you are going to do; if you do, this will be another Despard's business." He then counted 20 persons, and said that was

enough; 14 would be sufficient to go into the room, and the other six would take care of the servants and doors. They then set apart 14. The gin bottle was then started. Thistlewood said, if lord Harrowby had 16 servants, that was nothing, as they would not be prepared. A noise was heard below. Thistlewood took a candle and looked down to see who they were, and then set down the candle quite confused, according to witness's judgement. Two officers took command of the room, holding small pistols, and said, "A pretty nest there is of you. We have got a warrant to apprehend you all, and hope you will go peaceably." A man who was on the step of the ladder said, "Let me come forward." This was the man murdered. A group of persons had got into the little room, and then came forward, and one of them stretched forward an arm; witness saw nothing in it; another presented a pistol. The man fell. It was impossible for him to give a particular account of the other transactions. He got away, went home, was apprehended on the Friday, and remained in custody since. He identified Davidson, Wilson, Brunt, Ings, Cooper, Harrison, Tidd. There were two he did not know. They were again called forward; he said he could not swear to them. He was sent forward near the dock, but he said he did not know them. One of them, he said, he saw at the meeting.

Joseph Hall, an apprentice to Brunt, John Hector Morrison, James Aldons, Thomas Hydon, were examined, and corroborated the former evidence.

The earl of Harrowby stated the cir-

circumstance of his receiving intimation of the intended assassination.

John Monument, and Thomas Dwyers, who had turned king's evidences, and several of the Bow-street officers, were examined.

The various articles found in Cato-street, the belt found on Tidd, together with all the other arms and ammunition found on the persons of the prisoners, and at their lodgings, were then produced, and identified by the witnesses. The fire arms were loaded till yesterday, when the charges were drawn—they were loaded with ball. One of the grenades had been given to a person by an order of colonel Congreve to be examined. The production of Ings's knife excited an involuntary shudder; it was a broad desperate-looking weapon.

The jury inspected the arms separately, and particularly the pikes, the construction and formation of which were minutely described. The whole had a most formidable appearance.

[Some other witnesses were examined, but their evidence was not material.]

Serjeant Edward Hanson, of the royal artillery, examined by Mr. Gurney.—I examined one of the grenades, produced to me at Bow-street. It is composed of a tin case, in which a tube is soldered. The case contains three ounces and a half of gunpowder; the priming in the tube is a composition of saltpetre, powder, and brimstone; the tin was pitched and wrapped round with rope-yarn, which was cemented with rosin and tar. Round the tin, and the rope-yarn, 12 pieces of iron were planted. From the lighting

of the fuse to the explosion might take about half a minute. If one of them were to be exploded in a room where there were a number of persons, it would produce great destruction. The pieces of iron would fly about like bullets.

After the conviction of Thistlewood, all the prisoners were tried, and found guilty on the same evidence. They severally addressed the jury in their defence.

James Wilson, J. Harrison, R. Bradburn, J. S. Strange, J. Gilchrist, and C. Cooper, were then placed at the bar, and permitted to plead guilty.

On Friday morning, soon after nine o'clock, the lords chief justices of the court of king's bench and common pleas, the chief baron Richards, Mr. justice Best, and Mr. justice Richardson, took their seats on the bench. The prisoners were then placed at the bar, and called in order by Mr. Shelton to urge what they had to say, why sentence of death should not be passed upon them.

After each of the prisoners had severally addressed the court, the lord chief justice Abbott put on that solemn part of the judicial insignia, the black velvet cap, and proceeded to pass the sentence of the court, viz.

"That you return to the jail from whence you came, and from thence be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution, there to be hung by the neck till you are dead;—your heads cut off, and your bodies divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his majesty shall think proper. And I pray to God to have mercy on your souls."

29.—The common serjeant, in consequence



consequence of having been written to by the lord chancellor, made his report to the king in council of the eleven men convicted under the late special commission. After two hours deliberation, and hearing the report of the trials, the following were ordered for execution on Monday morning, in front of Newgate, viz. Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, John Thomas Brunt, Richard Tidd, and William Davidson. The remaining six, who pleaded guilty to their indictments, were respited. On Mr. Brown, the keeper, communicating the fatal news, Thistlewood immediately (and in the calmest manner) said, "The sooner we go, sir, the better. Our wish is to die as soon as possible." The others expressed the same sentiments. Being asked if they wished for the assistance of a clergyman, no answer was made by either. Mr. Brown then went to the other prisoners, and informed them that their lives would be spared;—Strange, Cooper, Bradburn, and Gilchrist, immediately fell on their knees, and, after a pause, gave utterance to incoherent and unintelligible expressions of gratitude. Harrison and Wilson were silent, and apparently unmoved.—Gilchrist has been respited, without mention of the commutation of punishment; but Harrison, Wilson, Cooper, Strange, and Bradburn, are to be transported for life.

The preparations for the execution were going on during the whole of Sunday, and the Old Bailey was crowded with spectators.

On Monday morning, as early as five o'clock, the Old Bailey was crowded to excess, and as the

time approached for the criminals to be brought out, the adjacent streets, the windows and roofs of the houses, even to the chimnies, were completely filled.

The arrangements for the preservation of the peace were complete. Bodies of life guards were stationed in the Old Bailey, Newgate-street, Ludgate-hill, and other places adjacent, and six pieces of artillery, with about 100 artillerymen, were placed in the centre of Blackfriars-road, about 300 yards beyond the bridge. The civil power was also in great force. The scaffold was lined with black cloth, and on one part immediately behind the drop, five coffins of plain wood were placed, together with a block, on which to lay the heads of the criminals for the purpose of decapitation.

At an early hour the five criminals were brought from their cells and placed in a room together, where they were attended by Mr. Cotton, the ordinary, who, with other gentlemen, was unceasing in his efforts to awaken in their minds some sense of religion. These humane endeavours were, however, fruitless with all but Davidson; who prayed most fervently. He took a glass of wine early in the morning, and also received the sacrament. The others repeatedly refused.

When the irons were displaced, and their hands secured in the usual way, the prisoners were led to the entrance of the prison; and, at a quarter before eight o'clock exactly, Thistlewood came on the scaffold. He walked with a firm step, and appeared perfectly collected. He looked round upon the crowd and bowed twice. His demeanour

demeanour was serious, and becoming his situation. While the final arrangements were making by the executioner, Mr. Cotton stood beside the wretched man, and continued exhorting him to pray, and also put the question, if he repented of his crimes; he exclaimed several times, "No; not at all!" He was also heard to say, "I shall soon know the last grand secret."

Tidd was the next brought up. He ran swiftly up the steps, and bowed around with a hardened smile. There was a partial cheering when he made his appearance.

Ings then came out. The conduct of this man was truly horrible. The moment he had taken his station, he moved his head to and fro, and cried, "huzza!" three times. He then commenced singing, "O give me death or liberty!" Here there was a partial cheering from the top of the Old Bailey. He continued now and then exclaiming—"Here we go, my lads—you see the last remains of James Ings—remember, I die the enemy of tyranny, and would sooner die in chains, than live in slavery." When Mr. Cotton addressed him, he said laughingly, "I am not afraid to go before God and man;" then addressing himself to the executioner, he exclaimed—"Now, old man, finish me tidy! Put the halter a little tighter, it might slip!" He then, as well as he could, waved a handkerchief three times; and said, he hoped Mr. Cotton would give him a good character.

Davidson, the man of colour, came out next. His behaviour presented a gratifying contrast to that of his companions. His deportment was mild, yet firm, and

he prayed with great fervency. When he stepped upon the scaffold, he said to those within, "God bless you all! good bye." He joined in the Lord's prayer, and said, "God bless the king!" He repeatedly expressed great penitence for his crimes.

Brunt came out last. He said very little, but was as hardened as any of the rest. He said just before he came out, that he had no snuff box, but he had some snuff in his waistcoat pocket, and requested some stander-by to get some out for him, as his hands were tied. This was done, and he took it with great coolness. He said he wondered where they would put him, but he supposed it would be somewhere that he would sleep well. He added, that he would make a present of his body to king George the fourth.

Thistlewood, just before he was turned off, said, in a low tone to a person under the scaffold—"I have now but a few moments to live, and I hope the world will think that I have at least been sincere in my endeavours."

Tidd said to Ings, about the same moment,—"How are you, my hearty?"

At about six minutes after eight the signal was given by Mr. Cotton, and the unhappy men were launched into eternity. Thistlewood died almost without a struggle. Ings struggled extremely, and appeared to suffer much. It is a remarkable fact, that just as the fatal signal was about to be given, Ings was observed to join Davidson in prayer.

When the bodies had been suspended half an hour, the executioner and an assistant appeared on the scaffold to prepare for the revolting

volting ceremony of decapitation. Thistlewood was first cut down, and being placed with his head on the block, a man disguised in a rough jacket and trowsers, and a mask on his face, appeared with his amputating knife, and the head was almost momentarily severed from the body, and given to the executioner's assistant, who held it up by the hair, and turning north and south, and then to the front of the scaffold, he exclaimed three times, "This is the head of Arthur Thistlewood, a traitor." The body with the head was then placed in a coffin.—The same ceremony was performed with Tidd, Ings, Davidson, and Brunt in succession.—The operation was performed with great skill, and in as short a time as possible. The operator was loudly hissed by the mob, and some atrocious expressions were applied to him. The universal groan, accompanied by some female shrieks, when he first commenced upon Thistlewood, had an awful effect. The bodies were soon after removed to a room in the prison.

When the malefactors first appeared on the scaffold, there was a signal given, upon which the troops stationed in the adjacent streets drew as close as possible to the place of execution. We are happy to state that there was not the slightest indication of disorder amongst the people, and they dispersed quietly after the dreadful scene had finally closed.

Part of the railing of St. Sepulchre's church fell, on which a great number of people of both sexes had climbed. Several were severely hurt. It was a matter of much surprise that an extraordi-

nary number of women, some of them well dressed, were present at this most awful exhibition.

Five of the men who pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, viz. Wilson, Strange, Harrison, Cooper, and Bradburn, were removed from Newgate to Portsmouth, on Tuesday, to be transported to New South Wales for life.

### MAY.

Authentic accounts from France communicate the particulars of a barbarous attempt upon the life of the duchess de Berri; and, through her, upon the existence of the reigning house of Bourbon. It is stated, that on the 6th at night, soon after twelve o'clock, a man made his appearance very silently at the wicket of the Rue de l'Echelle, near the windows of that part of the Thuilleries where the duchess de Berri resides, and placed there a petard containing one or two pounds of gunpowder, the match of which he ignited by means of a lighted segar. He was then immediately seized by the police agents, placed in concealment near the spot by count Angles, the prefect of police; who, it appears, had previous information of what was to take place.—The name of the man thus taken into custody is Graviers, and he was formerly an officer in the 5th regiment of lancers: he is said to have made disclosures, in consequence of which three other individuals were arrested early the next morning.

Discontents, fomented by the inveterate enemies of the Bourbons, and made greater by the irritating conduct of those who profess to be their friends, increase in

in Paris; the worst political symptoms show themselves, and the night patrol service is now performed by mounted grenadiers of the royal guard, upon whose fidelity the greatest reliance is placed. The effect of mental anxiety is visible in the king. The duke d'Angoulême has, it is asserted, not been received very courteously in his progress throughout the southern provinces.

#### SPAIN.

On the 4th ult. Cadiz was the scene of an interesting spectacle—the triumphal entry of Quiroga, the great author of their restored liberties, into the city. Quiroga was drawn, in a kind of open car, into the square of the constitution, which is in the heart of the city, and there crowned with laurel amid the shouts and benedictions of his fellow-citizens.

The king has issued a decree, permitting the return to Spain of the persons called “Josephinos;” in other words, those who followed the fortunes of Joseph Buonaparte.

The king of Spain, to gratify his troops, has declared himself the first soldier in the nation; and has appointed as his aides-de-camp eight of the most popular generals, including Quiroga, Riego, O'Donohue, and Ballasteros.

Ferdinand has issued two decrees; one of which orders, that all children shall be taught the “sovereignty of the people!” the other is for organizing a national militia.

An important proclamation has been addressed by Ferdinand to his American subjects. Its main object is, to produce a reconciliation between the colonies, now

fighting for independence, and the parent country.

Mina has received a reprimand from the Provisional Junta, for having undertaken to raise troops in Navarre, and levy arbitrary contributions.

#### PRUSSIA.

Letters from Berlin of the 14th ult. state, that on the preceding day a tumult of a very formidable nature occurred in that city. About 300 individuals of the working classes—by what motives impelled, or by whom instigated, is not known—suddenly made an attack on the guard house, which was occupied at the time by not more than thirty soldiers. It was not till two or three detachments of the military had been brought against them, that the insurgents were reduced to submission; when several of the ringleaders were secured and thrown into prison.

#### RUSSIA.

The emperor Alexander has taken the resolution of banishing the whole body of Jesuits from his dominions; and confiscating their property, whether in land or money, to pious and charitable uses. The reason of this is, their repeated abuse of the toleration they enjoyed.

#### ASIA, &c.

Letters from St. Helena, dated March 26, have been received by the Waterloo. Buonaparte was enjoying excellent health. He continued to occupy himself in the mornings by working in the garden; and, as he wore a white jacket and straw hat, was not to be distinguished, except on a very close approach, from his servants.

#### AMERICA.

American papers confirm the statement

statement of the death of commodore Decatur, who was mortally wounded, on the 22d, in a duel with commodore Barron, also of the United States' navy, and expired the same evening.

The question relative to the cession of the Floridas has been put off until the next session of the congress, as appears by the president's message to congress. New York papers of recent date, however, say, that general Vives, the new Spanish minister, had, immediately on his arrival, delivered in to the government the Florida treaty, ratified by king Ferdinand, without any restrictive conditions.

The senate of the United States have passed their new navigation act, with only one dissentient voice. The purpose of the act is avowed: it is to coerce Great Britain into a relaxation of her own navigation act, as it affects her colonies. To this end, the American legislature declares, that, as we will not admit their shipping to the ports of our colonies, they will not admit any British shipping from those colonies to the ports of the United States.

On the 4th of April the theatre at Philadelphia was totally destroyed by fire: it is supposed, by incendiaries.

Advices from Rio Janeiro bring the information that Artigas, the independent chief on the banks of the Rio Plata, had a battle in December last, with the Portuguese; when it is said he was defeated with the loss of 1300 men.—The Spanish patriotic governments in that quarter are stated to be literally falling to pieces from disunion among themselves.

Letters from the head-quarters of general Bolivar state, that the independent general Paez lost his life while in the act of forcing an important pass. He was immediately succeeded by general Soule tree.

Letters from Monte Video, dated 6th of February, communicate the important intelligence, that a revolution had taken place at Buenos Ayres. This important change, it is said, was occasioned by the entrance of the monteneros, or Indian mountaineers, commanded by colonel Bustos, who were previously joined by the forces under general Belgrano. The supreme director, Puerreydon, having no force sufficiently numerous to render opposition likely to be attended with success, fled from the place, taking refuge on board the American sloop of war John Adams. It is stated further, that the British vessels of war on that station had approached as near as possible to Buenos Ayres to afford protection to British persons and property. A new constitution, termed Federal, had been formed, and all the old members of the government displaced, and other persons had been nominated to discharge their several functions.

A new island has been discovered off Cape Horn, in latitude 61 deg. longitude 55 deg. by the ship William, on a voyage from Monte Video for Valparaiso. The same ship having been dispatched by captain Sheriff, of the Andromache frigate, to survey the coast, explored it for 200 miles. The captain went ashore, and found it covered with snow, and uninhabited: abundance of seals and whales were found in its neighbourhood:

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He has named the island New Shetland.

23.—An occurrence, we believe unparalleled in the annals of this country, took place at Stopsley, in Bedfordshire. A man named Bean, by trade a wheelwright, took out his two children, one aged about three years, and the other about fourteen months, in a small child's chaise cart, into a lane, at a short distance from his house; where, having almost severed their heads from their bodies with a razor, he cut his own throat with it.

29.—A dwelling-house, and the furniture therein, with a range of farm buildings, nine cows, a horse and several sheep, belonging to a tenant of sir Wm. Napier's, bart. in Renfrewshire, were all destroyed by fire; supposed to be the act of an incendiary, from political disaffection against the landlord and tenant, on account of the active part they took in the armed associations of the district.

So serious is the depression in the price of wool, that farmers who sold it at this time last year at 24*l.* per pack, can now obtain 19*l.* only for it.

In the course of the last two years, it is said, the woollen manufacture of Yorkshire has declined, from a fifth to a fourth part of its entire amount—a depression wholly unprecedented.

A site has been fixed upon for the erection of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; but the probable expense of completing it requiring a sum little short of twenty thousand pounds more than the Fitzwilliam fund is competent to defray, an application is to be made to the university, to contribute the sum necessary for its completion.

1.—The dowager duchess of

Norfolk's fine coppice-wood at Brockhampton, Herefordshire, was set fire to, and nearly consumed.

*Oxford, May. 3.*

The vice-president and fellows of Magdalen College went in procession from St. Mary's church to the dissolved college of Hertford, for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of the new buildings intended for the future residence of the members of Magdalen hall: the principal and vice principal of that society were also in the procession. The stone was laid by the rev. T. N. Blagden, B.D. vice-president of Magdalen college, assisted by the architect, Mr. Garbett, of Winchester, and by the builder, Mr. Evans, of London, who bore the level. The vice-chancellor and proctors, attended by the esquire and yeomen bedels, were present on the occasion. Hertford college having escheated to the crown, his present majesty, when regent, was graciously pleased, in the name and on behalf of the late king, to direct a grant of the site, with all the property attached to it, including an excellent library of books, to be made to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university, in trust for the principal and other members of Magdalen hall for ever.

A brass plate was placed in the centre of the foundation stone, on which was engraved the following inscription:

In honorem Dei  
Bonarumque literarum profectum

Imum hunc lapidem  
Aulæ Magdalenensis  
Regis Georgii Quarti auspiciis  
In alia sede renovatæ  
Collegium Magdalenense

P. C.

7. — Amongst other benefits which promise to attend the contemplated improvements on Dartmoor, is a recent discovery, that its peat may be converted into gas, which produces a light not to be excelled in brilliancy; it is perfectly free from disagreeable smells, and apparently not at all dangerous in its use.

3.—His majesty held a court at his palace, in Pall Mall, principally for the purpose of receiving addresses of condolence, &c. from the lieutenancy of the city of London; the body of the dissenting ministers of the three denominations; and the society of friends, commonly called quakers; and all of them, being their first addresses since the king's accession, his majesty received on the throne.

4.—The anniversary festival of "The Literary Fund" was celebrated in Freemasons' Hall: when the earl of Blessington took the chair, supported on his right by the earl of Pomfret, and on his left by lord Bolton. There were between two and three hundred gentlemen in the hall.

"The health of his most excellent majesty the king," was the first sentiment given from the chair.

W. T. Fitzgerald, esq. was then called on by the noble chairman to favour the society, for the 24th time, with some occasional lines, in the recitation of which he was greatly applauded.

Mr. Braham, upon the invitation of the noble chairman, then sung four stanzas, which had been written for the occasion by Mr. Fitzgerald.

An able, clear, succinct, and most encouraging report of the

funds of the institution was now made by the rev. Dr. R. Yeates. His most gracious majesty, the society's patron, had recently made his 29th half-yearly payment, making 3000*l.* in the whole.

After an eloquent oration on the merits of the marquis of Hastings, earl Spencer, the earl of Chichester, and the remainder of the vice-presidents, the chairman gave their united healths, and C. Monroe, esq. vice president returned thanks.

The noble chairman presented to the company an Icelandic translation of Milton in manuscript as presented to the society by the author, in acknowledgement of their benefaction to him.

Mr. Fitzgerald here stated, that the translation was considered to be excellent by those acquainted with it; and that, if acquired by earl Spencer, or placed in the library of the British Museum, it would be deemed an invaluable acquisition. [With regret we add, that the learned and most indefatigable translator is since dead.]

10.—This being the day appointed for his majesty to hold his first levee since his accession to the throne, it was the most numerously attended of any that ever was recollected; all ranks being desirous to have the honour of being present at the first levee of his majesty king George IV. to express their attachment to his person and government; and upon this occasion all present had the honour to kiss the king's hand. Although the levee was not announced to begin till two o'clock, the company began to arrive soon after twelve; and by two about 500 had been set down. The company continued to arrive till near four,

four, when it was ascertained that there were near 1800; being about 300 more than were present at the first levee after his present majesty became regent.

In the court of king's bench, Robert Wedderburne, a man apparently of considerable talent, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Dorchester gaol, for uttering blasphemy at a chapel in Berwick-street, wherein he was a licensed preacher.—On the same day, eight venders of pamphlets, who had been convicted of selling seditious publications, were sentenced to short periods of imprisonment; the longest not exceeding two months.

15.—In the court of king's bench, judgement was pronounced upon Mr. Henry Hunt, and the other defendants convicted at the late assizes at York.

The sentence of the court was, that Mr. Hunt should be imprisoned in Ilchester gaol for the term of two years and six months. At the expiration of that time to find sureties for his good behaviour during a further term of five years, himself in 1,000*l.* and two other persons in 500*l.* each. Johnston, Healy, and Bamford, to be imprisoned in Lincoln gaol for the period of one year, and, at the expiration of that time, each to enter into sureties for his good behaviour during five years, himself in 200*l.* and two other persons in 100*l.* each.

The judgement of the court was also pronounced upon sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Harrison. Sir Charles Wolseley was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment in Abingdon gaol; at the expiration of that time to enter into sureties for his good behaviour, 1820.

himself in 1,000*l.* and two other persons in 500*l.* each. Mr. Harrison to be imprisoned for a term of eighteen months (to be computed from the expiration of his present imprisonment) in the castle of Chester; and, at the expiration of his imprisonment, to enter into securities for his good behaviour during five years, himself in 200*l.* and two other persons in 100*l.* each.

25.—The report of the last year's proceedings of the society for promoting the enlargement and building of churches and chapels, after noticing the exertions and progress of the society, states, that 211 applications had been received; 120 were under consideration; not within consideration 10; and that 111 grants had been made for enlarging, building, repairing, and giving free seats. The grants amounted to 29,347*l.* and increased accommodation had been given for 36,557 persons, of which there were 26,886 free sittings.

## JUNE.

### FRANCE.

From a work lately published by the academy of sciences in Paris, it appears, that Paris contains 714,000 inhabitants, of which 25,000 are not domiciled. The consumption of bread annually is 113,880,000 kilogrammes; of oxen, 70,000; of heifers, 9000; of calves, 78,000; of sheep, 34,000; of swine, 72,000; of eggs, 74,000,000; of pigeons, 900,000; of fowls, 1,200,000; of wine, 870,000 hectolitres.

On the trial of Louvel for the murder of the duc de Berri, he fully confessed the crime with which he was charged, but strongly denied having any accomplice.

(E) —The



—The next day his counsel pleaded, in his defence, that he was afflicted with mental alienation : they invoked the king's clemency. On being asked what he had to say in his own behalf, Louvel read an outrageous tirade against the royal family. He was then taken to prison, and shortly after decreed sentence of death, which was signified to him. Louvel was executed in the midst of an immense crowd on the 7th instant in the evening. For some time after his execution, the most perfect calmness prevailed, especially in the neighbourhood of the chamber of deputies, where the tumultuous had hitherto assembled. The troops were drawn off, and all promised tranquillity ; but this was deceitful. About half past eight, an assemblage of several hundreds of persons appeared suddenly on the Boulevards of the Capuchins, all armed with bludgeons. They marched *en masse* on the causeway, crying "*Vive la charte !*" and crying also "*Vive l'Empereur !*"—Acclamations more culpable yet were heard ; they were of so atrocious a nature, that the editor says he dares not repeat them. This seditious assemblage traversed the Boulevards to the gate of St. Denis, without meeting a sufficient force to disperse it ; still augmenting, it found no obstacle until arrived at the entrance of the Boulevards Bonne Nouvelle, where a mounted picquet of the national guard in vain endeavoured to oppose its progress ; but a detachment of dragoons of the royal guard, and of gendarmerie on horseback, having overtaken them near the Chateau d'Eau, dispersed them. Several were arrested ;

the others fled in all directions. At ten o'clock all was tranquil, and continued so during the next day.

Among the persons arrested, there are several of considerable note. The Journal de Paris mentions generals Solignac and Freysinet, and colonels Duvergier and Barbier Dufay. The officer last mentioned is the same individual who acquired such notoriety by his unfortunate affair with the late count St. Morys. The police had been in quest of him for several days, and discovered him accidentally in the midst of the crowd collected to witness the execution of Louvel.

The Paris papers of the 15th inst. inform us of the temporary cessation of the attempts of the seditious ; but that the increased measures of precaution were vigorously continued. The mob began to form again on the Saturday evening ; but, finding themselves soon surrounded on all sides by the military, they precipitately retreated and dispersed. On Sunday the tranquillity of the capital was not disturbed ; but the precautions of the civil and military powers were nevertheless deemed necessary to be continued. Marshal Oudinot was severely wounded in one of the late affrays.

The election law has been carried by a majority of 57 votes.

Private letters assert, that serious disturbances have taken place at Lyons ; wherein the Swiss troops, who acted against the people, lost near 300 killed and wounded.

On the 16th inst. in the discussion of the budget, in the chamber of deputies, the sum of 22,600,000 francs was granted for the established clergy of the church of Rome ;

Rome; and that of 600,000 francs for the protestant clergy, with the addition of 60,000 francs for the repair of protestant churches. "The protestant religion," said the minister of the interior, "is organized in fifty departments of France; it is celebrated in 200 churches or places of worship, the greater part of which are in want of repair. There are many places where, for want of churches, the service of religion is celebrated in the open air."

Some disturbances have occurred at Brest, of a character similar to those which agitated the capital; but at Brest, as at Paris, the active zeal and energy of the troops quickly dispersed the rioters, and restored tranquillity. The towns of Caen and Rennes were also disturbed for some short time with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur! A bas Louis!* Some persons have been arrested.

On the 18th Louis XVIII. was waited upon by a deputation from the municipality of Paris, with an address expressive of their loyalty and attachment, which concluded with these words:—"Sire, clemency is in your heart, prudence in your counsels; but it is by justice and firmness that states are maintained."—To this his majesty made the following reply:—"I am sensibly affected with the sentiments which you have expressed to me in the name of my good city of Paris, on an occasion at once so afflicting, and auspicious. Agitators, unworthy of being Frenchmen, have dared, in order to excite commotions, to abuse the name of that charter which is dearer to me than to them. Disasters have resulted from their conduct, which I deeply deplore;

but these efforts have only had the effect of displaying the good discipline of my troops and the attachment of my subjects; and especially of that populous suburb in which I so often witness such warm demonstrations of love to the laws, and, I may venture to say, to my person. Assure the inhabitants of the capital of my regard towards them; and of my constant care to maintain that tranquillity, now so happily re-established, and which I hope will not in future be disturbed."

The *Courier Français* states, that the theatre of Nantz has been closed by authority; and several provincial journals mention reports of tumults that have taken place in various parts of France.

The *Gazette de France* says, that a very extraordinary appeal has been made to the French tribunals, by a man named J. Castel, who was a merchant in Hamburgh while it was in the hands of the French. This man says, that he was employed by the general commanding there to get English bank-notes to the value of 5000*l.* discounted, which turned out to be forged; and he was consequently obliged to fly from Hamburgh.—He now says that Savary (duke of Rovigo) and Desnouettes (head of Bonaparte's police) were the fabricators of these notes; that they employed persons to spread them in England, one of whom was seized by the London police, and hanged.

#### SPAIN.

The king of Spain has ordered the troops composing the army of Andalusia to be organized into one *corps d'armée*, under the command of O'Donoju. Quiroga is to be his second in command, and

Arco Arguero to be at the head of the staff. A decree is published in the Madrid gazette, confirming that of the Cortes, dated the 26th of May 1816, ordering all municipal bodies to suppress and destroy all the signs of vassalage which are any where to be found.

Don Raphael Riego has published a letter, in which he states, that when the king appointed him to the rank of major-general, he declined the preferment in the following manner :—"I resolved to relieve your majesty, and other nations, from the chains which ignorance and egotism have forged : the result having been what I aimed at--the establishment of civil liberty--my ambition is satiated. The rank of lieutenant-colonel suffices me, and that which your majesty would confer might create jealousy. My king is happy--my country is free : be this my sole reward." His majesty would not accept the refusal ; and Riego states, that he repeatedly urged it to the minister of the war department, from whom he received the following dispatch, dated Madrid, the 12th instant :—"I have laid before the king the fourth refusal that your very laudable moderation (which is so well allied to your merit) has induced you to make ; and his majesty orders me to inform you, that the country requiring your services in the post of major-general of the national armies, to which his royal goodness has raised you, he does not think proper to accept your refusal of it ; which I communicate to you by his majesty's command, for your information and satisfaction." "This being the case," concludes Riego, "that my conduct may not be mistaken

for pride, or some ill-disposed person represent it to his majesty as obstinate disobedience, I have resolved to accept the rank with which his majesty honours me, and in which I shall be equally the defender of the nation and of the king."

It is stated in the Madrid papers of the 18th of June, that about forty of the newly elected deputies assemble daily in Madrid, and have come to the resolution of proposing to the Cortes to proceed by criminal process against the sixty-nine deputies who, in 1814, demanded of the king that the constitution should be abolished ; but that should these sixty-nine deputies be condemned to death, they would then induce the Cortes to recommend to the king to commute the punishment.

#### ITALY.

Intelligence from the Ionian islands announces, that on the 21st of February last a terrible shock of an earthquake devastated the island of Santa Maura. The church, several public buildings, and almost all the houses, were demolished, and the roads destroyed. The damage done was immense. Accounts from Corfu, dated April 18, state, that a small island has emerged from the sea, off Santa Maura, which is attributed to the effect of the late subterranean commotion.

#### GERMANY.

*Frankfort, May 20.*

"Sandt, the assassin of Kotzebue, was executed this morning at five o'clock. So early as half past three o'clock, the infantry and cavalry, and almost the whole population of Mannheim, were in motion. Sandt was brought from the prison in an open carriage.

His

His countenance, which was very pale, had great expression. A smile was on his lips, and he went to meet death as we should go to a fête. He bowed with much grace to some ladies at a window, and who returned his salute with very evident marks of interest. When he reached the place of execution, which was in a very large plain, he mounted the scaffold immediately. His sentence was read to him; after which he made a speech. Not understanding German, I cannot communicate to you what he said. I observed, however, that he spoke with energy, and at the end raised one of his hands to heaven, exclaiming that he 'died for his country.' He did not accept the assistance of a minister of religion. The executioner took hold of him, and made him sit down in a chair fastened to a small post; he tied his hands, cut off some of his hair, and put a bandage over his eyes. In two minutes after he was no more. All the preparations for the execution were made very slowly. Every effort was made to prevent his sinking under the effects of the wounds which he had inflicted on himself; he was, in fact, very weak; so that he could not mount the scaffold without supporting himself on the shoulders of two persons; which makes the courage that he showed at his death the more extraordinary. He was beheaded with a sabre; and the executioner being obliged to make a second stroke, a general cry arose."

A great number of students from Heidelbergh, who travelled with all speed, to be present at his execution, only arrived at the moment when the executioner

was exhibiting the severed head. Several steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood. Sandt wore the Germanic costume.

In the night of March the 21st, a part of the mountain upon which the village of Strow in Bohemia was built, detached itself from the mass on twenty-three houses and two churches; sixteen were overthrown, and are in ruins. This accident appears to have been caused by the wet seasons which preceded the present, and to have been hastened in the last instance by the heavy snow of the winter.

#### RUSSIA.

An article, dated Hamburgh, the 13th inst. says, "His majesty the emperor of Russia has addressed a declaration to all the European courts, relative to the late political changes in Spain."

Accounts from St. Petersburg inform us, that on the 24th of May last a fire broke out in the imperial palace at Czarsozelo (situate about 14 English miles from the capital), which consumed a great part of that splendid edifice, together with the academy founded by the present emperor. His majesty was present during this painful scene, and animated the exertions of the engineers and military in extinguishing the flames.

#### ASIA.

Advices, dated the 18th of February, have been received from Bombay. The expedition to the Persian Gulf, under the command of sir William Keir, had completely succeeded in its object, the subjugation of the hordes of pirates on that coast. After placing a garrison in Rassas Khyma, and expelling them from all the adjacent ports, the armament was on its return to Bombay.

(E 3) Madras,

*Madras, Feb. 5.*

The expedition fitted out from Batavia on a grand scale for the reduction of Palambang, had arrived in the river, and made an attack on the batteries and defences of the sultan on the 21st of October last; but had been beaten off with a loss of one thousand Europeans. The following is a list of the Dutch vessels employed on this occasion:—Wilhelmina, Arinus Marinus, Ajax, Betsey, Prince Blucher, Waterbrak, Endrughot, corvettes; Irene, brig; Emma, schooner; two gun-boats, five prowes and junks with howitzers. The force which the Malays had to oppose to these consisted of three strong batteries on the banks of the river, and one on the island of Gombera; one large floating battery; and one ship-battery; strong piles were driven across the main stream: several immense rafts of timber on fire were also floated down the smaller channel upon the shipping with great effect. Some disturbance having taken place on the island of Banca, the Dutch resident who went out to quell them had been made prisoner by the insurgents, who afterwards cut off his head, and sent it in a basket as a present to the sultan of Palambang. Resistance had also been made against the Dutch authority at Rhio; and when the Dauntless left Malacca, it was supposed that they would be obliged to quit Bintang altogether.

A remarkable proof of the extravagance of fanaticism, and of the misery which it will induce human nature to endure, was given last summer (1819) by a Bania in Guzerat, of the Vohra caste. At their annual feast of

Pujoosun, this man expressed his determination to abstain from food till he died. He had previously fasted from the 26th of July to the 25th of August; from which date he took a small quantity of food during four days, and then commenced his total abstinence. In this resolution he persevered till the third day of October, when he died; having thus fasted sixty-six days, deducting the four in August. A small portion of hot water daily was the only thing that passed his lips. At the end he was, as may be imagined, extremely emaciated; but his senses remained perfect to the last moment of his existence. He consequently became a saint among the Banias.

#### AMERICA, &c.

The commercial distress in the United States has produced a great deficiency in the revenue; and the difference between the receipts and expenditure for the year 1820 was estimated at nearly four millions of dollars. A bill has in consequence been introduced, authorizing a loan of 2,000,000 dollars; the remainder to be taken from the sinking fund.

The Demarara gazette of the 27th of March announces the pleasing fact, that so flourishing is the state of the colony, that the government has reduced the duty on sugar, three-fourths; on rum, two-thirds; on molasses, almost four-fifths; on cotton, three-fourths; and on coffee, upwards of one-half.

Accounts received from Chili state, that Lord Cochrane had captured the Spanish ships *Agui-lo*, of 1,000 tons, and the *Vigonia*, of 700 tons, laden with ship-timber, cocoa, &c. in the *Guayaquil*

quil river. — A letter from the agent to Lloyd's at Santiago de Chili, dated Feb. 18, and received by the Hydra whaler, arrived at Plymouth, communicates the capture of the strong fortress of Valdivia. "It was attacked by lord Cochrane on the night of the 11th of Feb. with 240 soldiers of a Chili regiment, and sailors and marines of the frigate O'Higgins, brig Intrepid, and schooner Montezuma. By daylight, eight batteries were carried; and in the course of the ensuing morning, the town, castles, and fortresses, with 116 pieces of brass cannon, all the Spanish royal depôt, and 400 soldiers, were taken; the transport Dolves (cut out of Talcahuana), and a small vessel retaken. This was the only point the Spaniards had left in the state of Chili. The Aguilo and Vigonia had anchored at Valparaiso."

American papers have brought an account of the termination of the proceedings in congress, which adjourned on the 15th ult. to the second Monday in November. A bill imposing a duty of 18 dollars the ton, on all French vessels entering the ports of the United States, was hurried through both houses during the last two days of the sitting of congress. This act is to be in full operation on the 1st of next month; and is explained to have been enacted in consequence of the refusal of the French government, after a long negotiation, to enter into commercial arrangements, on reciprocal terms, with the government of the United States. Provision is made for its immediate repeal as soon as France shall adopt different principles.

Mr. Clay, the speaker of the house of representatives, though

his term of service is not completed, has retired from public life.

It appears from the American papers that all foreign vessels of war are prohibited from entering the ports of the United States, except Portland, Boston, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Smithville in North Carolina, Charleston, and Mobile, unless from stress of weather, or when pursued by an enemy.

By Quebec papers we learn, that a fire broke out at Montreal on the 4th of May, which destroyed the theatre and twenty-two houses.

The New York theatre was burnt to the ground on the 25th of May.

*Tortola, May 8.*

We have, since our late unfortunate gale, had a great drought; our crops are already spoiled for this and the ensuing year. Last year this island made from 2500 to 3000 hogsheads of sugar; this year it will not make 250 hogsheads. The earth is completely parched; and nothing that is put in it survives.

12.—This evening, about eight o'clock, a fire was discovered at a house in Short's-gardens, Drury-lane, and at the same time dreadful screams proceeded from an apartment occupied by a poor woman, named Sweeny, lodging on the first floor. The neighbours found her room door locked, and broke it open, when they found her little girl, a child about seven years old, in the fire, burnt in the most horrible manner. There was only a younger child in the room, the mother being gone to market. The chimney was on fire. The poor sufferer was taken to the hospital, where she expired.

(E 4) A youth,

A youth, named White, about thirteen years of age, son of a shoe-maker, in Highfriar-street, Newcastle, lately fell from the quay, nearly opposite the custom-house, into the river Tyne. Two sailors, from vessels lying near, soon jumped in to attempt his rescue; but neither being able to dive, their endeavours were fruitless. A young seaman, named Lewis, immediately plunged in, and succeeded in dragging the youth from the bottom. He had, however, been upwards of ten minutes in the water, and all appearance of animal life was entirely suspended. He was immediately taken to a suitable apartment in the Three Indian Kings Tavern, and a professional gentleman, named Dixon, was sent for, who had been eminently successful in restoring drowned persons to life, and who had in the same house, but a short time before, restored a person to life under similar circumstances. He soon arrived, and after proper preliminary treatment of the body, succeeded in inflating the lungs of the young man with his own mouth, before the apparatus for restoring drowned persons could be procured. In a short time his exertions to restore the suspended animation were crowned with success. A subscription was immediately set on foot to reward the young seaman who had rescued the youth from a watery grave.

22.—Yesterday the neighbourhood of Peter-street, Westminster, was thrown into considerable alarm by a party of Irishmen: it arose from a quarrel amongst a few, but their numbers increasing, it was found necessary to call out the police, and a detachment of life guards. The mob then took

refuge in a house in St. Ann's-court, and began pelting the officers and soldiers with bricks, tiles, &c. with which they had supplied themselves, having nearly unroofed the house for the purpose. It was not until the soldiers had forcibly broken open the door, and dragged several of them down stairs, that order was restored. Two of the constables were severely beaten. Nine of the ringleaders were apprehended.

On Thursday afternoon, as John Anderson, plumber, was at work on the top of the house of Mr. Baines, bookseller, Paternoster-row, the parapet gave way, and precipitated him into the street. He was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital, when it was discovered that one leg was so much shattered that amputation was necessary, and it is doubtful whether he will ever recover the use of the other.

Count Itterberg, son of Gustavus, the ex-king of Sweden, arrived at Bennett's hotel, Inverness, on the 7th inst. He is on a tour to view what is most remarkable in that part of the empire.

The late calamitous state of Ireland, owing to the stoppage of the different banks, exceeds all description. Business is at an end in the province of Munster, and, whole districts are nearly ruined. The butter trade, which promised to be very brisk in Cork and Waterford, is nearly suspended.

A letter from Dublin, dated June 12, says,—“We are here in a truly deplorable situation, in consequence of the failure of the banks. Heretofore the Dublin banks were considered impregnable; and, notwithstanding all the ruin and dismay in the country, there

there was no run upon any of them.—Things, however, are changed. Alexander's bank closed this morning. This failure, it is thought, will do more injury than all the others put together. Two curious anecdotes, illustrative of the distressed condition of Ireland at the present moment, are mentioned in conversation :—1st. Lately, a five-pound private note was offered in Cork for a leg of lamb, and refused.—2d. In Limerick, a man worth 1500*l.* or 1600*l.* a year, had asked a party to dinner. As for credit, it was out of the question; and if he could not pay the butcher, the poulterer, and pastrycook in cash, he could hope for nothing to lay before his friends. He was not without money, he had a 10*l.* national note. But who could give change for so mighty a paper? His only resource was, to write to his friends, very ingenuously describing to them his situation, and begging that they would defer their visit until he could procure either credit, or change of a 10*l.* note !”

Such were the deplorable accounts of the state of credit in Ireland; but we are happy to add, that confidence has been in a great measure restored by the promptitude of government in affording relief. The house of commons on June 17, agreed to a resolution, “That whatever sums may be advanced by the bank of Ireland to such merchants, &c. possessed of funds ultimately more than sufficient to answer all demands upon them, but who have not the means of converting those funds into money in time to meet the pressure of the moment, under the direction of commissioners, not exceeding

500,000*l.*, should be made good by this house, together with an interest at the rate of 5 per cent.”

17.—Hollybrookhouse, the seat of Richard Beecher, esq. in the county of Cork, was this week destroyed by fire; and a small part of the furniture only was saved.

Nearly 4000*l.* has been subscribed towards a new observatory at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Mostyn, bart. of Mostyn, has made a reduction to his tenants of 25 per cent. in their rents.

C. H. Leigh, esq. has upon a farm of his, near Pont-y-Pool, a very large hollow oak tree; in the cavity of which his tenant, Mr. Williams, has, during the winter, fed six or seven calves. Two gentlemen on horseback lately rode into it, one of whom turned his horse round, and came out again without dismounting.

2.—Between three and four, p. m. a vivid flash of lightning, instantaneously followed by a loud and terrific explosion, as of a large piece of ordnance, rather than the usual roar of a thunder clap, struck a large spreading elm tree growing in the village of Hardwick, Bucks, and descending by two of the principal branches, shattered and tore off one of them, and passing downward, left a track of its course by a broad furrow in the bark,—on one of the limbs on the south east side,—and on the other on the north side, and being attracted probably by the iron work affixed to the post of the parish stocks, about five or six feet from the trunk of the tree, also tore off one of the angles of that post from top to bottom.

24.—On account of a reduction in the wages of the colliers, great numbers



numbers in the neighbourhood of Wellington, in Shropshire, lately left their employment, and manifested a riotous disposition. The masters and men agreed to refer the matters in dispute to the magistrates; who decided in favour of the workmen; which immediately quieted all disturbances.

Sir W. J. Hope, one of the lords of the admiralty, accompanied by sir John Gore, the port admiral of Sheerness, is on a survey of the coasts of Kent and Sussex, in order to ascertain the expediency of continuing or relinquishing the establishment for the suppression of smuggling, denominated the coast blockade; the expense being found greatly to exceed the advantage derived from it, while the plan of preventive stations, besides being more efficacious in its object, more than pays the whole cost of its establishment.

A tradesman of Bristol was summoned lately before the mayor of that city, and fined, for suffering a bale of goods to remain on the pavement to the obstruction of the passengers; this he paid, and immediately after walked to the warehouse of the mayor, where he saw some soap boxes standing on the pavement, and laid an information at the council house; and the consequence was, that the mayor was also fined by his brother magistrates.

Mr. Joseph Hughes, of Hodnet, near the seat of lord Hill, at Hawkstone, Shropshire, has at this time an extraordinary cow, which is fed on grass only, that gives every day 24 quarts of milk, which as regularly produces 21 lbs. of butter every week!

The fine pheasantry in the gar-

den of T. Kingston, esq. at Carleton house, in Somersetshire, was last week maliciously set on fire, and all the birds cruelly burnt to death.

The following may be interesting to our agricultural readers at this season; as the expense of the practice must now be comparatively trifling, in consequence of the late act which reduced the duty on rock-salt used for agricultural purposes:—"As the season for hay-making is drawing near, we must beg leave to recommend the salting of ricks. I am persuaded few farmers are aware of the benefit arising from this practice, particularly in stacking in sultry weather. The salt preserves the hay from overheating and becoming mildewed. All kinds of cattle, &c. prefer inferior hay thus managed to the best that can be placed before them that has not been salted. The salt assimilates with the juices of the hay, and thereby prevents too great a fermentation, and by its soporific quality gives it a superior flavour. The proper way of using it is, in building the stack, to sprinkle the salt alternately between each layer of hay, in the proportion of one hundredweight to seven or eight tons."

James Moffat, alias M'Coul, the notorious associate of the late Hufsey White, has been found guilty before the court of justiciary at Edinburgh, of being concerned in breaking into and robbing the Paisley Union bank, on the 14th of July 1811, and sentenced to be executed at Edinburgh on the 26th of July.

To ensure correct returns of averages, the board of trade have directed country inspectors to post up

up in the market-places a duplicate copy of every return transmitted by them to the receiver of corn returns, in order to afford the means of detecting any error on the spot.

A large swarm of bees lately visited the Market-square at Shrewsbury, and many of them settled on the head of one of the dealers in vegetables. A serjeant of the militia immediately procured a broom, which he hoisted on his halbert, whilst a female sounded the usual music on such occasions; and in about half an hour the whole of the swarm were collected on the broom, to the great joy of the market people, and hived. A dispute then arose between the serjeant and the woman, respecting which had a right to the new colony, and the latter in a passion upset the whole, in consequence of which many of the bees were killed, but fortunately no person was stung. The serjeant again, with other assistance, restored the bees to the hive; after which it was taken to the mayor, the rev. H. Owen, by the contending parties; when it was claimed by his worship as lord of the manor of the town, to the mutual disappointment of the serjeant and his opponent.

1.—The books were opened at the bank of England this morning to receive subscriptions for the purpose of funding of exchequer bills to the amount of seven millions. It was completed in a few minutes only by ten houses. Before two o'clock in the morning there were crowds waiting outside of the bank. About six o'clock the outer doors were opened, when the monied men were accommodated in a passage leading to the secretary's office. At ten the

doors were opened, and as they entered each received a ticket. The fortunate holders of the first tickets were then called in, and when number nine had stated the amount required, it was found that only a hundred thousand remained. Number ten was then called, and completed the subscription. The others then departed greatly disappointed. The pressure, in gaining admission, exceeded all description. The crowd and consequent heat was excessive. Only about 200 succeeded in getting into the inner room, and tickets to about that number were issued, but at least 180 were unable to make their way to the hall-door, where the tickets were issued. There were nearly 400 applicants, and only ten, as above stated, obtained any part of the funding.

16.—The Spanish merchants resident in London waited on the duke de Frias, the new Spanish ambassador, to congratulate him on his arrival in this country: the duke in his reply assured them that king Ferdinand was as sincerely attached to the constitution as any man in the country; and that all Spain was rejoicing over the happiness that awaited her.

17.—Prince Gustavus of Sweden and suite were introduced to the king, at his palace in Pall-mall, by his excellency the Russian ambassador. The prince was most graciously received.

In consequence of the promotion of the rev. Dr. Mant to the bishopric of Killaloe, he has received a present of a piece of plate, consisting of a very large circular salver, on feet, with a magnificent border of chased flowers. The inscription is—"To the reverend Richard Mant this plate is presented

sented as a token of respect for his character as a christian rector, the beneficial influence of which the donors had the happiness of experiencing during his ministry in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate."

22.—The Westminster quarter sessions commenced before sir R. Baker and a full bench. The chairman, in addressing the grand jury, adverted to the outrages which took place in various streets on the queen's arrival, by breaking windows, &c. ; and recommended associations of the respectable inhabitants of the different parishes, as the only effectual means of suppressing such riots and tumults.

F. Const, esq. is appointed chairman of the Westminster sessions, *vice* sir R. Baker, resigned.

24.—Alderman Waithman, and James Williams, esq. citizen and goldsmith, were elected sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

26.—Four men were digging for the site of the new church in the new churchyard, at Chelsea, and found water about ten feet from the ground, of which they drank. They were soon afterwards taken ill, and are since dead. One man was seized with delirium, ran about the ground, throwing the spades and other implements at his fellow workmen, and soon after dropped down dead. It is supposed the water was in a high state of putrefaction.

27.—This morning, the neighbourhood of White Lion-street, Seven-dials, was thrown into the greatest alarm by the falling of the backs of five houses in the above street. The poor tenants happily escaped unhurt, and were employed the whole of the day in

removing their goods from off the premises. The remainder of the houses are expected to fall every moment. The landlords have erected a wooden paling round the premises.

28.—The heat of the atmosphere, since the summer solstice, has been daily increasing, and during the last three days the sun has been so powerful, that several horses have dropped dead on the public roads. The mean average of the thermometer in the shade at two in the afternoon of the above days, has been 85 degrees, with the wind to the northward and eastward. The heat of Tuesday was more intense than the preceding one, the thermometer in the shade being as high as 90.

1.—Her majesty the queen of England arrived at St. Omer's, a town about 24 miles distant from Calais, at half-past five o'clock in the morning. She appeared exhausted from the fatigue she had undergone ; but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits.

The persons who composed her majesty's suite occupied five carriages. The first was that in which alderman Wood and count Vassali arrived.

She immediately wrote three letters, one to the earl of Liverpool, another to lord Melville, and a third to his royal highness the duke of York. The first of these important documents was a demand that a palace should be forthwith prepared for her reception, as she intended proceeding to London without delay ; the second, to lord Melville, as first lord of the admiralty, was a desire that a royal yacht should be sent on Friday to Calais, to receive her

on board ; and the third, to the duke of York, was a recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

3.—This evening Mr. Brougham and lord Hutchinson arrived at St. Omer's ; Mr. Brougham was first introduced to her majesty, who was taking coffee : after a few complimentary observations on both sides, Mr. Brougham announced to the queen that lord Hutchinson, who had formerly been a warm friend of her majesty, and who was now a confidential friend of the king, had come, in the spirit of sincere friendship to both, to make some proposals in his majesty's name. Consequently proposals were offered to her majesty, that 50,000*l.* per annum should be settled on her for life, subject to such conditions as the king might impose ; and that she was not to assume the style and title of the queen of England. A condition was also attached to the grant, that she was not to reside in any part of the united kingdom, or even to visit England. These proposals were rejected with the utmost indignation.

In a short time after her majesty left St. Omer's, and embarked at Calais for Dover. A deputation of the inhabitants of the town presented an address to the queen. She then proceeded through Canterbury, where another address was presented to her, and arrived in London on Tuesday evening. Her majesty pursued her route over Westminster bridge, and by Pall Mall, to the house of Mr. alderman Wood in South Audley-street, to reside there for a short time. Considerable difficulty was experienced in

leading up her majesty's barouche to the door. The tide of popular feeling was at its flood, and the air rang with repeated cheerings. After the queen had at length entered, there seemed to be no disposition to disperse ; vehicles of every kind maintained their position, and the crowd stood compact and immovable. In a few minutes the queen appeared, and by a dignified obedience, acknowledged the tokens of affectionate loyalty by which her reception had been graced. Her majesty walked from one end of the balcony to the other, and having bowed to all around, withdrew.

Mr. Denman, the queen's solicitor general, called soon after her arrival, and had an interview with her majesty. Mr. Denman, then, by desire of her majesty, proceeded to Mr. Brougham, who soon after returned with him to South Audley-street. Both these gentlemen remained some time in consultation with her majesty ; and after their departure, her majesty sat down to dinner with lady Anne Hamilton and Mr. alderman Wood, the alderman's family having, immediately after they received her majesty, left the house, and proceeded to Fladong's Hotel. There also the worthy alderman himself went in the course of the night, leaving his house and servants entirely to the use of the queen.

30.—Yesterday afternoon, the queen repaired to Guildhall, by Oxford-road, Holborn, and Skinner-street, and arrived at Guildhall a quarter before seven o'clock in a private carriage, attended by lady Anne Hamilton and another lady, and accompanied by alderman Wood, young Mr. Austin being

being on the coach-box. In going through the hall, her majesty was pleased to accept the supporting arms of Mr. ald. Wood and Mr. Favell; she passed to the council chamber, preceded by the city marshals, where numbers of ladies and several members of the common council were in waiting to receive her. Every one greeted her entrance with cheers, at which demonstration of attachment her majesty was evidently much moved. The statue of our late beloved and venerated king seemed most to engage the contemplation of the queen. After this, her majesty went into the court of aldermen's room, viewed the pictures, and then passed to the chamberlain's office. When she returned to her carriage, the horses were taken from it, and her majesty was drawn in procession through Cheapside, St. Paul's Church-yard, down Fleet-street, along the Strand, &c. &c.

There are now seven spots visible upon the sun's disk, six between the sun's centre and its eastern limb. One of them of very superior magnitude, nearly in the form of a square, surrounded with a beautiful and distinct umbra, subtending an angle of about half a minute, occupying more than 915 millions of square miles. This spot will probably continue for seven or eight days. Another is a small one, with a very faint umbra, situated very near the western edge of the sun.

**EDUCATION.**—A general account, showing the state of education in England:

**Endowed schools.**—New schools No. 302, children 39,590; ordinary schools, No. 3,865, children 125,843; totals, No. 4,167; chil-

dren, 165,438. Total revenue, 300,525*l*.

**Unendowed day schools.**—New schools, No. 820, children 105,582; dames' schools, No. 3,102, children 53,624; ordinary schools, No. 10,360, children 319,643. Totals, No. 14,182, children 478,849.

**Sunday schools.**—New schools, No. 404, children 50,979; ordinary schools, No. 4,758, children 401,838. Totals, No. 5,162, children 452,817.

Total population in 1811, 9,543,610; poor in 1815, 853,249.

Account of the Receipts of the principal Religious Charities for the year ending 31st March, 1820:

Brit. and for. bible society	£93,033
Church missionary society	30,076
London missionary society	25,409
Society for conversion of Jews	8,950
Prayer book and homily society	1,987
Hibernian society	4,683
Naval and military bible society	2,163
<b>Total</b>	<b>£166,300</b>

To these should be added the estimated receipts of those societies who do not make up their accounts at lady-day, taken on the scale of 1819, which will be rather under than overrating them.

Society for promoting christian knowledge	53,700
Methodist missionary society	24,000
Moravian missions	5,000
Baptist missionary society	16,000
Society for propagating the gospel	13,800
National society for education	2,500
Religious tract society	6,180
Collection on the king's letter for the society for the propagation of the gospel—nearly	50,000

**Total** . . . £337,483

The following is the manner of distributing the money collected for the officers engaged in the apprehension of the conspirators in Cato-street.

To Mrs. Smithers (widow of the murdered officer) in addition to an annuity of 100l.	£256	4	6
G. T. J. Ruthven, police officer	408	0	0
Jas Ellis, conductor of patrol	204	0	0
W. Gibbs, patrol (wounded)	121	10	0
W. Westcott, conduct. of patrol	121	10	0
J. Surman, patrol (wounded)	181	10	0
William Brooks, ditto	60	15	0
John Wright, ditto	60	15	0
Joseph Champion, ditto	40	10	0
Benjamin Gill, ditto	40	10	0
William Lee, ditto	40	10	0
John Townshend, ditto	40	10	0
Robert Chapman, ditto	40	10	0
Luke Nixon, ditto	40	10	0
The soldiers.	49	19	0
The parents of Smithers	4	15	0

Total distribution . . . £1661 18 6

This distribution has been made in conformity with the plan previously adopted in the rewards given to the same officers by his majesty's government—namely, according to the rank they hold in the police establishment, and the manner in which they have signalled themselves.

## JULY.

### GERMANY.

A private letter from Ham-  
burgh dated the 2d ult. commu-  
nicates unpleasant accounts of the  
health of that city. It was esti-  
mated, that 8,000 persons of all  
ages were then more or less in-  
disposed. Of the garrison alone  
there were 200 sick men in the hos-  
pital.

Colonel Massenbach, it is said,  
has conceived, during his impris-  
onment at Custrin, a very inge-  
nious system of finance, by which  
the Prussian national debt may  
be paid off in six years and a half.

In Saxe Gotha the quantity of  
vermin of the mouse tribe has in-  
creased of late to a degree almost  
incredible. The local magistrates  
give rewards for their destruc-

tion. In the year 1818 more than  
200,000 field mice were brought  
to them for the premiums. In  
the Rathskammer of the city of  
Gotha, between the 9th of May  
and the 9th of September, 1817,  
the number for which the rewards  
were paid, reached to 89,565.  
The regularity with which the  
accounts are kept in these local  
treasuries leaves no room to doubt  
the authenticity of this fact, which  
is both novel and extraordinary.

The journal of the eastern Py-  
renees contains some account of  
the state of the plague at Majorca.  
It is said to be the same as the  
plague of the Levant. News  
from Palma mentions, that the  
French consul has brought from  
Tangiers four persons who have  
been inoculated with pestilential  
virus, and when thus shielded  
from danger, are to attend the  
sick and inter the dead. A cele-  
brated physician, of the name of  
Pascual, is said to have died of  
the plague. The following was  
the state of the disease from the  
15th to the 20th of June.

At Arta, died, 197,—cured, 2  
—convalescent, 22—sick for some  
time, 527—recently sick, 149—  
455 of the first men in great danger.

At St. Seviria, died, 106—cured,  
9, convalescent, 21—sick for some  
time, (dangerously,) 357—recent-  
ly sick, 155.

At St. Lorenzo, died, 7—sick,  
12, of whom three were in danger.

Arta is a small town on the sea  
coasts, containing 6 or 7000 inha-  
bitants. St. Seviria and Lorenzo  
are only villages.

Letters from Barcelona, of the  
3d instant, say that the plague  
continues its ravages, and the  
number of those who fall a sacri-  
fice to it are daily increasing.  
The strictest precautions are taken  
to

to prevent its being communicated to the south of France.

#### AFRICA.

The Algerines have renewed their old system of piracy in the most audacious manner. They have sent a squadron of five vessels to sea, for the purpose of making war upon the commerce of all those nations which are not represented at Algiers, and whose resentment they are not afraid to provoke.

The dey of Tripoli has declared war against the grand duke of Florence, in consequence of the refusal of the latter to continue the annual tribute hitherto paid.

#### AMERICA, WEST INDIES, &c.

The National Advocate, an American paper, contains the following paragraph respecting the late B. West, esq. "His genius and industry as a painter have never been surpassed, and his productions will long be admired for their great and unrivalled merit. He was much attached to his native country, and took great pleasure in conversing with his fellow-citizens, and giving every facility to American artists: he viewed our progress in arts, in arms, and in science, with deep interest, and his long absence did not alienate his affections from his native land. 'Yesterday,' said he to an American, 'was 50 years since I first arrived in London. I remember travelling on the top of the Canterbury coach, and stopping about two miles from London at a mean tavern, and taking a dinner before I entered the metropolis to seek my fortune; and I could not avoid yesterday going to the same tavern, calling for a dinner alone in the same room, looking back on the 50 years I had spent, the progress I had made in my profes-

sion, the friends I possessed, and the adventures I had met with.' This was a singular epoch in the life of an individual."

Letters have been received from Havannah direct, and advices also by the way of the United States. It will be seen, by the following extract of a letter, that the news of the revolution had arrived.

"Havannah, April 17.

"On Saturday a vessel arrived from Corunna in 31 days, with the joyful news that the constitution was proclaimed by the king at Madrid on the 7th March. I never saw such madness of joy as gladdens every countenance. On the great square people began to assemble immediately on the arrival of the vessel. Two or three merchants had received the printed postscript to the Corunna gazette, containing the official notification. It was read amidst the most happy people I ever saw. Cheers—*viva! viva!*—resounded from every one. I never saw joy of the heart so apparent in every countenance. The first step of the governor, who had received no official communication from Madrid, was to publish the extract from the Corunna paper in an extraordinary gazette, stating that the acknowledged no other rule than the will of the king, and that whenever officially communicated, he held himself bound to fulfil it, and to obey strictly his majesty's commands."

A colony of twelve Chinese, established in Brazil since the residence there of the king of Portugal, have devoted themselves with so much success to the cultivation of tea, that there are now 3000 trees in full bearing, and the plantation promises to become more flourishing.

It appears by accounts from Caraccas, that upwards of 100 persons were arrested on a charge of being concerned in the plot to destroy Morillo, and that among them there were 20 females. The principal Alcaide had been shot, and Zabeleta, the mistress of Morillo, who was to have administered the poison, it was supposed, would suffer a similar fate.

Accounts from Hayti to the 28th of May confirm the previous reports of the final and complete reduction of the insurrection under Gomar, which has lasted, with various changes of fortune, ever since 1807. The heads of 16 of the ringleaders were exhibited on pikes, in a public part of the town of Jeremie.

#### NEW SOUTH WALES.

A series of gazettes from Sydney, New South Wales, to the latter end of February have been received. The *Minerva*, with 177 male convicts from Ireland; the *Recovery*, with 188 from England; the *Lord Wellington*, with 120 female convicts and 45 children; the *Eliza*, with 160 male convicts from England; the *Prince Regent*, with 160, and the *Castle Forbes*, with 140 male convicts, both from Ireland, had all arrived. Of this large number of convicts, it is stated that only two died on the passage, one on board the *Eliza*, and one on board the *Minerva*. A French vessel, called *L'Uranie*, captain Freycinet, on a voyage of discovery, touched at Sydney early in December. At one of the balls given by the officers of this vessel, some young female natives from Paramatta, educated at the schools established at Sydney, partook of the habits of civilized life, and

1820.

were admired for the grace and ease of their movements. The reputation of those seminaries, and a desire which is gradually spreading among the rude people of the Southern Ocean to share the benefits of instruction, had attracted to Sydney a party of young persons from the Bay of Islands, among whom was the son of Shungee, their principal chief; but the plan of the schools limiting them to the natives of New South Wales, they could not be received, the managers fearing, in that case, to be overwhelmed with claimants for instruction. The annual assemblage of the native tribes took place at Paramatta on the 28th of Dec. but was less numerously attended than usual, the extreme heat of the weather preventing them from proceeding from the interior. About 250 persons of both sexes were present, and were regaled by the governor with provisions and liquor. The examination of the native children of the institution then took place, and some very creditable specimens of their progress in writing and drawing were produced. The improved cultivation of the hemp in New Zealand has before been mentioned; some trials were made in January, at Sydney, of its relative strength, when made into cordage, compared with that manufactured in England from the produce of the Baltic, and determined materially in favour of the hemp of New Zealand, which possessed a degree of strength superior by one-fourth. The *Admiral Cockburn*, which brought these advices, brings home an entire cargo of the produce of the colony. The *Regalia*, freighted in a similar manner, was to sail in

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about a month. Mr. George Johnston, son of the lieutenant governor of the colony, died on the 19th of February, in consequence of a fall from his horse. The colony in general was in a flourishing state. European goods were in demand. The facilities of internal communication had been increased, by putting the roads from Sydney to Paramatta and Nassau, before impassable in wet seasons, under complete repair. The gazette of the 8th of January contains an advertisement from the noted Dr. O'Halloran, who has opened a school at Sydney.

The Wakefield Journal, in appropriate terms of condemnation, states, that in consequence of a quarrel between two brothers-in-law, in that neighbourhood, and some litigation in the Wakefield court baron, ten of the sheep belonging to one of them were seized by the occupant of a field into which they had strayed, and tied fast, till they all perished with hunger, which they did after 10 days' suffering!

A dreadful accident happened to Messrs. Campart and Co.'s mills at Iver. The foreman, while in the act of putting grease to a spindle, had his clothes caught, and he was drawn in between the two wheels; when the force of his body broke the iron spindle, four inches in substance, into three pieces, and he fell on the floor dreadfully mangled. He lingered for about eight hours in excruciating agony. He was only 29 years of age, and has left a wife and three children to lament his unfortunate end.

An enormous snake was killed by a farmer, in a hay field, in the

parish of Chudleigh, said to be the largest ever met with in that part of the country: its body is described to be the thickness of a man's arm, and it measured in length upwards of four feet.

The staves of radical pikes are now selling every market-day at Huddersfield, as handles for hay-rakes.

The Fortunate Youth, whose deceptive career excited general curiosity and amusement some time ago, is returned into Cambridgeshire, and is now a humble agricultural assistant to his father in that county.

A copper mine has lately been discovered near Kirkcudbright, in Scotland; the ore is of a superior quality, and the vein is so extensive, that, although the excavation does not exceed nine feet in depth, about 50 tons were soon raised.

Through the channel of a late Farmer's Journal, Mr. Atwood, the banker, of Birmingham, informs the public, that, according to the parliamentary papers, the foreign importations of corn, on the average of the last six years, have amounted to only one-sixtieth part of the national consumption, or to about six days consumption per annum. Now, the produce of English agriculture at the war prices, or even those of 1818, amounts to about two hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling per annum; thence the whole value of the foreign imports amounted to but little above four millions per annum, and yet there were two bad harvests within the period. On these grounds, Mr. Atwood concludes that the petitioning agriculturists have made a fundamental error of judgement, in the supposition that the importation

tation of foreign corn, trifling as the quantity has been, can have occasioned their depression and distress, which he attributes entirely to the improper management of the national money-market, and the subduction of currency by the bank.

As a proof of the deplorable state of the farmers, it is asserted that in a parish about four miles from Devizes, when the receiver general called a few weeks since for the taxes, not a single one of the pay-masters could pay his full quantum; where, for the twenty preceding years, it would have been looked upon as most extraordinary if a single one had failed.

A few days ago was discovered, in a creek near the sea, in Mr. Birkett's low marsh, Fosdyke, by some gentlemen, an extraordinary eel, measuring in length 79 inches, and weighing 36 pounds.—What is most remarkable is, that it is not exactly of the species of the conger.

Sir Charles Wolseley has been waited upon by an express messenger from the lord chancellor, to serve him with a *supersedeas*—an instrument by which he is erased from the list of the magistracy.

A Canterbury paper says, “a viper, measuring the extraordinary length of three feet and a half, on Tuesday last was taken alive in the vicinity of this city; and on its being killed, a toad of an extraordinary size was taken from its body in a perfect state.”

A new market is about to be erected at Liverpool, which, when finished, will be the completest thing of the kind in England. It is to be covered all over, and will

be in length 500 feet, and in breadth 300 feet, with a handsome elevation in front. The estimated expense exceeds 30,000*l*.

There are now living within half a mile of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, on the Worcester road, four children born at one birth, all girls; they are 15 months old, two of whom can walk alone, and the other two nearly so.—The father is a poor labouring man, and had three children before.

Accounts have been received at Hull, by the Active, arrived at Peterhead, of the bad success of the fishery, and that no less than 42 ships were ascertained to be clean (empty). The Active left the other ships the 14th of June. The merchants seem to have had a strong presentiment of the fate of the fishery; as so high as 3*l*. per ton has been given for oil on arrival.

3.—The Scotch state trials commenced at Stirling on Thursday last; when Hardie, one of the Bonymuir radicals, was found guilty. The indictment on which he was tried charged him with conspiring to levy war and subvert the constitution, and publishing and posting up printed addresses to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, to incite the soldiers of the king and other subjects to rebellion. It appears that the court has strictly forbidden any publication of the proceedings till all the trials are concluded. The prohibition, like that issued on the trial of the Cato-street conspirators at the Old Bailey, is not confined merely to those now in progress at Stirling, but extends to those which will follow at Glasgow, Paisley, Dumbarton, and Ayr.

15.—About seven this morning arrived at Dover, from Boulogne, the chevalier Vassali, with two respectable witnesses in favour of the queen. We understand they are followed by several noblemen, and many superior military and civil officers of rank, who come to give testimony on the approaching trial, in behalf of her majesty."

The treatment of the Italians at Dover has excited a kind of horror in the minds of foreigners on the continent; so much so, that on the landing of some of the suite of the French ambassador, absolute fear took such possession of them, that it was with difficulty they could be persuaded there was not any danger. The arrivals from the continent at Dover are less than before, while those at Harwich have considerably increased within this fortnight.

22.—Letters from York state, that the grand jury had found the bills for high treason, which had been presented to them, against four prisoners charged with the insurrection near Huddersfield on the night of the 31st of March; and against 18 who were engaged in the march to Grange Moor on the morning of the 12th of April.

*Horticulture.* — The following are the dimensions of a stalk of rhubarb, cut in the garden of Mr. Peter Robinson of Ellenborough, and which, for luxuriance and magnitude, is without parallel: length of stalk, 1 foot 10 inches; circumference,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth of leaf, 3 feet 7 inches; length of do. 2 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

There is now growing in the garden of John Forster, esq. of Newtown, near Carlisle, a cucum-

ber of the following very large dimensions— $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and 11 inches in circumference.

A singular fact in natural history is at present to be witnessed at Dunrobin Castle. A terrier bitch, belonging to the marquis of Stafford's forester, had a litter of whelps a few weeks ago, which were taken from her and drowned. The unfortunate mother was quite disconsolate, till she perceived a brood of ducklings, which she immediately seized and carried to her lair, where she retains them, following them out and in with the greatest care, and nursing them after her own fashion, with the most affectionate anxiety. When the ducklings, following their natural instinct, go into the water, their foster-mother exhibits the utmost alarm, and, as soon as they return to land, she snatches them up in her mouth and runs home with them. What adds to the singularity of this circumstance, is, that the same animal, when last year deprived of a litter of puppies, seized two cock-chickens, which she reared with the like care she bestows upon her present family. When the young cocks began to try their voices, their foster-mother was as much annoyed as she now seems to be by the swimming of the ducklings—and never failed to repress their attempts at crowing.

To prevent the bad effects of drinking cold water when the body is heated: before you drink, pour a small quantity of water on the palms of your hands. Grasping the glass out of which you are about to drink, about half a minute, in the hand, will answer the purpose equally well.

Three gentlemen swam from the

the north pier of the Regent's dock, Liverpool, and landed within a hundred yards of Birkenhead hotel, on the opposite shore of the Mersey. The first crossed in 35, the second in 36, and the third in 37 minutes. This was a great exertion of physical strength, as well as of skill in swimming, as the distance which the gentlemen swam cannot be much less than a mile.

A brewhouse at Holbeck, near Leeds, was razed to the ground last week by the explosion of fire damp collected in a well over which the brewery was built. It is thought that the fire had communicated by some means to the foul air. The explosion was so violent as to blow a poor woman through the roof, who was so much hurt that her life is despaired of.

A Chester paper asserts, that in the vicinity of Bala, Merionethshire, hailstones fell weighing upwards of a pound ! At ten o'clock the following day they were lying of the size of large eggs.

The south-eastern part of the county of Mayo has been visited, during the last week, by one of those awful visitations which occur but very rarely in our happy and temperate climate. Of its devastating effects, the following description and appalling particulars are given by a respectable and intelligent gentleman residing in the vicinity of Ballyhaunes :—A shower of ice stones, accompanied by a tremendous thunder storm, fell in this district on the 29th of June, and in its course has caused universal destruction. Its breadth did not exceed half a mile, within which it has left a perfect ruin—the potatoe crop cut close to the

earth—the flax bruised as in a mill—the corn shattered and blasted, never to rise again ! All the windows within its limits are broken, and numerous tame and wild fowl were killed by it. Some of these stones were flat, heavy, and as large as my watch, the greater part of the shape, but of a larger size than a pigeon's egg. I have seen bog turf penetrated by them, as if bullets had been shot into it. How far this frightful phenomenon may have run its course, I cannot as yet say, possibly into the western sea. A poor lad, who was bathing at the time, unfortunately disregarding its terrific approach, had his head dreadfully cut and injured ; his body partially quite black, and covered with contusions.

The weather, which was during the greater part of last month and the beginning of this cold and rainy, has for the last ten days assumed a change favourable to the prospects of the farmer. Summer has at length come among us in real earnest. Since Friday last (the 23d inst.) not a cloud has obscured the atmosphere, and the heat in the middle of the day has seldom been surpassed in the scorching regions of India, and induces most folks, who are unshackled by the weighty concerns of life, to resort to the coolest part of their mansions.—*Chester Guardian*.

We have not yet obtained any intelligence respecting the heat of the weather in other parts of the kingdom ; but if the present temperature of our own neighbourhood may be considered as a general specimen, the present summer is likely to exceed in heat those of the two preceding years.

The thermometer has for several days averaged 80 in the shade, and 130 in the air. Two men this afternoon at Felton, and three others in the neighbourhood, owing to the intense heat of the weather, and over exertions in the hay field, fell down dead.—*Bristol Gazette*.

For several days the heat has been excessive : at four this afternoon the thermometer in the shade stood at 86 ; exposed to the sun it rose to 120 in 15 minutes.—*Worcester Journal*.

Monday the 26th inst. at noon, within a mile of Maidstone, the thermometer, in the open air, and in the shade, stood at 89 degrees.—*Kentish Gazette*.

The extraordinary degree of heat which prevailed for a few days last week, has, we are sorry to observe, been productive of much illness, and several instances of sudden death have occurred in this county, among persons employed in the hay harvest. The thermometer in the shade was as high as 90, and in situations exposed to the sun's power it rose to 135. Tuesday last was the warmest day that has been experienced in this county for many years, but on the following evening the heat became more temperate, and has continued so since. On Thursday, this city and the neighbourhood were visited by a very heavy thunder storm ; but we have not heard of any material damage being occasioned by it.—*Gloucester Journal*.

Monday Jos. Bees died in a field in the parish of Keynsham ; and Friday Thomas Jones, in the parish of Buckwell, in this county ; George Batt, at Doynton, Gloucestershire ; and a woman in the

employ of farmer George Marlborough.—*Bath Chronicle*.

One of the mail horses between Wells and this city, on Wednesday afternoon, fell and expired immediately ; the coach, being afterwards obliged to proceed to Bath with only three horses, was half an hour after time.—*Bath Herald*.

A poor woman working in a hay field at Waltham, Berks, exhausted by the heat of the sun, dropped down speechless, on Tuesday last, was carried home in convulsions, and died the next morning. The thermometer stood at 94 in the sun, at a short distance from the spot.—*Oxford Journal*.

The following is a comparative statement of the quantity of porter brewed by the first eleven houses, to July 5 :—

	1819.	1820.
	Barrels.	Barrels.
Barclay.....	320,009 —	275,183
Haubury .....	210,986 —	190,122
Whitbread.....	181,344 —	181,560
Reid .....	183,711 —	159,388
Combe .....	133,007 —	122,178
Meux .....	111,138 —	105,900
Calvert .....	99,285 —	93,818
Goodwin .....	63,376 —	60,143
Elliott .....	55,110 —	50,411
Taylor .....	53,106 —	50,039
Cross and Campbell	26,023 —	20,975

By the above it will be observed that the quantity brewed by Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Co. far exceeds (being nearly double) that of most other houses, and is equal to 879 barrels, or 586 hogsheads per day for the last twelve months ; which is the strongest possible proof of the decided preference given in general to their porter, the sale of which, we understand, is daily increasing throughout Scotland.

1.—In the court of exchequer, W. G. Lewis, printer, of Coventry, was fined 100*l*. for selling burnt pease

pease as a substitute for coffee, contrary to the 41st Geo. III.

4.—A coroner's inquest was held on the body of Mr. Robert Hill, a grocer of Highgate, which was found in the Serpentine river on Monday morning. There were marks of violence on the body, and nothing remained of the property which was on the person of the deceased when he left home. The jury returned a verdict of—“Found dead, supposed to have been robbed and murdered.”

5.—This morning William Paling, John Robinson, and William Henry Stanford, for uttering forged notes; Henry Hawkins, for a burglary under aggravated circumstances; William Arnold (a soldier), for extorting money upon the highway; and W. Sanders, for horse-stealing, forfeited their lives to the outraged laws of their country, at the usual place of execution in the Old Bailey, in the presence of a comparatively small number of spectators.

6.—It appears, by the statement of porter brewed by the eleven principal houses, to this day, that the quantity is 125,066 barrels less than the preceding year.

11.—His royal highness the duke of Cambridge and suite arrived in London from Hanover.

Captain Smith rode his horse on the Essex road, eleven miles in 29 minutes 46 seconds—time allowed 50 minutes—for a wager of 200 guineas—the animal 16 hands high, and least fatigued of the two.

12.—About three o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in the extensive granary belonging to Mr. Scrivener at Dockhead. The fire, which is said to have origi-

nated from some unslacked lime which was unshipped the preceding day on the ground floor, destroyed the whole of the premises, with all the stock in trade.

14.—A princess has been discovered in Mrs. Olivia Wilmot Serres, who claims to be the legitimate daughter of the late duke of Cumberland. She this day presented to the house of commons a petition for an inquiry into her claims.

15.—The total amount of bank notes and bank post bills in circulation during this week amounted to 26,210,300*l*. In the preceding week the amount was 22,997,210*l*.; so that there has been an increase in the chief circulating medium, in one week, of no less than 3,813,090*l*.

24.—An act of parliament has received the royal assent for the further prevention of forging and counterfeiting bank notes. The preamble of the act furnishes a general description of the note, which is about to be issued by the bank of England. It recites, that “As well for the prevention thereof, as to facilitate the direction of the same, the governor and company of the bank of England have, after great consideration, labour, and expense, formed a new plan for printing bank notes, in which the ground work of each bank note will be black or coloured, or black and coloured line work; and the words “Bank of England” will be placed at the top of each bank note, in white letters upon a black sable or dark ground, such ground containing white lines intersecting each other, and the numerical amount or sum of each bank note in the body of the note will be printed in black and red register

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work, and the back of each note will distinctly show the whole contents thereof in a reversed impression."—The exclusive privilege of using this plan of printing notes is given to the bank of England; and the governor and company are further authorized to cause the names of the persons intrusted by the company to sign bank notes in their behalf, to be impressed by machinery upon bank notes, instead of having them subscribed in the hand-writing of such persons respectively.

Another act received the royal assent, for "regulating the payment of labourers' wages." It enacts, that wages shall not be paid otherwise than in money—imposes a penalty of 20*l.* on offenders, if the conviction be affirmed.

28.—Her majesty the queen has sent a communication to the house of lords, informing their lordships that it is her intention to be present every day during the investigation which is to take place in support of the bill of pains and penalties relating to her, which has been introduced into the house by lord Liverpool. Her majesty also desires, that their lordships will order a seat to be provided for her in the house of lords, so situated that she may be enabled to hear distinctly all the evidence that may be produced in the course of the investigation.

An official return to an order of the house of commons states the total amount of the net produce of the revenue of Great Britain, for the year ending the 5th of July, 1819, exclusive of property and unappropriated war duties, at 49,361,220*l.* and for the year ending the 5th of July, 1820, at

48,938,309*l.* making a falling off in the latter year of 422,971*l.* The receipt upon property, and unappropriated war duty, in the former year was 239,257*l.* in the latter year 44,604*l.* Exclusive of these receipts, the total net amount would be, for the year ending the 5th of July 1819, 49,071,923*l.* for 1820, 48,893,705*l.*; leaving a deficiency in the latter year of only 178,218*l.*

Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the royal exchange, was the son of a poor woman, who left him in a field when an infant; but the chirping of a grasshopper leading a boy to the place where he lay, his life was preserved.—From this circumstance the future merchant took the grasshopper as his crest; and hence the cause of that insect being placed over the royal exchange.

Government has contracted for horse barracks to be built in Mary-la-bonne park. The contractors are to be paid by an annuity of 5,400*l.* per annum for thirty-one years; being the rent now paid for Portman-street barracks.

By an act just passed, persons offering a fee to any officer, &c. of the custom-house, are liable to 500*l.* penalty, whether the fee be taken or not.

A new experiment is to be made of conveying letters by an extra post, at the rate of 11 miles per hour, including change of horses; by which a whole day will be gained to all cities and towns at above 200 miles from London. Double postage only is to be charged for this extraordinary speed.

Amount of duty paid by the different fire insurance companies of

of London, from Christmas 1819 to lady day 1820.

Office.	Sum insured.	Duty paid.		
	£	s.	d.	
Sun.....	22,969,914..	34,454	17	5
Phoenix.....	14,129,592..	21,194	7	9
Royal } Exchange }	8,290,342..	12,435	10	3
County.....	7,483,583..	11,325	7	6
Imperial....	7,045,828..	10,568	14	10
Globe.....	5,909,242..	8,863	17	3
Eagle.....	3,397,514..	5,096	5	5
Albion.....	3,235,775..	4,853	13	3
Hope.....	2,953,011..	4,429	10	4
Hand in } Hand }	2,923,817..	4,385	14	3
British.....	2,877,709..	4,316	11	3
Westminster	2,729,664..	4,094	9	11
Atlas.....	2,579,128..	3,868	13	10
Union.....	2,391,967..	3,587	19	0
London.....	1,631,747..	2,447	12	5
National } Union }	435,515..	653	5	5

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90,984,348 136,476 10 4

10.—The Haymarket theatre opened for the season with a new farce, entitled, *Oil and Vinegar*; said to be a production of Mr. Theodore Hook.—It was not very ill received, but was acted only two nights.

20. A new piece called *Woman's Will — A Riddle!* was produced at the English Opera house. It is a musical drama in three acts; the story taken from Chaucer; being founded on the adventures of a certain knight condemned to die for some crime; but saved, on the hard condition of discovering within a given period, that which is "woman's constant will." This secret is revealed to him by an old beldame, who, however, claims his hand as her reward; which the luckless knight, bound by his honour, is about to bestow; when she is suddenly transformed into a young and beautiful woman, the identical object of his affections. The

solution of the riddle proves to be, that it is, "to have her will." By the aid of good music, singing, and acting, it has had a favourable reception.

## AUGUST.

A letter from Genoa states, that the truce between Tuscany and Algiers had expired on 5th July; and that advices from Leghorn had been received at Genoa, conveying information that the Algerine squadron had captured two Tuscan vessels, and that apprehensions were entertained for the safety of their boats engaged in the coral fishery on the coast of Barbary.

The Carbonari.—This sect of reformers, who now cover Italy, and excite the attention of its government, was founded in 1812, by some emissaries of the late queen of Naples, with the secret intention of destroying Murat's government. Their name is taken from the coal (or charcoal) trade. The society is called *La Carbonaria*; and *Barrache* (market) is the name given to their meetings.—The society is at once political and religious; their principles are founded on the purest maxims of the gospel; the members promise obedience to the law, and respect to those who worthily administer justice; they vow eternal hatred to tyranny; and this hatred is the greater, because they consider our Saviour as the most deplorable and the most illustrious victim of despotism.—The *Carbonari* are distinguished by their degrees. The object of the institution is, to purge the *Apennines* of the *rapacious wolves* which infest them; the wolves signify the oppressors of the people; and all the agents of the



the government who are guilty of arbitrary acts.—The spirit of liberty and of evangelical equality is observed in the sittings of the *Bar-rache*; the purest morality is inculcated in them; and it would be easy to name judges, intendants, commissaries, or syndics, who, only since their initiation, have given examples of justice, courage, and beneficence; Abruzzo and Calabria have been witnesses of the most astonishing conversions; the banditti who infested the mountains have quitted the musket for the spade, so greatly had they been edified by the sacred word!—The *Carbonari* have been alternately courted by the French, by Murat, and by Ferdinand, as their purpose served; many enlightened men have joined them, and there are now above 300,000 in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. They have rapidly spread over all Italy; and some are to be found in France, Spain, and Germany.

*Paris, August 20.*

For some time past government has been in possession of information that machinations were employed to seduce the troops to revolt. They were satisfied that the good spirit which animates the French soldiers would baffle the projects formed by certain men always ready to sacrifice their own honour and the repose of their country to their pride and cupidity. The government watched all their proceedings. These madmen believed that they were sufficiently powerful to overturn the throne, and the protecting institutions that France owes to her king. A certain number of officers and non-commissioned officers of the corps in the garrison

at Paris had been seduced. There were some even of the royal guard who suffered themselves to be drawn into the plot.

Yesterday evening these officers agreed among themselves to meet at the barracks, to assemble the soldiers, to march against the palace of our kings, and to proclaim as sovereign some member of the Bonapartean family; but many whom they had attempted to seduce by their perfidious proposals did not hesitate to repair immediately to their chiefs, and discover the plot which was about to explode. Government could delay no longer. Those who had taken part in this criminal conspiracy were arrested by the *gens d'armes*.

It appears that one part of the plan of the conspirators was to seize on the castle of Vincennes. A fire, that was soon extinguished, broke out there at three o'clock in the afternoon. It is reasonable to suppose that this was intended to create disorder and favour an attack.

France has a right to expect that such an attempt will be punished in a manner that shall intimidate all those who, forgetting their duty and their oaths, would turn against social order those arms which have been confided to them for its defence. Nothing ought to be neglected that may secure the authors and accomplices of a conspiracy, which, directed against the throne and the charter, attacked at the same time every member of the state in his dearest sentiments and best rights.

The most elevated tribunal, that which the charter, with a salutary foresight, has charged to repress attempts against the safety of the state,

state, will no doubt be called upon to sit in judgement on the greatest crime that the law can have to punish.

Sheltered from all influence, above all sinister suggestions, that august tribunal, better than any other, will recognise innocence, and dismiss ill-founded suspicions, while it detects the guilty, whoever they may be.

The city of Paris enjoys the most perfect tranquillity.—The citizens have learnt, in the same moment, the existence of the plot and the arrest of its authors.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Apprehensions as to the darkness which may be occasioned by the eclipse of the sun on the 7th of next month, have determined several of the ecclesiastical counsellors of Switzerland to move that the annual solemnity of prayers may be transferred from that day to the 8th. The deputies of the protestant religion at the diet have agreed to this proposal, and the 8th is fixed for the day of prayers.

#### DENMARK.

The Danish house of Meyer and Freyer has failed for 200,000*l.* sterling, and drawn down with it many firms at Hamburg. The house of Defric and co. of Madras, failed in March last. Such was the confidence reposed in the house by the native population, that it had become the general medium of depositing property, in a manner something resembling that of a savings bank. The popular indignation, on hearing of the failure, was so great, that the resident partners were compelled to fly for their lives.

#### RUSSIA.

The Russian government has

addressed an official note to the Spanish ministers resident at St. Petersburg, in which the emperor of Russia strongly condemns every constitution imposed on a sovereign by force. Another state paper, from the same quarter, has since made its appearance in the shape of a memorial, addressed from St. Petersburg to all the ministers of Russia at foreign courts, declaratory of corresponding sentiments on the same subject; and displaying an anxious solicitude on the part of Alexander to induce the other great powers of Europe to participate in his feelings, and to stimulate them to an interference in the domestic concerns of the Spanish people. The emperor, in dwelling on the mischiefs produced by the French revolution, remarks, that, "as if the alarms which were excited by the state of France in 1818, and which it still excites, were not sufficient—as if governments and nations entertained but slight doubts with respect to its future condition—it was necessary that the genius of evil should select a new theatre; and that Spain, in her turn, should be offered up as a fearful sacrifice. Revolution, therefore, has changed its ground; but the duties of monarchs cannot have changed their nature, and the power of the insurrection is neither less formidable, nor less dangerous, than it would have been in France."—The Russian state paper seems to require from the cortes of Spain, as a test of their principles, that they should either strongly reprobate or disband the army, for the part which it bore in the re-establishment of the constitution. What effect this dictatorial language may have on the

the Spanish government, and whether or not the other courts of Europe will sanction the views of this memorial, remain for time to determine.

The number of jesuits in Russia, when the decree for their banishment was issued, amounted to 800 at least. It is said that some are gone to China.

#### ASIA.

Accounts have been received, of a very unpleasant kind, of the issue of the expedition under sir William Carr to the Persian Gulf. Report says, that the pirates, who in the first place abandoned the fort, which some time ago the public were informed had been quietly taken possession of by the troops under sir William's command, returned and made a formidable attack on the fort, in which the 47th and 64th regiments suffered severely.

#### AFRICA.

The crew of a Spanish slave ship is said to have poisoned 396 slaves on board, in order to prevent their being captured by the English.

The John transport has arrived at Portsmouth from the Cape of Good Hope. The John took out 600 settlers for Algoa Bay, principally from Lancashire. The passengers were severely attacked with the measles on the voyage out; but from the great attention paid them, they soon recovered from its effects.

#### AMERICA, &c.

New York papers to the 29th ult. contain no political intelligence of any interest; but they give us the details of two dreadful fires that had taken place, one at New York, on the 22d, and the other at Troy, on the 20th, the

capital of Rensselaer county, about six miles above Albany. The latter was the more calamitous. The number of buildings destroyed was about one hundred and twenty-seven.

A law has been enacted in the state of Louisiana, declaring that no debtor shall be detained at the suit of a creditor, unless the latter pay him three dollars and a half per week for his support. In case the creditor neglect to do so, the gaoler is empowered to set the debtor at liberty.

Among the laws passed in Massachusetts, is one, by which no persons in health, and having the use of their limbs, from the age of 12 to 65, shall be maintained as poor by the state.

The kingdom of Hayti is said to be in a state of insurrection; there is an implacable hostility between Christophe and Boyer, which sir Home Popham in vain attempted lately to reconcile. Boyer is said to have an army of 25,000 men marching against Christophe.

The president of Hayti has dispatched a communication to the societies in America for the promotion of colonizing Africa, stating, that in place of sending them to such a distant and inhospitable climate, his territories are open to the emigration of the blacks from the United States.

Accounts from Jamaica to the 10th of June bring information, that an expedition of 1,000 men under the command of the patriot colonel Montilla succeeded in getting possession of Rio de la Hache on the 12th of March. They then took the road towards the interior; but a body of royalists having advanced from Santa Martha,

Martha, Montilla returned to La Hache, where the Irish soldiers mutinied, demanding their arrears of pay; finding their appeal fruitless, disorder and plunder commenced, and eventually they were put on board some merchantmen, and conveyed to Jamaica, where they arrived in a starving state. The inhabitants of that part of Spain which has so long been the seat of war fly to the woods and mountains, being completely worn down with so protracted a contest. Fifty years will not restore these provinces to the state in which they were at the commencement of the present century.

The fortress of Santa, in the island of Santa Maura, has been destroyed by an earthquake.

Lord Cochrane has had 20,000 acres of land given him by the government of Chili: his lordship appears going on with success in his operations on the coast of that country.

26.—A distressing affair has occurred at Greenock. A dispute took place in a low public-house, between seven soldiers of the 15th regiment and some sailors; when they came to blows, and the soldiers were worsted. Maddened by drink, and the beating they had received, the soldiers ran immediately to their quarters, whither they were followed by the crowd, and, loading their pieces, commenced firing from the windows. The interference of the police having been in the mean time called for, a party of them came up to the soldiers' quarters, when two of the police-men were killed by the soldiers, and a sailor so severely wounded that he has since died. The soldiers were handed over to the civil power.

The house of D. R. Poulter, esq., Cheyney Hall, Bucks, was consumed by fire early in the morning. It originated in the laundry, where a fire was made over-night, preparatory to washing. There were two servants only in the house (the owner being in London), and one of them was much burnt in escaping. The flames were so rapid, that in less than an hour the whole was a heap of ruins. A range of coach-houses, stabling, &c. caught fire and were consumed, with two small tenements, before any assistance could be had. Two horses locked in the stables were burnt. The damage done altogether is to a very great amount.

Thomas Hungerford and Robert Travers, esqrs. young gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Cork, quarrelled and fought a duel; when the ball entered the forehead of the latter, and he instantly expired.

The town of Maidstone was visited by a thunder storm, accompanied with hail stones of immense size; and a more tempestuous storm had not been remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The hailstones came down in such profusion, that the noise proceeding from them strengthened the idea that the place was on fire, as it appeared like the cracking of burning timber. The storm did considerable damage to the vegetation in general, and the house of Mr. Hulkes had all the windows broken; trees were torn up, and great injury was done. A child was struck by the lightning, and was seriously hurt by it; and at North Cray and other places the hailstones were of considerable depth, and as large as marbles.

Extract

Extract of a letter from Sudbury, in Suffolk, Aug. 1 :—"You had not so terrific a tempest in London as we had here and in the neighbourhood. We were at Heddingham yesterday : it is really quite distressing to witness the devastation there. The injury done in the two parishes to the crops, &c. could not be repaired by many thousand pounds. The hops are stripped off the poles as if they had been cut off with scissars. The hail was larger than was ever known. A friend of mine picked up a solid piece of ice eighteen inches long and six broad, yesterday morning ; it had made a deep hole in the ground. The hail-stones were lying several feet deep in places where they had drifted yesterday, and the thermometer at 84. One gentleman at Belchamp, holding a large farm, had his crops entirely destroyed."

The storm on Sunday evening extended to the Sussex coast : at Worthing it raged with uncommon violence, and exceeded any remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The flashes of lightning were very quick and vivid, and the rolling of the thunder awfully grand and sublime ; while the hail and rain descending in torrents completely deluged the whole town. The hail stones were particularly large, and fell with such force and velocity, as to demolish the windows in many of the houses ; upwards of 200*l.* worth of glass having been destroyed. So great was the devastation among the feathered tribe, that in the morning 2000 sparrows were picked up dead in the streets.

At Warwick assizes, the trial of major Cartwright, Wooler, Edmunds, Lewis, and Maddocks,

on the charge of exciting disaffection against the government, and of seditiously conspiring to elect sir Charles Wolseley to be the legislative attorney and representative of the inhabitants of Birmingham to the house of commons, came on. The prosecution was conducted by Mr. serjeant Vaughan ; Mr. Denman defended Edmunds and Maddocks, and Mr. Hill appeared for major Cartwright ; Wooler and Lewis employed no counsel.—The chief evidence to prove a concert and conspiracy between the parties, James Boyce, a brass founder, in Birmingham, residing in Cannon-street, deposed to major Cartwright lodging there, the other defendants calling upon him, depositing the flags there, apparently concurring in one object, and subsequently departing from thence in a landau, to hold the meeting. Several other witnesses gave accounts of what passed at the meeting, and the words spoken by defendants.—Mr. Denman and Mr. Hill then spoke with great ability in behalf of their clients, which closed the proceedings of Thursday. Mr. Wooler addressed the court, in a speech which occupied three hours and a quarter ; after which a written defence of major Cartwright's was put in and read, which consumed four hours.—Mr. serjeant Vaughan having replied, the chief baron Richards summed up the evidence. The learned judge, in the course of his observations, remarked, that although it would be much more gratifying to him to find that any man was innocent than guilty, yet he felt it to be his duty on this occasion to state, that he had, from the statements of the defendants them-

themselves, received an impression that they were fully guilty of the charges which the indictment set forth against them.—The jury then retired, and after consulting together for eighteen minutes, returned a verdict of Guilty against all the defendants.—Six other persons were tried for political offences at these assizes on Saturday, and all found guilty.

Aug. 4.—The special commission at Stirling closed; when 22 prisoners were ordered to be executed on Friday, the 8th of September. Twenty were recommended to mercy: it is probable that the royal mercy will be extended to them, and that two only, Hardie and Baird, will suffer.

5.—A ferry-boat from Anglesea to Bangor, containing 22 persons, chiefly females, with their commodities for Carnarvon market, upset a little above the latter town, and all perished, save one man, who escaped by clinging to the boat.

At the Lincoln assizes, Mr. baron Garrow took occasion to deprecate the practice of bringing constables as witnesses, merely for the purpose of producing stolen property which had been delivered into their custody; it was quite an absurdity to suppose that the property might not be retained by the person from whom it was stolen, and who might produce it in evidence at the trial. Human ingenuity, his lordship observed, could suggest no reasons for such a practice, except those of increasing the charge of the prosecution, and thereby adding to the expenses of the county; of unnecessarily occupying the time of the grand jury and of the court; and of running a risk of losing the identity of the property.

Sarah Pólgrean, aged 37; was condemned at Cornwall assizes, and since executed, for poisoning her husband with arsenic: she had been heard to threaten “to poison the villain, and marry again.”

It is a singular fact, that, upon the completion of the new line of road from Glasgow to Carlisle, in which there is a saving of nine or ten miles, the distance from Carlisle to Edinburgh and Glasgow will be equal, namely 94 miles. The distance from Carlisle to Liverpool and Manchester is also equal, viz. 120 miles; thus making from Liverpool to Glasgow and Edinburgh, 214 miles each:—from Manchester to Glasgow and Edinburgh likewise 214 miles each. It may be considered, that the road between these four principal towns, in point of distance, is complete, as it is difficult to conceive, from the excellence of the present lines, any further improvement.

As a check to the rapid progress of disorganization and death generally consequent on taking acrid poison, as corrosive sublimate, verdigris, or any salt of copper, a knowledge of the fact, that the raw white of eggs, swallowed very frequently, and without limitation as to quantity, is the most appropriate remedy, till the arrival of medical assistance, cannot be unimportant, nor too generally diffused.

The Turkish frigate which sailed from Gillingham on Monday (the 7th inst.) left one of her sailors on the marsh at a considerable distance below Hoo, confined to a stake driven into the ground, with his arms and legs chained in such a way that it was impossible for

for him to extricate himself, and the flowing of the next tide would have drowned him. Fortunately this poor creature was found by a lad belonging to the dock-yard, who went on the marsh to shoot curlews: the man made signals of distress to him, and the lad with the aid of others preserved his life. It is said the man had been guilty of theft, for which his countrymen had put him in this situation in order that he might perish. The same man, it appears, had been observed on Sunday morning by J. Clark, a caulker, of Chatham dock-yard, in walking over Hoo Salts, sitting on the mud. The unfortunate man perceiving Mr. Clark, beckoned with his hands, as well as his miserable situation would allow. On approaching him, he found the poor fellow's legs chained, his hands bound, and his body lashed to a stake, in such a situation that the tide might flow over him. Mr. Clark succeeded in forcing him from the cords, and dragging him to the marsh, beyond the reach of the tide; but being alone, and in sight of the Turkish ship, he was fearful of meddling further.—*Kentish Gazette*.

In the consistory court of London, arguments in the case Gilbert, *versus* Buzzard and Boyer, were heard before sir William Scott, on the right of interring in church-yards in iron coffins—a question, which, from its novelty, has excited considerable interest. A responsive allegation had been given in on behalf of the churchwardens (the defendants) which now stood for admission, and upon which it was mutually agreed the general question should be decided. The circumstances

of the case as detailed in the proceedings are shortly these. In the month of March, 1819, application was made at the burial-ground of St. Andrew, Holborn, in Gray's Inn lane, by Bridgman, the patentee, to bury the corpse of Mary, wife of John Gilbert, in an iron coffin; and on the sexton refusing to receive it, a forcible entry was effected by the undertakers and others. After much altercation, interment being still refused, they carried off the corpse, and deposited it in the churchyard of St. Andrew, Holborn, and by their conduct collected a great mob, and excited disturbance: the churchwardens of course could not permit it to remain, and ordered it to be taken to the bone-house; and the interment being still withheld, the present proceedings were commenced against the churchwardens. Dr. Arnold, for the promoter, observed, that the present was a question whether parties had a right to enforce the interring corpses in iron coffins, or parishes to refuse their admission, and contended, that the choice of the material of which coffins were to be made, rested with the executors, and was a matter quite discretionary. It was known by the remains that were occasionally discovered, that our ancestors were buried in stone. It was now frequent to be buried in lead; and at all events, that wood was chosen which was the least perishable. In the present instance, iron had been selected, in order that the body might be secure from removal, and he contended that parties were fully justified in finding some means of preventing that violation of sepulture which must at all times be so revolting to our natural feelings; the

the objection rested upon the speculation of the interment of another body, in the place of the former. Now the church-yard belonged to the parishioners, and every parishioner had a *general* right of interment therein; but when the interment took place, that general right became a particular right, and surely was not temporary; the inviolability of sepulture was one of the most acknowledged of rights; it was called our last home.

Drs. Jenner and Phillimore followed on the same side, and observed; that the question appeared to them to be, whether there was any law to prescribe the material of which coffins were to be made, and contended, that iron coffins of this description would not last longer than those now in use; and that if there were no law on the subject, the determination of the question must be left to the legislature, and therefore prayed the court to reject the allowance.

Drs. Swabey, Lushington, and Doven, were heard at great length on behalf of the parish, and contended that this mode of burial would be attended with the greatest inconvenience, particularly in populous parishes, from the imperishable nature of the material, and if admitted, what means would there be of preventing these coffins being made of any thickness or dimensions? It was argued by their learned opponents, that the law had given no directions as to the material; but they would answer, that this court, whose jurisdiction was undoubted, had the greatest discretion. It was well known that no *alteration, addition, or improvement* could be

made in any church or church-yard, without a faculty from this court; and so attentive had it been to the interest of parishes, that even a faculty for a vault could not be granted without the written consent of the minister and churchwardens; it had also been urged that burial was of common right; this they admitted, but it was a *right* subject to *limitation*, so that it should not be used as an injury to others; and was there any law that a parish should be under the necessity of purchasing additional ground, and parties compelled to bury their friends at a great distance and an enormous expense, to indulge the superstitious feelings of others? This court was entitled to exercise the largest discretion, so that sepulture might be performed without inconvenience to those left behind. The only right that could be claimed was, that of being buried in the usual and accustomed manner; the learned counsel strongly enforced the large discretion of the court, contending, that as representing the bishop, it was to see that the ground was properly kept, and appropriated for the benefit of the parish in particular, and the country at large. No monuments, no vaults, not a brick could be laid, or any fees demanded, without its sanction; in the present instance, therefore, the court was called upon to exercise *that* authority, and as they trusted the court would see the strong objections to the use of these iron coffins, that it would admit the allowance now before it, which sir Wm. Scott accordingly did; thereby confirming the right of churchwardens to refuse the admittance of iron coffins;



fin; but at the same time declared, he should give his sentiments fully on the subject at a future period.

An alarming fire broke out at the house of a cheesemonger, Stepney Green, Mile End. Such was the rapidity of the flames, that the stair-case was totally consumed before the unhappy family, who had retired to rest, were awoke to a sense of their extremely perilous situation. Fortunately, on its discovery by the watchman, and consequent alarm, a number of the neighbouring inhabitants soon collected together; blankets were procured; and the family, by leaping from the balcony of the first floor, were happily rescued from their hazardous situation, without personal injury. The walls only remain; and of furniture, stock, or even of wearing apparel, not an article has been saved.

A storm of thunder and lightning fell in and near the metropolis, which for grandeur has not in this country been exceeded for many years. It commenced about eleven, and did not cease till one o'clock. We have detailed its effects in various parts of the country. During the storm the electric fluid fell on two houses, Nos. 12 and 13, in Tuttel-street, Liquor-pond-street, shivered the chimneys to pieces, and broke in the second floor of No. 12, shivered the cupboard door, and set several parts of the wood on fire; the family were in bed, but they got up and fortunately extinguished the fire. At the adjoining house, No. 13, the electric fluid broke through the roof and ceiling, caught the bell-wire, and descended by it to the street-door, destroy-

ing the wire and cranks, leaving a black mark of smoke along the wall as if from gunpowder; an ozier cradle on the first floor was scorched all over, and some clothes caught fire; fortunately the child was in bed with its mother at the time.

An old man who lay in the room, and who had been unable to walk for six weeks before from violent rheumatic pains, received such an electric shock, that he jumped out of bed, ran down stairs, and recovered the use of his limbs; he was as well the next day as ever he was in his life! the hair on his wife's head was very much singed, but she received no other injury. The fluid, after descending as far as the street-door, shivered open the parlour door, and took a direction along the passage wall, which it tore to the back door, caught the lock and hinges, all of which it wrenched off, and threw the door in pieces into the yard, leaving a strong smell all over the house as if caused by gunpowder.

2.—John Henry, esq. barrister at law, and formerly chief justice in the Ionian Isles, left town with a commission from the queen, to arrange and prepare the evidence in Italy, for her defence on the bill of pains and penalties. Mr. Henry has received from government the most satisfactory assurances, that every facility shall be granted to him for procuring passports to every individual whom he may consider it necessary to be conveyed to England on the occasion.

7.—The first stone of a free national school, at Pancras, under the patronage of the duke of Sussex, and presidency of the duke of Bed-

Bedford, was laid ; it is to contain 400 boys.

8.—The prince of Leinengen, only son of the duchess of Kent, a youth of about 17, arrived at Kensington palace, from Dover ; he has since been introduced to the royal family.

9.—At half past seven o'clock at night, an alarming fire (through the boiling over of a copper) broke out in the boiling-house of Messrs. Langton and Bicknell, spermaceti manufacturers, opposite Newington church, Surrey, which raged with violence till two o'clock in the morning, when that part of the premises was destroyed. Damage estimated at 2000*l*.

17.—This morning, about ten a melancholy accident happened at the buildings now making for the new improvements in Swallow-street. As several men were at work clearing away rubbish placed under an old wall about 20 feet in height, and upwards of 40 in length, the whole fell down on a sudden with a most tremendous crash. Three of the poor fellows employed were under the wall, and instantly enveloped in the midst of its ruins ; a fourth providentially escaped. The three unhappy sufferers were extricated in a few minutes, when they presented a spectacle totally indescribable ; their heads were literally dashed to pieces, and their bodies so dreadfully mangled, that every person shuddered who had an opportunity of seeing them. The bodies were conveyed to a public house, to await the decision of the coroner's jury.

**FUNERAL OF HER LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF YORK.**

After divine service on Sunday,

Aug. 13, and during the early part of Monday, workmen were employed in fitting up the interior of Weybridge church. A platform of boards had previously been laid down, extending from the porch of the church to the mouth of the vault. It was about eight feet in width, and bounded on each side by a hand-rail ; the flooring was painted black, and the rail was covered with black cloth. The vault is situate on the south side of the church, immediately under the pew usually occupied by the domestics of Oatlands. It is constructed of bricks, and is of so small dimensions as scarcely to be capable of containing two coffins.

Monday morning, at half-past ten o'clock, his royal highness the duke of York arrived at Oatlands from London, to superintend the arrangements for the last solemn rites. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence, Sussex, and Cambridge, prince Leopold, the earl of Lauderdale, and several other persons of distinction, who were to form part of the funeral procession, also arrived at an early hour. The duke of York had directed the poor children who were supported and educated solely at the expense of the late duchess to be in attendance at Oatlands, in order to join the procession. Previously, however, to the removal of the coffin from the apartment in which it had lain in state, these children were admitted to take a last view of the remains of their kind benefactress. The scene was highly interesting and affecting. They were 40 in number, 26 girls and 14 boys, from eight to twelve years of age ; and, while they stood round the bier,

(G 2) every

every one of the youthful group was dissolved in tears. The duke had provided each of them with a suit of mourning, and it is gratifying to know that his royal highness intends to continue the school at his own expense.

At three o'clock, the preparations having been all completed,

Four mutes on horseback.

Children on foot.

Two mutes on horseback.

Servants in a mourning coach.

The late duchess's carriage, drawn by six greys, and containing sir T. Stepney, colonel Berkeley, and colonel Armstrong, bearing the coronet.

THE HEARSE,

drawn by six iron greys.

First mourning coach, drawn by six black horses, and containing his royal highness the duke of York, as chief mourner ; prince Leopold and the earl of Lauderdale, as the late duchess's executors.

Second mourning coach, containing the duke of Clarence,

the duke of Sussex, the duke of Cambridge.

Two mutes.

Third mourning coach, containing

Sir H. Torrens, Sir W. Gordon,

Sir H. Calvert, Sir H. Taylor,

as pall bearers.

Fourth mourning coach, containing

Lady A. Smith, Miss Fitzroy,

Marchioness of Worcester, Miss C. Smith,

the ladies in waiting.

Fifth mourning coach, containing

The marquis of Worcester,

Lord Alvanley, Sir B. Bloomfield,

Colonel Stanhope, Colonel Cook,

the gentlemen in waiting.

These were followed by two coaches, containing the medical attendants of her late royal highness ; and a long train of mourning carriages, filled with ladies and gentlemen, terminated the procession.

There were no military employed on this occasion, and the good order and propriety of conduct

the coffin was removed from the great dining-room by eight bearers, and was placed in the hearse, which had been drawn up in front of the vestibule. The procession was then marshalled, and moved on through the park towards the Weybridge gate :—

evinced by the numerous spectators who lined the road, was a sufficient proof of the propriety of such an arrangement. At four o'clock the solemn procession reached the church of Weybridge, which is little more than a mile from Oatlands.—The coffin was removed from the hearse at the gate of the church-yard, and the pro-

procession formed on foot. At the porch of the church it was met by the reverend Dr. Haultain, the clergyman of the parish. The procession passing up the central aisle, the coffin was deposited by the bearers on two trestles, in front of the altar. The altar, the pulpit, the aisles, and the galleries, were hung with black cloth.

The solemnity of the scene was rendered still more impressive by the sobbing and weeping of the children, and the unaffected expression of sorrow that was depicted in the countenance of every person present. The first part of the burial service having been read from the desk by Dr. Haultain, the procession quitted the church in the same order in which

it had entered, and proceeded along the platform of boards which had been formed between the porch and the vault. The coffin was set down at the mouth of the vault, and the pall with which it had hitherto been covered having been removed, the spectators had an opportunity of seeing it distinctly. It was covered with rich purple velvet, and adorned with yellow nails, by which the top, the sides, and the ends, were formed into oblong pannels. In each corner of these compartments was a small gilt plate with a royal coronet, and the letters D. Y. inscribed. On the lid was a large gilt plate, bearing the following inscription:—

## DEPOSITUM

Illustrissimæ Principissæ

FREDERICÆ-CHARLOTTÆ-ULRICÆ-CATHARINÆ,

Consortis Illustrissimi Principis

FREDERICI DE BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURGH,

Ducis Eboraci et Albaniz,

Fratris Augustissimi et Potentissimi Monarchæ

GEORGII QUARTI,

Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regis, Fidei Defensoris.

Obiit

VI. die Augusti, Anno Domini

MDCCCXX;

Ætatis suæ

LIV.

After the usual portion of the burial service had been read by the clergyman, the coffin was slowly lowered into the vault by means of boards placed in an inclined direction. The concluding words of the solemn service were then pronounced by Dr. Haultain; after which the styles of her late royal highness were formally proclaimed by sir George Nayler, York herald. Their royal highnesses, and the rest of those who had formed the procession, imme-

diately withdrew, and the entrance to the vault was built up.

## THEATRICAL REGISTER.

ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE, LYCEUM.

August 9.—The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles, a dramatic romance. It is a free translation from the French, the original of which has had extraordinary success in Paris. What we do not admire in this piece is, that the superstition on which it is founded is a Turkish one; and the translator has fixed his scene in the wes-

tern islands of Scotland. The music is for the most part compiled : the fable, however, is very interesting, and the scenery beautiful.

21.—The Patent Seasons, "an extempore temporary sketch, founded on recent encroachments." This piece has for its object a sort of ludicrous contest with one of the winter theatres, with which theatrical criticism has nothing to do. There was, however, a good deal of mirth excited, and the piece was much applauded.

Whang Fong ; or, How Remarkable ! a farce in two acts. It met with slender approbation.

#### HAYMARKET THEATRE.

12.—Exchange no Robbery ; or, The Diamond Ring, a comedy in three acts. This piece is ascribed to the pen of Mr. Theodore Hook, and was completely successful.

### SEPTEMBER.

#### ITALY.

The authorities at Venice threaten those who join the Carbonari with death ; and such as conceal a knowledge of their proceedings with perpetual imprisonment.

A frightful conflagration, which began on the 22d of July, was on the 10th of August still laying waste the huge forests which crown the Appennines, in the vicinity of the Fondi. The conflagration has even extended beyond that territory, and especially into that of St. Andre, along the consular road through the territory of Serragliano and of Selsa.

A letter from Palermo says, "That the academy of that city had sent some persons to Mount Etna, who affirm that, while they

stood on the crater of that volcano, they heard from it the thunder of the late eruption of Mount Vesuvius ; which gives room to conjecture, that these two volcanoes have subterraneous communication with each other."

According to the French papers, the news from Naples is most deplorable. There had been a duel between a priest and a military man, in which the former was killed, and the latter mortally wounded. The clubs were in full activity, and had already brought accusations against several ministers. They pretend that the king should no longer have a private guard ; but one composed from among the troops of the line. In Sicily affairs are in a still more violent state. All communication between Palermo and Messina was interdicted. The former city has on foot a considerable armament.

At Girgento, in Sicily, there are immense wells dug out of the rock for the purpose of keeping grain for the use of the troops and inhabitants : during the late revolution in Sicily the king's troops of the above mentioned garrison seized the convicts, about 900 in number, and lowered them down in these empty fosses, as they are called, where, from the excessive heat, numbers were suffocated, and others, in desperation, destroyed each other. There could have been no real necessity for this horrid way of sacrificing the poor wretches, as they were strongly ironed, and in the midst of a garrison of near 3,000 men.

#### RUSSIA.

The emperor Alexander has, by an imperial mandate, granted a considerable portion of land on the

the banks of the Azoph to converted Jews, exempting them from taxes and military service, and assuring them of his royal favour and protection; M. Moritz, a converted Jew, is appointed spiritual superintendant of the colony. More than sixty families have already, it is said, resorted there.

#### TURKEY.

A report has been spread by the foreign journals, that in a sanguinary revolution at Constantinople, one-fifth of the population has perished.

#### AMERICA, &c.

We learn with concern, that the horrible traffic of the slave trade is carried on at the Havannah as freely as ever, and is not likely to be suppressed, or at all diminished, the profits are so great. We understand that we have a very intelligent commissioner there from this country, a barrister by profession, to check its progress; but the traders in the monstrous practice are too experienced in the villainy, and too cunning in their operations to fear detection.

A society has been formed in the republic of Hayti, for the purpose of aiding the free people of colour in the United States in removing to and settling in that island. The society is sanctioned by the president.

The New York Evening Post of August 4, contains the following advertisement:—"Twenty dollars for a negro's head. Negro Dick ran away in March last from Mr. B. P. Wells. He now belongs to me; and as I have sent word to him to come in, and he will not do so, I will give ten dollars for him if brought alive, or twenty dollars for his head alone. Any person is at liberty to shoot

or maim Dick in any way they please, while he is run away!!! (Signed) James Morgan. Murfreesborough, July 29th, 1820."

From South America, there are some appearances of a pacification between the Spanish general Morillo and the congress of Venezuela. In the night of the 7th of July a courier was received from that general at Guayana, where they were sitting, in which he stated that he had made the same communication to Bolivar, the president of the republic, and the vice-president of Cundinamarea. He proposes an armistice preparatory to a negotiation; for which purpose he has nominated two persons to treat with the congress. On the 10th the congress met to consider the proposal; and, with open doors, it was unanimously resolved, that the acknowledgement of the absolute independence of the republic could be the only basis of negotiation.

#### NEW SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

A great discovery has been made in geography by Mr. Smith, master of the William, of Blythe, in Northumberland. Whilst trading between the Rio Plata and Chili, in endeavouring to facilitate his passage round Cape Horn, last year, he ran to a higher latitude than is usual in such voyages, and in lat. 62. 30. and 60. west long. discovered land. Circumstances not admitting of a very close examination, he returned to Buenos Ayres; and having again departed from thence for Valparaiso in February last, he resolved to devote as much time to the purpose as was consistent with his primary object, a safe and successful voyage.—He ran in a westward direction along the coasts, either of a

(G 4) continent

continent or numerous islands, for two or three hundred miles, forming large bays, and abounding with the spermaceti whale, seals, &c. He took numerous soundings and bearings, draughts, and a chart of the coast; and, in short, did every thing that the most experienced navigator, dispatched purposely for the object of making a survey, could do. He even landed, and in the usual manner took possession of the country for his sovereign, and named his acquisition New South Shetland. The climate was temperate, the coast mountainous, apparently uninhabited, but not destitute of vegetation, as firs and pines were observable in many places; in short, the country had upon the whole the appearance of the coast of Norway. After having satisfied himself with every particular that time and circumstances permitted him to examine, he bore away to the north and pursued his voyage.—On his arrival at Valparaiso he communicated his discovery to captain Sherriff, of his majesty's ship *Andromache*, and a fully detailed narrative was forwarded to government.—The *Conway* sloop sailed lately for the South seas; and it is not improbable but that she is intended to take a survey of the newly discovered country.

*Remarkable cannon.*—At Kuberpore na Jheel, in India, there is a cannon 213 inches long, 66 inches round the muzzle, and 18 inches round the calibre. It has five, and had originally six, equidistant rings, by which it was lifted up. This gun is called by the natives Jaun Kushall, or the destroyer of life, and its casting and position are attributed to the deotas or divinities, though its almost

obliterated Persian inscriptions declare its formation by human means. But what is most extraordinary about it is, that two peepul trees have grown both cannon and carriage into themselves. Fragments of the iron, a spring, one of the linches, and part of the wood-work, protrude from between the roots and bodies of these trees, but the trees alone entirely support the gun, one of the rings of which, and half of its whole length, are completely hid between and inside their bark and trunks. A more curious sight, or a cannon more firmly fixed, though by the mere gradual growth of two trees, cannot well be imagined. The Indians assert that it was only once fired, and sent the ball twenty-four miles.

An unfortunate accident occurred at Margate, in the passage of the *Eclipse* steam-packet from London to that place: by some misfortune, a boat containing a respectable elderly gentleman, named Griffiths, and the proprietor, a sailor named Jennings, brought up directly in the way of the vessel, which was proceeding at her full powers. Captain Jones immediately directed the engineer to stop the works, but unfortunately the vessel at her speed could not be so easily stopped, and made directly on the miserable bark, which was borne down instantly. Jennings had three ribs broken, and the gentleman suffered a fracture of the thigh and other injuries, from which he is since dead.

A meeting of the merchants, &c. of Birmingham, was held at the public office in that town, J. Scholefield, esq. high bailiff, in the chair, for the purpose of hearing

ing a report and petitioning parliament upon the general distress now prevailing in that town. The low bailiff, T. Ryland, esq. in a speech which produced a very impressive effect upon his hearers, stated, that a committee had made a survey of the town, for the purpose of discovering its real condition ; and among other melancholy particulars resulting from their inquiries, were the following :—The publicans, he said, stated, that one-third of their number had lost half of their business ; and that not only was the quantity of ale and beer reduced, but now, so impoverished were their customers, that where seven-penny ale had been called for, they now sold four-penny, and where they had sold a quart they now sold only one pint. The butchers, on being interrogated, said, they had lost full one-third of their former business, and, among the labouring classes, more than one-half. Respectable housekeepers, who formerly had their regular joints of meat, were now reduced to buy pounds and half pounds. As for the poorer classes, they were obliged to purchase chiefly beeves' liver, in pennyworths and two pennyworths ; and in truth, there was great importunity on the part of the poor for what, time back, would have been eaten only by the inferior animals ; so that now, instead of rejecting beeves' liver, one butcher said, if a whole animal were liver, he thought it would be sold instead of better meat. The grocers described themselves to be in the same situation as the publicans and butchers ; and the hucksters declared themselves almost in a ruined state, from the obligation

under which they lay of giving credit. Cheese, instead of being sold in pounds, was now vended chiefly in ounces, and bread by penny and twopenny slices. The pawnbrokers stated, that many persons who felt obliged from circumstances to keep up appearances, were driven to the hard necessity of pledging their linen and other articles to pay their poor's rates. After the report had been read, some discussion arose on the cause of this deep distress : after which resolutions for a petition to parliament were proposed, and carried unanimously.

At Glasgow, J. Wilson, convicted for high treason, was executed in front of the new gaol. The prisoner, when he came on the platform, was loudly cheered by the mob, as he was when he fell, with loud cries of " Murder ! " and hisses. He fell at three o'clock, and was much convulsed. While hanging, blood appeared at his ears through the cap. At half-past three he was taken down and the head was cut off, the body lying on the coffin. The man in the mask was saluted by hisses and cries of " Murder ! " The head was cut off at one blow, and held up as usual.

At the bottom of a wood belonging to W. Turton, esq. of Knowlton in Flintshire, is a rill of water, which empties itself into the river Dee ; and when a person strides across it, he is in the kingdom of England and the principality of Wales ; in the provinces of Canterbury and York ; and the dioceses of Chester, and Lichfield and Coventry ; in the counties of Flint and Salop ; in two townships ; and in the grounds of Mr. Turton and his neighbour,

The



The rev. Henry Heap, the present vicar of Bradford, in Yorkshire, upon his entering on the living, sent word to all his parishioners who are quakers, that he should never enforce his right of tithes from them; adding, that "what they could not conscientiously pay, he could not conscientiously receive."

Dr. Coppleston, provost of Oriel college, Oxford, has lately presented Mr. Henry Lee, manager of the theatre, Taunton, with a bust of Gay, modelled from the one on the poet's monument in Westminster abbey. It is intended as a compliment to Mr. Lee, for the zeal he has displayed in editing the recently-discovered posthumous MSS. under the title of "Gay's chair."—Dr. Coppleston is himself a descendant of the family.

Mrs. Jasper Leigh Goodwin, late of Hoddesdon, Herts, bequeathed the following sums in aid of the under-mentioned humane institutions: To the clergy orphan society, 500*l*. To the Bristol infirmary, 500*l*. To the asylum for deaf and dumb in the Kent-road, 300*l*. To the asylum for indigent blind, London, 300*l*. To the asylum for indigent blind, Bristol, 200*l*. To the college for clergymen's windows, Bromley, 500*l*. To the stranger's friend society, Bristol, 200*l*. To the asylum for poor orphan girls, Bristol, 200*l*. To the marine hospital, London, 300*l*. To the mendicity society, London, 100*l*.

A writer in a Liverpool paper makes mention of the following very simple method of preserving persons in the water from drowning: Take a silk handkerchief, and, spreading it on the ground,

place a hat in the centre, with the crown upwards, in the ordinary position of wearing, and gather up the corners, giving them a twist to keep them more securely together. The person may then venture into the water without being in any fear of the drowning person taking hold of him, as the quantity of air contained in the hat is sufficient to support two persons; or it might be advisable to place the corners of the handkerchief into the hand of the person drowning, who would be thus kept floating, and easily conveyed to the side.

Accounts have been received in Edinburgh from a gentleman attached to the Arctic land expedition, dated in January last, at which period the party were in comfortable winter-quarters at Cumberland Cove. The cold was very severe, the thermometer standing at 80 degrees below zero; but, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere, it was not so unpleasant as the cold wet weather in England. The rivers and lakes abounded with fish of various kinds, particularly trout of a very large size, and the hunters brought moose deer and buffaloes from the woods; so that there was no scarcity of provisions at the station they occupied. It was intended to proceed to the northward as soon as the season would permit; and, having the whole summer before them, they expected to make great progress in their journey; but owing to the great distance to the supposed northern shores, it is probable that it would take them the greatest part of the next summer to make any very extensive survey of the coast.

1.—An order for the release of  
sir

sir Manasseh Lopez was received at the Devon county gaol on Friday evening. He was sentenced in the court of king's bench, on the 19th of November last, to two years' imprisonment, nearly fifteen months of which have been remitted.

6.—The brewhouse and store-rooms of Mr. Tamplin, of Southwick, near Brighton, together with all the beer in the latter, were consumed by fire. Damage supposed to be 10,000*l.* and all uninsured.

7.—As John Cole, formerly a schoolmaster of Fingringhoe, in Essex, who is now in the 66th year of his age, was sitting with others, in a field belonging to Mr. Elijah Clarke, farmer, of that parish, while viewing the late eclipse of the sun with his right eye, he being stone blind of the left, partially shaded by his hand, his left eye was instantly restored to sight, and he can now see with it as perfectly as he did thirty years ago.

8.—Baird and Hardie, convicted of high treason, as being found in arms at Bonnymuir, were executed at Stirling, in front of the stair leading to the town-house. They died almost without a struggle. After hanging half an hour, Calder, the sheriff's officer, came forward and caught the bodies alternately, whilst the hangman cut them down. They then placed them on the scaffold, and Calder having bared the neck to the shoulders, cutting open the coat and vest, the decapitator came forward amid execrations, hisses, and shouts of "murder!" The mangling horrified the spectators; the heads were proclaimed; and the

decapitator quickly retreated amid loudly-expressed disapprobation.

*Tork, September 11.*

The court met this morning, at nine o'clock, according to adjournment, for the trial of the unfortunate men who were arraigned here, on Saturday, upon a charge of high treason.

So early as eight o'clock the doors of the court were thrown open, and in a few minutes it became crowded in every part. The prisoners, 22 in number, were soon after placed in the dock by Mr. Stavely, the gaoler. All but two were young men. The men themselves were calm and collected; but some females, who were said to be the wives and mothers of some of the prisoners, appeared in court in the greatest agitation and distress. Soon after nine o'clock Mr. justice Bailey and Mr. justice Park took their seats on the bench. Mr. Raine, leading counsel for the prosecution, serjeants Hullock and Cross, and Mr. Little-dale, who were also for the crown, with the treasury solicitor also took their places. Mr. Williams, Mr. Starkie, and Mr. Blackburne, appeared for the prisoners.

Mr. Williams rose, and addressed the court.

My lords,—Since the arraignment of the prisoners on Saturday, they have considered this subject, and are now desirous, with your lordships' permission, to withdraw the pleas they then gave in, and to plead guilty.

Mr. justice Bailey.—I take it for granted that the prisoners at the bar are all in hearing of what is passing in court, and are ready to withdraw their plea of not guilty.

William

William Comstive, a young man, who was evidently the most intelligent of the prisoners, and to whom they appeared to look with confidence, immediately said, "They are all acquainted with it, my lord."

Mr. Raine.—My lords, we have no objection to it on the part of the crown.

It is right to explain the arrangement in consequence of which the prisoners withdrew their plea of Saturday, and took the course now adopted.

Soon after the arrival of Mr. Williams yesterday, who was known to be the leading counsel for all the prisoners, an intimation was made to him, that, if the prisoners chose it, they might have their lives spared upon making submission. This communication was simply conveyed to the prisoners, without one word of recommendation or desire either one way or the other, and the men were allowed one hour to consider the proposal. At the termination of that period they all expressed a wish to submit; and again, upon the attorney's attending them in prison this morning, they all said, that they had had the night to reflect upon the subject, and that they adhered to their wish of availing themselves of the proposal.

Accordingly, when they came into court this morning, they were humanely apprized by Mr. Williams, in a conversation with them, that they had still to undergo the form of receiving sentence in the usual terms for high treason. The prisoners expressed themselves prepared.

Mr. Newstead, the clerk of the crown, then called over the several

names of the prisoners, who respectively withdrew the plea of not guilty, and pleaded guilty.

The following are the names and ages of the prisoners:—

	Aged
William Comstive .....	28
Richard Addy .....	29
Charles Stanfield .....	28
Benjamin Hanson .....	24
Joseph Chappiel .....	25
James Flowers .....	49
Benjamin Rogers .....	30
William Rice .....	40
John Burkinshaw .....	28
Joseph Forth .....	25
John Vallance .....	24
John Ferrymond .....	25
Abraham Ingham .....	27
George Brien .....	36
John Hobson .....	20
George Burkinshaw .....	25
William Holland .....	20
Michael Downing .....	48
John Lindley .....	50
Nathan Buckley .....	40
Thomas Blackburne .....	33
John Peacock .....	45

The prisoners were all labourers, weavers, and cordwainers.

*Distressing accident.*—The following particulars of the calamitous accident which happened off Portobello are given by one of the survivors. A party of fifteen persons, including two boys (the one about 15 and the other six years of age), and a girl (about 15), left Portobello on a pleasure sail to Inchkeith; on their return, when about a mile and a half from land, the boat suddenly upset, and the whole of the party were immersed in the dangerous element, and, melancholy to relate, five persons unfortunately perished. Those who did not immediately sink clung to the boat, which as suddenly turned

turned over again, and thus, by a flap of the sail, the strugglers were deprived of their hold, and in a worse situation than before. One person was struck so violently as to be driven to the bottom; on again reaching the surface he looked anxiously for the youngest boy, who was under his care, and seeing his leather cap at a considerable distance, he swam to it and recovered the child, with whom he returned to the boat, and, with the assistance of another person, succeeded in replacing him on it as often as he lost his hold. That other person also endeavoured to assist one of the party who could not swim (John Haxton), but who intreated him to save his daughter, in which the humane individual succeeded. A coal sloop was lying nearer to the shore, a boat from which promptly put off, and, with the assistance of others, fortunately picked up the survivors. The accident was seen by a number of persons walking on the beach; the melancholy event soon became known through the village, and a great proportion of the inhabitants hurried to the shore, where the scene became indescribably distressing. The little boy is quite well, but the girl remains greatly indisposed. It is to be hoped that this melancholy catastrophe will long be a caution, and induce pleasure parties not to crowd their boats. The cause of the disaster is not precisely known, but the fact we understand to be, that the lee side of the boat was almost gunnel to, and a light gust of wind causing the sail to dip in the water, it instantly upset.

A lachrymatory has lately been found in a coffin, in the neighbour-

hood of Lanercost, in Cumberland. It is a small glass bulb, hermetically sealed, containing a liquid to all appearance water. Several similar vessels have been found in the sepulchres of the ancients, and some antiquaries supposed that they served to collect the tears of the surviving friends of the deceased, which were thus interred with the remains, as these phials are furnished with a round concave part, well adapted for embracing the convexity of the eye-ball.

13 and 14.—A meeting of Welsh bards was held at Wrexham, which was attended by all the rank, wealth, and beauty of the neighbourhood. Premiums and prizes were given for the best poems on various subjects. The bardic chair was won by Robert Davis of Nantglyn,—the silver harp, by Richard Roberts, of Caernarvon, who was both blind and lame. Upwards of 80 compositions were sent in, many of which possessed great merit. Two essays, in the English language, by the rev. J. W. Rees, of co. Radnor, and the rev. J. Hughes, of co. Brecon, on ancient British history, and the life and character of Arthur, gained premiums. The bards and minstrels assembled in the town hall in the morning, and the concerts were held at the assembly rooms in the evenings, which consisted chiefly of Welsh melodies, arranged with English words. The vocal compositions were well performed by Mr. Smith of Liverpool; Mrs. Corran, Miss Hall, master Clough, and Mr. Parry, editor of the Welsh melodies, under whose direction the congress was held, and to whom the Cymmrodorian society in

Powys

Powys voted a handsome piece of plate for his zeal in the cause.

15.—The first stone of a new church at Windsor was laid, with religious and masonic ceremonies, by J. Ramsbottom, esq. M. P. as proxy for the duke of York.

Of the magnificent communion plate presented by the pope to the new catholic chapel in Moorfields, which was used for the first time on Sunday, August 27, the chalice alone is estimated at 3000 guineas, being of pure gold, studded with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones.

A poor Welshman, having a wife and seven children, found a pocket-book in one of the squares at the west end of London, containing 5000*l.* in bank of England notes. From the direction in the book, he returned the property to the owner, who rewarded him with 250*l.* and settled 6*l.* annually upon him.

9.—Thursday last proved very favourable to the inhabitants of the metropolis and its environs for the observation of the eclipse of the sun: the light fleecy clouds that occasionally passed over the sun by no means obstructed the view of it, and with the exception of a very few minutes, the progress of the eclipse was visible from the beginning to the end. The moon, seen through a telescope of considerable power, exhibited her inequalities in a most distinct manner, insomuch that the heights of the mountainous parts might have been measured with great accuracy. Although ten and a quarter, out of twelve parts, into which the solar orb is astronomically divided, were obscured, the decrease of light was not so great as was ge-

nerally expected; and we much doubt whether the diminution would have been remarked, under the ordinary circumstance of a dense cloud passing over the sun's surface.

The thermometer at the royal observatory at Greenwich fell three degrees during the time of the greatest obscuration; while in London, at the royal exchange, the mercury fell from 69½ to 64 degrees, and the barometer rose.

*Gloucester, September 11.*

The expected eclipse of the sun took place on Thursday, and lasted nearly three hours. We have much pleasure in laying before our readers the following particulars, as observed from the tower of the cathedral in this city, the elevation of which is 176 feet. On account of the difference of the longitude between Gloucester and Greenwich, the eclipse was expected to have commenced at about 12 hours 32 minutes; but the moon was seen to enter upon the sun's disc as early as twelve, the time shown by the clock of the cathedral, according to which these observations were noted. At the commencement of the eclipse the thermometer stood at 75° Fahrenheit, and continued to fall till one hour, when it stood at 68 degrees.

Up to this period the sun had been little obscured by passing clouds; but at one hour fifteen minutes a light mist arose, in which appeared, surrounding the sun, a halo, whose apparent diameter was about 18°, having its eastern semi-circumference more luminous, and more accurately defined than the western. At the time

time of the greatest obscuration, at one hour 23 minutes, a chilling breeze sprung up from the south. The diminution of light was now very perceptible, and the effect produced might not improperly be compared to that of the sun's rays through a watery cloud at the time of his setting. At one hour 30 minutes, the circular form of the halo was broken to the west; and at one hour 40 minutes it entirely vanished.—The planet Venus was distinctly visible to the naked eye in the west, and continued so till one hour 55 minutes, when it was obscured by clouds. Owing to the cloudy state of the atmosphere, particularly to the east of the sun, where it was expected that the planet Mars would have been seen, no other star could be observed. At one hour 48 minutes the thermometer stood at 68°, the minimum to which it fell during the eclipse; and at two hours it rose to 66°; and at two hours 55 minutes, which was about the time of the end of the eclipse. (for the exact moment of its termination could not be marked, the sun having been for some minutes enveloped in clouds), it stood at 70°. During the progress of the eclipse, by means of a powerful telescope, several persons observed spots on the sun's disc, and a star in the west near the planet Venus.

During the late eclipse, the planet Venus was distinctly seen at Newcastle and at Killingworth.

The eclipse was very attentively observed by a number of persons in Dublin. The calculations of the duration, &c. of this sublime phenomenon proved extremely correct.

20.—At a court of proprietors of the bank of England, a dividend

of 5*l.* per cent. was declared for the half-year ending 10th October next. In answer to several questions on the supposed delays which have occurred in issuing the new notes, the chairman stated, that there had been no disappointment in the progress of the plan for manufacturing the notes; a great deal of machinery was necessary, which required time to perfect, and many artists and mechanics were employed; and every body conversant in machinery must know, that some uncertainty attached in practice to the best regulations in theory; but he had the satisfaction of saying, that, though he could not name a fixed and determinate period when the new notes would be ready for circulation, yet he believed that very little time would elapse before they would be ready.

21.—At the Middlesex sessions, radical Waddington was tried for having published a libel for the purpose of exciting sedition amongst the soldiers. He pleaded his own cause, and was acquitted.

W. Holmes was also indicted on the same charge. The defendant said, he had, six weeks ago, come up to town from Lincoln to look for work, and that he had been three weeks without getting any; at length he saw persons selling papers, and, without knowing that he was doing any mischief, he joined them, and was apprehended. He had been told there was a printer's name at the end of the papers, and of course thought himself not responsible for the contents. He was found guilty, and sentenced to six months imprisonment in the house of correction.

*Alarming outrage.*—An extraordinary

ordinary occurrence took place in the church of St. Sepulchre, Snowhill. About a quarter past seven o'clock a respectable looking man, who was seated in one of the pews in the centre of the church, stood up suddenly, and vociferated some incoherent expressions, and pulling from his side pockets a pair of loaded pistols, he brandished them about in each hand, when a gentleman in the next pew attempted to wrest the pistols. The clergyman came down from the pulpit, he being the most conspicuous person, and most likely to attract the notice of the maniac, for such we must suppose him to be. — He kept every person at a distance, and turning round, looked up to the organ gallery, each side of which was crowded with charity children, and levelling the pistol he held in his right hand he fired it into the gallery. A scream of horror was instantly echoed from all parts of the church and great confusion prevailed. He was fortunately secured before he had time to fire the second pistol, which was wrested from him, and found to be heavily loaded. The maniac was conveyed to the watch-house, in Cow-cross. Several of the children were trampled on and dreadfully hurt.

The justice room at Guildhall was crowded at an early hour on Monday, by numerous individuals of both sexes, to witness the examination of the person who had created such alarm and confusion in St. Sepulchre's church, on Sunday evening, by firing off a pistol in the middle aisle during divine service.

The prisoner, whose name is Daniel Krasling, is a fine looking

young man, about 24 years old; he was very respectably dressed in black, and conducted himself with every appearance of mildness and propriety.

Previously to hearing the evidence, a young gentleman of the name of Rhenius, clerk in the house of Messrs. Pasche and co., foreign merchants, No. 10, Crosby square, a friend and school-fellow of the prisoner, was sworn to interpret, Krasling being a German, and unacquainted with English.

The history of the transaction was narrated by a person of the name of Cumber, a smith, in Fleet-lane, who stated that he was standing in the aisle, near the pulpit, about a quarter before seven o'clock, when he observed the prisoner come from the rear of the pulpit, put on his hat, and pulling from beneath his coat a pistol, walk down the aisle, and discharge it towards the organ. This evidence being communicated to the prisoner by his friend, he mildly said, "it was correct;" but desired it might be added, "after first dispersing about some of the printed papers," a copy of which we subjoin:—

THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION  
Spoken of by Daniel, the prophet, that  
he shall stand in the holy place, is

THE ORGAN.

It is the image of the Kingdom of Antichrist.

THE MUSIC.

The  
B A B Y L O N BEAST.  
I \* II \* III IV \* V \* VI \* VII VIII  
b b b b b

Cumber, immediately on the firing, secured the prisoner, in which he was assisted by Pike, one of the beadles, and he was taken into the vestry-room, from whence, after being searched, he was conveyed to the Compter. Diligent search was subsequently made by Mr.

Mr. Haskins, the churchwarden, and the beadle, but no mark or trace could be discovered to show that the pistol had been loaded with ball.

The prisoner, when asked what object he had in this rash act, replied, that he might succeed, as he had succeeded; that his plan might be known to the world; the papers he had distributed contained it in part, but they were far too small to explain it; he could, however, explain more fully to any one who understood the principles of music. The plan was, that music is the Antichrist, which is against God, and is to be punished and destroyed by fire.

The story of the wanderings of this unfortunate young man was told with much feeling by his friend, Mr. Rhenius, who stated that he was the son of a respectable merchant at Königsberg, in Prussia, and had been an officer in the Prussian army, and had always borne an excellent and exemplary moral character. He (Mr. Rhenius) was his school-fellow, and they corresponded since he (Mr. Rhenius) had been in this country. He understood that Mr. Krasling had been in town, at the Angel inn, St. Clement's, about six weeks; but it was not till a week ago that he received a note from him, saying that he (the prisoner) had great events to communicate which would make him happy in believing. He called upon him subsequently at the Angel inn, and found him very much agitated. He then communicated to him, in an incoherent manner, that he had found out all the secrets of the Freemasons, that he had written

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to the duke of Sussex four letters on the subject, and had also an interview with his royal highness; and he expected, from the manner in which he had been received by him, that all the organs and musical instruments will be destroyed by the Freemasons, they knowing the secret revealed to him that music is Antichrist, and must be destroyed. He said he could never regain his peace of mind till he had made known this secret to the world, and when that was done he was ready to abide all consequences, and undergo the penalties of the law of the country.

Other proofs of the prisoner's disordered state of mind were adduced; it was stated that while at Boulogne he burnt near 1000 sheets of music, and refused an advantageous situation of music-master, which had been offered him, with a salary of 9000 francs a year.

Since his arrival in this country he has been for days and nights together without eating, drinking, or sleeping; and so strongly was his mind impressed with the act he had determined to do, for the purpose of calling public attention to his grand secret, that he had never been in bed upon the Saturday night previous.

When searched at the vestry-room, which he resisted with much indignation for some time, his purse was found to contain 18 or 20 ducats in gold, and some silver; two 1*l.* bank of England notes were also found in his room at the Angel inn, hanging up carelessly over the chimney glass.

The fact of his insanity being thus established, and certified also by Mr. Box, the surgeon of the

(H) Compter,



Compter, it was determined, with the consent of his friends, that he should be removed to a place of proper restraint, under their care, until he could safely be restored to his parents.

This being communicated to the unfortunate young man, he expressed himself much obliged to the magistrate, Mr. alderman Scholey, and bowing respectfully, retired very quietly with his friend Mr. Rhenius and some other gentlemen.

*Anecdote of Burckhardt, the traveller.*—The Arabs, who act as guides in the desolate mountains of Nubia, have devised a singular mode of extorting presents from the traveller. They first beg a present; if refused, they collect a heap of sand, and placing a stone at each extremity of it, they apprise the traveller that his tomb is made. Mr. Burckhardt, the celebrated traveller, had a practical proof of this custom; having refused to give any thing to one of these grave-diggers, the man set about making his sand heap. Upon this Burckhardt alighted, and began another, observing, as they were brethren, it was but just they should be buried together. The fellow laughed, and they mutually destroyed each other's labours. On Burckhardt's remounting his horse, the disappointed Arab exclaimed from the Koran, "No mortal knows the spot upon earth where his grave shall be digged."

Seafaring persons ought to be made generally acquainted, that by the provisions of a new statute, enacted in the present reign, a fine of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment until it is paid, is im-

posed on any person found running even a pint of spirits of wine, or a pound of salt; and so strictly is this enforced, that a few days since, a person was convicted at this port, and the officers would scarcely permit him out of sight until the money was produced. The seizing officers received 45*l.* each, and the remainder accrues to the crown. No mitigation whatever is permitted, and a very strict look-out is now kept up in all directions.—*Plymouth Paper.*

*Important new art.*—There is practised in Paris, a new method of joining mirrors, so perfectly, as to make the seam, or line of junction, invisible. By this art, mirrors may be extended to an immense size, at a trifling cost. Query—Is the seam rendered invisible, by the actual fineness of the joining, or bringing a fresh coating of silvering over it, so as to conceal the original hue?—*London paper.* The real importance of this art (supposing it to have reached the perfection described) consists in the facility it affords for constructing mirrors—not of an immense size—but of ordinary magnitude—with the help of small plates of glass. Its complete realization would wholly destroy the expensive large plate glass manufacture.

The Regent's canal commences at Paddington, where it joins that branch of the Grand Junction which is called the Paddington canal, and thus communicates with all the navigable rivers, &c. in England. From this point it proceeds in a N. E. direction, and passes, by means of a tunnel of 372 yards, under Maida Hill; then round the Regent's park, through Camden

Camden Town (where it takes an easterly course) and Somers' Town, near which it enters a second tunnel of 970 yards, and penetrates Islington Hill, burrowing below the bed of the New River. It emerges again near Brick Lane, and continues nearly in the same direction through the parishes of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and St. John's Hackney, traversing in these districts the Kingsland and Hackney roads, and Cambridge Heath. Then entering the parish of Bethnal Green, it bends to the south, passing through the fields adjoining Mile End and Stepney, and crossing both the latter places, as also the Commercial Road, it opens into a spacious dock formed at Limehouse, which completes the navigation by a direct communication with the Thames. The line of canal is nine miles, running chiefly from west to east, over which are thrown thirty-six substantial brick bridges; and it descends eighty-six feet to the river by means of twelve double locks, besides a tide lock. Its average breadth is forty-eight feet, and the towing-path is twelve feet, which together occupy about eighty acres of ground; independently of the dock of six acres at Limehouse, and the City Road basin. The latter is a capital work, 110 feet wide, 1600 feet long, and, with its commodious wharfs, covers twenty-five acres. The tunnel of more than half a mile in length, which carries the canal under a part of the town of Islington, and also beneath the New River, is seventeen feet and a half in width, and nineteen and a half in height. Of the latter space, seven feet and a half are

the depth of the water, and eleven feet and a half remain between the surface of the canal and the roof of the tunnel. It is passed, without any aid from towing lines or poles, in from fifteen to seventeen minutes, and is well worth the notice of those whose laudable curiosity and desire of knowledge have never been gratified by an opportunity of seeing so striking a proof of the powers with which science has invested the civil engineer.

The Regent's canal is one of the works for which the public are indebted to Mr. Nash, by whom it was originally projected, and under whose direction it has been carried on—through a multitude of difficulties which only could have been surmounted by great ability, activity, and perseverance—to its final completion. It was begun in 1813, and opened on the 1st of August last. The expense, which amounts to about 600,000*l.*, has been exceedingly swelled by the extravagant price at which the land required has been obliged to be purchased, and by the many litigious actions which the company of subscribers were called upon, during the progress of the work, to defend.

Upon the utility of the canal system in general it is needless now to expatiate: of the advantages that will flow from this in particular, time alone can enable us to judge with any degree of accuracy. When the enormous expense of carting heavy articles from the wharfs on the banks of the river to the northern side of the town, including the adjacent villages, is considered, it appears quite reasonable to believe that much must be gained by water

(H 2) carriage;

carriage ; for it is known that the power of one horse, applied to a floating weight, is equal to the strength of thirty drawing the same on wheels. The average charge, as an example, for conveying manure by this canal is tenpence per ton ; gravel, chalk, lime, bricks, and iron, about one shilling ; coals, lead, and copper, sixteenpence. To the inhabitants, therefore, of Hampstead, Kentish Town, Highgate, Hornsey, Tottenham, Hackney, &c. and also of the parishes of Mary-la-Bonne, and Paddington, this mode of communication with the Thames must prove highly beneficial. But the good effects that are likely to arise from this navigation are not merely local. The Messrs. Pickfords lately sent boats from Manchester, and instead of their passing from the Grand Junction to Brentford, and there being unloaded, and the goods re-embarked in other vessels for Deptford, they went direct by the canal to Limehouse, and crossed over without any delay ; whereby not only time, but a heavy expense, with probable loss and damage, were saved to the proprietors. The dock, too, at Limehouse, being calculated to receive ships of considerable burden, admits colliers, which discharge their cargoes upon the wharfs, or into canal barges : and thus the plunder and waste of coal, which so notoriously take place in the pool, are avoided, and many of those criminal acts, the list of which heretofore has been frightful, are prevented.

#### HAYMARKET THEATRE.

31.—Dog Days in Bond-street ! a comedy in three acts.—By the

prologue we were given to understand, that this was the first dramatic production of a lady ; and was written in Jamaica. It is a very diverting piece, was admirably acted, and has had a considerable run.

#### ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE, LYCEUM.

4.—The Baron de Trenck, an opera in three acts. The fortunes of the baron, who was a victim of Prussian despotism, have been long known. The dramatist has taken some liberties with history ; but through the good acting, particularly of Mr. T. P. Cooke and Miss Kelly, the opera has been very successful.

#### DRURY-LANE THEATRE.

16.—Mr. Kean closed his engagement with this theatre, previous to his going to America. The theatre closed for one month to prepare for the winter season.

## OCTOBER.

#### FRANCE.

The duchess de Berri was safely delivered on the morning of the 29th ult. of a son. Her royal highness was almost alone when she gave birth to a prince, presumptive heir to the throne, in ample gratification of the anxious wishes of the royal family of France. The event was announced by the firing of artillery ; and in the morning the king received the congratulations of the princes and princesses of his family, the ministers, marshals, &c. The crowd was immense. His majesty repaired to the chapel to hear mass. On coming out he appeared

peared at the balcony, and was saluted with cries of "*Vive le roi!*"—The young prince will be called Henry Charles Ferdinand, Dieu Donne, duke of Bourdeaux, &c. He is well formed and healthy, and, with the duchess, doing well.

#### NETHERLANDS.

The session of the states general of the Netherlands was opened on the 11th inst. by a speech from the throne; in which the king informed them, that a treaty had been concluded with the British government, prolonging for five years the liberty granted by a former convention to Dutch subjects trading to Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo; and that the Turkish government had recognised the ancient rights of the Dutch to navigate the Black Sea.

#### ITALY.

The intelligence from Naples states, that the parliament of that kingdom assembled on the 23d ult. and was the same day addressed by the minister of the interior, in a speech declaratory of the patriotic intentions of the king and the prince. An extraordinary session was held on the 1st. inst. in a sacred edifice. The king and the prince royal were present; and his majesty, after renewing his oath, caused a speech, addressed to the deputies, to be read, in which he declared his wish that the prince should continue to hold the reins of government. The prince is said to have made a reply so pathetic as to have drawn tears of joy from all the auditors. His majesty and the prince, on their way to and from the parliament, and in the midst of that body, were hailed with heartfelt acclamations.

A military commission, charged with the trial of some galley slaves who had attempted to break out of prison at Civita Vecchia, has condemned thirty to death, and fourteen to hard labour for life.

#### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Spanish Cortes go boldly and steadily on in the grand work of regenerating their country; their efforts to do away certain ancient, but pernicious, distinctions in the conditions of the nobles and clergy, have hitherto been successful; and public credit and confidence revive both at home and abroad.

In a debate on the liberty of the press, several deputies urged the necessity of establishing juries.

The Cortes appear to be extremely hostile to that portion of the establishment of the church of Rome, which, in other days, was regarded not only as its proudest ornament, but as its best and surest protection—*decus atque tutamen*—we mean the fraternities of the military orders and the regular clergy. In the sitting of the 9th ult. the orders of the monks, the convents, and the colleges of the military orders of Saint John of Jerusalem, of Saint John of God, and the commanders hospitalers, were suppressed; pensions for life assigned to the members of these bodies; the regular clergy subjected to their diocesan bishops, and their properties confiscated to the purposes of the state.—The committee appointed to consider the rewards to be granted to general Quiroga's troops have reported that the promises held out to them ought to be fulfilled; and the Cortes have agreed, "That

in the space of two years, reckoning from the present time, the army now in service shall be disbanded. That the soldiers who shall prove eight years service shall receive ten acres of land, taken from the waste grounds, and also 1000 reals; for 15 years service, 15 acres and 1200 reals; for 20 years, 40 acres of land and 6000 reals. That these advantages shall be common to those who have embraced the cause of the country in uniting with the national army, or who may have in other instances adopted the same party. That the widows and children of those who perished in the cause shall share the same advantage."

The intelligence from Spain contains an account of the total demolition of the ecclesiastical conspiracy of Burgos against the constitutional authority. It has been torn up by the very roots. A curate, named Barrio, was the leading instigator. An attempt was made to work upon the superstition of the peasants by displaying banners inscribed with religious hieroglyphics, similar to those which were borne before the crusaders: but the curate Barrio was not so successful as Peter the hermit in making the sacred name of religion the cause of a desolating excitement. He, and men like him, mistake the age in which they live; and look backward, while the world is going on. The very peasants, on whose supposed aptitude for becoming the dupes of priestly imposition the hopes of the malcontents were built, assisted in delivering them up to justice. The apostolic junta, as it absurdly called itself, of Burgo d'Osina, is in safe custody.

Late accounts from Spain state,

that general Riego, the father of the revolution, has incurred the displeasure of the Cortes, been deprived of his government of Galicia, and sent in exile to Oviedo. The governor of Madrid, Velasco, has been also exiled from the capital; as well as all the principal leaders of the club of Fontana de Oro.

The first means which Spain proposes for relief from her financial embarrassments are, economy and retrenchment.—The existing taxes are to remain for the current year, but a new finance plan is to commence in the ensuing one; yet, as a relief to the people, one half of the direct taxes are to be taken off; and, to cover this deficit, a loan of two millions sterling is to be negotiated.

The emperor Francis has declared, in a long note to the sovereigns of the holy alliance, that his object in assembling a military force in Italy is, to establish order there, and to protect the pope; to suffer the revolutionists in Naples being incompatible with the public tranquillity. The emperor, it is added, recommends the extirpation of all secret societies.

The Vienna accounts state, that the interview of the sovereigns was to take place at Troppau on the 29th instant; and that the ministers of France and England will be admitted, but no other.

The count Galowkin, the Russian ambassador at the court of Vienna, has refused passports to the prince Cimitille, the Neapolitan ambassador.

There exists at this time, in Bohemia, in the lordship of Wettin-gan, the domain of prince Schwartzenberg, a colony of beavers, settled on the river Goldbach; the industry of these yields in no-  
thing

thing to that of their brethren which inhabit the great rivers and lakes of North America. The abundance of willows which adorn the banks of this river, furnishes them with both food and dwelling: in summer they eat the leaves, and in winter the branches. That the beaver was formerly an inhabitant of Europe, appears evident, from the numerous traces of beaver dams which are still remaining in various parts. It has long been questioned, whether the original race was extinct in Germany, as appearances of their excursions were noticeable from time to time; but our authority for the present article does not go so far as to determine that these on the estate of prince Schwartzenberg are of the indigenous breed; they may be modern importations, like those of the late sir Joseph Banks into England, where they are novelties, although they were anciently even numerous in our island, and were also inhabitants of Ireland, where some of their constructions still remain. The creature is well known in the Welsh language, under the name of "fish-tail animal," a very descriptive appellation: many astonishing tales of other times announce its wonderful powers and properties; and it still forms the crest of an ancient coat of arms. The animals common to America and to Europe are so few, that every instance capable of verification becomes interesting to the naturalist, and not less to the philosophical historian, as evincing the connexion and communication between the old and the new continent, in ages past.

## GREECE.

Extract of a letter, dated Corfu, September 2, 1820.—"On Mon-

day last Prevesa was surrendered to the forces of the grand seignor by Veli Pacha, second son of Ali Pacha, who went on board of the Turkish admiral's ship, and surrendered himself: they say, that both he and Meemet Pacha, his younger brother, who commanded at Parga, have been sent prisoners to Constantinople. Pashie Bey is also said to have entered Janina at the head of 12,000 troops, and that Ali Pacha had retired into a fortress with only 500 men, who were all that had remained faithful to him. His death or capture is daily expected.

"According to accounts from Constantinople, the sultan has declared the various territories which Ali Pacha had successively added to his pachalic to be restored to their original political condition, and to be free from any taxes or contributions for the period of three years.—In consequence of this intelligence, the Parquinote emigrants who remain here have sent a deputation to Constantinople, to solicit the restitution of their territory."

## RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia arrived at Warsaw on the 27th of August.

The emperor's speech on opening the diet of Poland, on the 15th of September, is interesting, as it conveys the sentiments of so powerful a monarch upon the events which have recently occurred in the south of Europe, and communicates the principles which govern his own conduct as the head of a representative government. It also puts an end to all speculation upon the probable re-establishment of Poland as an independent

pendent kingdom; for the emperor tells the diet, that Poland is bound for ever to Russia.

Letters from the grand duchy of Posen state, that the wolves multiply there in a dreadful manner. In the circle of Wongrowic, during the last year, the wolves devoured 16 children and three aged persons.—Last month six children met with the same fate in that unfortunate circle, and a considerable number of persons were wounded.

The population of Russia, according to the last census, amounted to 53,316,707 inhabitants. The population of the kingdom of Poland is 2,732,324.

#### ASIA.

Dispatches have been received from Persia, which, it is stated, announce to ministers the intrigues of the Russian agents in that country, and indicate the designs of the court of Petersburg. The regular army of Russia now in Georgia, and on the line of the Caucasus, is upwards of 100,000 men; and the Russians have taken possession of a place on the Caspian sea, near Asterabad. It is added, the footing they have obtained is so firm, that they no longer consider it necessary to disguise their projects. The Russian charge d'affaires, at a dinner which he gave to British officers in the Persian service, said openly, that general Yarmaloff, governor-general in Georgia, would be in Tabries in less than four months; after which he asked, What there was to stop them till they came to the Indies?

Accounts from Bombay of the 11th of March are interesting. The objects of the expedition on

the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf have succeeded beyond expectation, by the entire demolition of the numerous piratical ports, their shipping, &c. At the date of the late dispatch, the defences of the deserted town of El Humra were standing; but it was the intention of sir W. G. Keir to demolish them, and thus complete the destruction of every tower on the coast, except those occupied by our troops in Rhazel Khyma and its vicinity.

Advices from Bombay mention an insurrection having broke out at Kutch, one of the provinces ceded to the British since the Nepal war. Several regiments had marched to that quarter, and there had been some skirmishing; but the idea that the rising had been excited by the influence of Russian agents, though prevalent in this country, does not seem to have been entertained in our Indian possessions.

#### AFRICA.

An Algerine squadron has been observed in the bay of Tangier, with a Spanish polacca, nine merchant-men, and several European captives. Spain has in consequence sent out a 74 and a frigate of 36 guns, towards the African coast.

#### AMERICA.

Intelligence has been received at Quebec of the progress of the expedition over-land, under the command of lieutenant Franklin, to ascertain the existence of a north-west passage to the Pacific. They had proceeded at that period as far as Fort Chippawain, in the Athabasca country, all well; and were considered, calculating the time that elapsed since their departure from Fort-York, in Hudson's

son's Bay, to have made every great progress.

The duke of Sussex has appointed lord Ebrington provincial grand master of the freemasons' lodges of Devonshire ; and his lordship is to be installed at Exeter.

The endowed grammar-school at Taunton, which has been held as a sinecure for the last 25 years, is about to be restored as an efficient seminary for the children of the townsmen, under the care and management of the assistant preacher of the parish.

Mr. serjeant Vaughan has resigned the recordership of the borough of Leicester, which he held for the last 22 years.

The merchants of Liverpool are now embarking with great spirit in the new South Shetland fishery.

Several sharks, about eight feet in length, have recently made their appearance on the Essex coast ; a circumstance not remembered by the oldest seaman.

A committee of ladies has been formed at Nottingham, to visit the prisons, upon the plan recommended by the philanthropic Mrs. Fry.

The Cambrian, Johnson, arrived at Hull from Davis's Straits, reports a belief that the discovery ships have effected a passage though Lancaster Sound : the Cambrian was 80 miles up the sound : captain Johnson found a large swell and the wind strong against him ; the sea was quite clear of ice ; the sides of the sound were about 20 miles apart at the highest point he reached ; he could see 20 miles, or thereabouts, further up, and there was no appearance of land or any obstruction.

The Truelove, another whaler, has been to 80 degrees north latitude, which is higher than captain Ross went.

*Epitaph on the late Mr. Rose.*—In the parish church Christ church, Hants, at about eight feet from the pavement of the church, under an elegant gothic arch at the western end of the countess of Salisbury's Chapel, is placed the following epitaph :

" In the vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of the right honourable George Rose, one of the committee of his majesty's council for affairs of trade and foreign plantations ; treasurer of the navy ; and in six successive parliaments one of the representatives of this borough, who on the 13th of January 1818, in the 74th year of his age, in the faith of Christ, and in charity with all mankind, concluded a life, the whole of which was the continued and strenuous effort of an ardent and powerful mind to promote the welfare of the state, and the happiness of his fellow-creatures."

The above inscription is in letters of cast brass, which project from the surface of a dark grey marble slab.

3.—This morning his majesty disembarked at West Cowes. The royal barge, which bore the king to the shore, was attended by the six-oared boats of the ships of the squadron, and about a hundred pilot and local boats, all dressed with appropriate colours ; and, on his majesty's approach to the shore, the fort fired a royal salute. The king was conducted to his newly-purchased residence by generals the honourablesir Edward Paget, lord Grantham, the honourable



nourable Berkeley Paget, George Ward, esq. and several other gentlemen; and, after inspecting its state and accommodations, returned to the landing-place, and re-embarked in the royal barge for the yacht. Soon after the royal yacht and Squadron got under weigh for Spithead, and took a short cruise till five o'clock, when they returned to Cowes roadstead, and a select party dined on board.—On the 4th inst. at 12 o'clock, the whole of the vessels, including the royal yacht, anchored at Spithead; when a deputation of gentlemen proceeded on board the latter, with an address to his majesty from the inhabitants of the town of Portsmouth, offering the renewed assurance of their attachment to his majesty's person and government. After having returned an answer, his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on G. Garrett, esq. who headed the deputation.—At six o'clock his majesty received a number of officers to dinner.

5.—An address from Ryde was presented to his majesty by a deputation on board the royal George yacht. The deputation were most graciously received.—His majesty soon after left for Brighton.

11.—Thomas Morrin, a turnkey of the gaol of Dumfries, was inhumanly murdered by David Hoggart, one of the prisoners. David Hoggart contrived to secrete in his cellar a large stone; this he put into a bag; and as Morrin was leaving the cell, after having brought the daily allowance of food, Hoggart struck him over the head with the stone in the bag, which felled him to the ground, and then the wretch made

his escape from the prison. Morrin was soon after discovered by one of the turnkeys; he was quite senseless; the blood had flowed copiously from his head, which was lacerated in the most frightful manner. He was immediately conveyed to bed, and a surgeon sent for, who, upon examining the wound, found the skull very much fractured: the unfortunate man died about 10 o'clock on Wednesday night, having endured the greatest agony during the day.

18.—This night a dreadful fire broke out in North-street, York, by which the corn-mill of Messrs. L. and J. Simpson, in which it originated, was consumed, and property to the amount of 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* was destroyed. To aggravate this calamity, the gable end of the building, which had been suffered to stand when the mill was reduced to ruins, fell with a dreadful crash about noon, on Thursday, and buried a number of persons in the ruins. A youth, the son of Mr Walker, plumber and glazier, was killed upon the spot: and a fine girl, the daughter of Mr. Dalton, butcher, had her skull so dreadfully fractured that she died soon after. A number of other persons, to the amount of from fifteen to twenty, have been hurt, some of them dangerously.

22.—A court of common council was held; when a letter was read from alderman Wood, conveying her majesty's request to the corporation, that they would accept her portrait, as a token of gratitude to the citizens for the loyalty they have manifested in her majesty's cause. After a debate, which turned on the awkwardness of having her majesty's picture

picture hung up in the council-room should the bill for her degradation be carried elsewhere, it was resolved to accept and acknowledge the gracious offer, but (by a majority of 44 to 40) to leave for the present undetermined the point where the picture shall be hung.

29.—This being Michaelmas-day, the livery of London assembled in Guildhall, for the purpose of electing a lord mayor for the ensuing year. The usual proclamation being made, the names of aldermen sir M. Bloxam, knt. C. Magnay, W. Heygate, R. A. Cox, J. T. Thorp, and R. Rothwell, were put in nomination: a cry of "Alderman Wood" then resounded through the hall, and he was also proposed and seconded by two liverymen. On the show of hands being called, the sheriffs declared the choice of the livery to have fallen on aldermen Wood and Thorp. The law officers and sheriffs then retired to the court of aldermen; and, on returning, the common serjeant announced, that the election fell on alderman Thorp, who was thereupon declared lord mayor for the year ensuing, and invested with the civic chain. The worthy alderman, in a modest address, then thanked the livery for the honour done him.

By a return presented to the house of commons, it appears that there are at present no less than 32 persons in the custody of the warden of the Fleet prison for contempts, upon processes issuing out of the courts of chancery and exchequer. The first name on this list is Hannah Barber, who, it appears, was committed to prison on the 30th of July, 1789, upon a writ

of rebellion, in which it is stated that her rebellion (as it is technically called) consisted in not paying a sum of 40*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* into the bank, in pursuance of a decree of the court of chancery. The other prisoners have remained in custody for various lengths of time; one 21 years, another 19 years, and so on. To this account is added, a list of persons who died in custody since the year 1812, the number amounting to 20. Of these, one unfortunate man had passed 31 years, ten months, and 14 days, under personal restraint; two had suffered imprisonment for 14 years; and others for periods of eleven, nine, and eight years.

A court-martial has been sitting at the horse guards, on lieutenant-col. St. George French, of the 6th dragoon guards, on serious charges preferred by his colonel, the earl of Carhampton;—viz. of keeping a woman in the barracks by the name of Mrs. French, though not his wife—publicly dealing in horses, and making profit thereby—fraudulent conduct in selling a mare—defacing and cutting out leaves from the troop register, to avoid discovery of improper practices, &c. On the sentence being returned, the court fully and honourably acquitted him of the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th charges. It found him guilty of only so much of the 1st charge, as related to his keeping a woman in barracks, whom he called Mrs. French; and of the 2d, in inflicting a greater punishment on three serjeants than was awarded by the sentence of a regimental court-martial. But the court fully expressed its opinion, that lieutenant-col. French never forfeited his claim to the good opinion and

and confidence of his colonel ; but merited, by the discharge of his duties as commanding officer of the 6th dragoon guards, during a long series of years, the honourable testimonials which he produced to the court.

A person named John Leigh has appealed to the insolvent debtors' court for relief from no less than 56,000*l*. The number of creditors are 112, of whom 27 are detaining creditors.

It is most confidently, but, we have no doubt, erroneously, stated in a recent periodical publication, that Mrs. Scott, formerly Miss McCulloch, the lady of Thomas Scott, esq. paymaster to the 70th regiment, at present in Canada, and brother to sir Walter Scott, is the writer of the celebrated novels attributed so universally to sir Walter.

Near the two-mile stone on the Harrow road, the formation of a water-proof foundation, by means of burnt clay, on the patent principle, is now taking place.

7.—Wm. Adderfield, a country lad, was examined at Bow-street, charged with distributing among the crowd, in Parliament-street, some hand-bills of the most inflammatory nature that could possibly be conceived, containing direct incitements to the people to overthrow the king and his government. After some investigation, it was traced to a Mr. Franklin, alias Fletcher, who was consequently apprehended on Sunday morning. He was set at liberty by sir Robert Baker, on an understanding that he would appear at Bow-street ; but he failed to make his appearance. Application was made to the secretary of state for

the home department, that measures might be taken for preventing the escape of Mr. Franklin ; when a reward of 200*l*. was offered for his apprehension.

11.—A ballot was held at the East India house for the election of a director, in the room of sir Alexander Allan, bart. deceased. The election fell on Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, esq.

16.—A school at the hamlet of Oxshott, in the parish of Stoke Dabernon, Surry, called the royal Kent school, from respect to the memory of the late duke of Kent, was opened by prince Leopold, for the education of the children of the poor in the neighbourhood of Claremont. His royal highness was attended by his sister, the duchess of Kent, sir A. Johnstone, sir R. Gardiner, captain Clarke the East India director, and their royal Highness's chaplain the rev. Dr. Rudge.

19.—The lord mayor held a court of common council, which was numerously attended. His lordship laid before them a copy of his letter to her majesty, with the resolution of the last court accepting her portrait. The court proceeded to consider the report of the committee respecting the conduct of Mr. sheriff Parkins, which was introduced by Mr. S. Dixon. A resolution of censure was then passed upon Mr. Parkins, and an unanimous vote of thanks agreed to Mr. alderman Rothwell, for his conduct while sheriff.

#### CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE.

This celebrated monument of antiquity has been presented to his majesty George IV. by the pasha of Egypt, and may be shortly expected

pected to arrive from Alexandria. It is intended that it should be set up in Waterloo place, opposite to Carlton palace, where it will for ages serve to revive the recollection of the exploits of our naval and military heroes in that country. The weight of the column is about 200 tons. The diameter at the pedestal, 7 feet. It is understood that we are indebted to the influence of S. Briggs, esq. British resident at Grand Cairo, with the pasha of Egypt, for this magnificent monument.

#### PICTON'S MONUMENT.

The monument voted by parliament as a testimony of national gratitude for the eminent services of this truly distinguished and gallant officer, has just been completed. It is erected on the north side of the great dome, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, and is near that of the brave admiral Hood. The monument itself is at once highly honourable to the national character, and justly descriptive of the merits of the illustrious deceased. On a pedestal of white marble is a finely executed bust of the gallant general, which is admitted by all who knew him to be an admirable likeness. On the left is the figure of a veteran soldier, as large as life, exulting in the ever memorable success of the British army on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815, while his countenance at the same time shows his anguish of heart for the loss of this brave officer. On the right, Britannia, holding a palm of victory in her right hand, points out the hero to the spectator as a proper object of imitation, while fame is about to crown him with a wreath of laurel. The monument is admirably executed,

and does great credit to the talents of Mr. Gahagan, the sculptor.

#### COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

20.—A Race for a Wife, a farce. It is on the whole very diverting. We must not be too fastidious with farce; but among the jokes we thought we met with some "old friends" with scarcely "new faces."

#### HAYMARKET THEATRE.

23.—Over the Water, a musical farce, by Mr. Theodore Hook. The dialogue of this piece is smart and easy, and the characters are well preserved; if we except the Cockney Mr. Dadikey (Oxberry), which is certainly too much in the *extravaganza* style. The farce was, however, very successful.

### NOVEMBER.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Apprehensions are entertained, that the spirit of revolution is making rapid progress in Switzerland. All its machinery is represented as in full motion at Zurich, Basle, and other principal cities of that interesting country.

#### GREECE.

By advices from Corfu, dated October 12, we receive the interesting information, that the emigrants from Parga, whose treatment, notwithstanding the small and obscure spot they occupied, has excited the sympathy of the whole civilized world, have received from Ismael Pasha, of Janina, a formal invitation to return to their native country. They are offered, in the name of the sultan, full security and protection, and, on certain conditions, the restoration of all their property. They are understood to be waiting

waiting the result of the deputation they have sent to Constantinople, before taking their final determination. Ali Pasha, their old enemy, it appears, still holds out against the Turkish power, in the fortress which is situated in the Lake of Janina. His fall, however, is considered as inevitable.

#### GERMANY.

The Paris journals mention, on the authority of intelligence from Vienna, that the emperor Alexander arrived at Troppau in the evening of the 20th ult. and was received with great military pomp. The Austrian emperor was there before him; and a formidable train of secretaries, ambassadors, &c. was in attendance. The conferences about to be held would relate, it was generally imagined, to the affairs of Spain, Portugal, and Naples.

By recent advices from Troppau and Vienna, it would appear that the emperors of Russia and Austria are at length determined to act hostilely against Naples, with the view of putting down the new government established there. A confederation of states in Italy is also said to be resolved on, with the emperor of Austria at its head; and a maritime confederation under the guidance of Russia.—Lord Stewart, the English minister at Troppau, is said to have addressed a note of great importance to the different ministers, which may be supposed adverse to the proposition of the two imperial potentates. France is further stated to have presented a note to the congress in favour of Naples, and the king of Spain to have offered to his relative, the king of Naples, an auxiliary force

of 30,000 men. Of the disposition of the king of Prussia nothing is known; his ministers at Troppau declined sanctioning the measures of Austria and Russia without the presence and approbation of their sovereign.

#### POLAND.

The intelligence from Warsaw is so far important, as it shows, that there is a political spirit in Poland alive to the rights and interests of the country, and bold enough to resist, without dismay, the propositions of the imperial government, when they appear to be at variance with the public welfare. The diet assembled at Warsaw debated with much warmth, for three days successively, the subject of the criminal code recommended by the Russian ministers, and finished by rejecting it almost unanimously; 120 being against the law, and only three in its favour. The objections principally turned on the want of security to the general freedom of the subject, which was visible throughout the whole code, and more especially the absence of any provision for a trial by jury. The emperor, according to some accounts, was anxious to conciliate the Poles on this occasion, by listening to the arguments against his own ministerial projet.

The emperor closed the diet on the 13th of October, with a speech in which his majesty evinces a feeling of displeasure at the general conduct of the members during their session. The marshal of the diet addressed the emperor in an exculpatory oration; wherein he ascribed the reluctance of the deputies to accept at once the new penal code, on the ground that more time would be essentially necessary

cessary for coming to a just decision on that subject, than was allotted for their deliberations by the royal pleasure.

#### ASIA.

Two persons professing to be christians, and natives of Persia, have been lately travelling in India to collect charitable contributions. The rev. Messrs. Kelholz and Sperschneider, the missionaries at Tanjore, from the society for promoting christian knowledge, were so well satisfied, after examination, of the truth of their representations, that they gave them a testimonial to that effect. Their names are, Lucas John, aged 40, and Joseph John, aged 23. Their native town is Chosrabad, in the province of Hedesbegan, in Mesopotamia. It contains about 700 inhabitants, who are all of the same community. They are the offspring of ancient Jewish christians, and are now suffering greatly under the government of Persia. The number of these christians amounts to about 10,000. They have an archbishop and three bishops. The former resides at Mosul; one of the bishops at Chosrabad; another at Mereden; and the third at Diarbekir. By the Mohammedans they are called Nazarenes, and Syrians by the Arabs; but among themselves, Ebrians, or Beni Israel; which name denotes their relation to the ancient Jewish christian church, as does also their present language, being very like the Hebrew. They have no connexion whatever with either Greek or Roman churches. They hold the doctrine of the trinity in unity, and the gospels and psalms are taught in their schools. These two men seem honest and

simple, and well acquainted with the truths of christianity, though quite deficient in reading and writing.

Letters from Madras state, that a dreadful storm was experienced on that coast on the 8th of May. All the small vessels in the port and vicinity, without exception, were wrecked; and it is supposed 1,000 men were drowned.

#### AMERICA.

Notwithstanding the silence of the Madrid papers, it appears almost certain, that the Florida treaty (made, it will be remembered, by Mr. Onis, and to which, last year, king Ferdinand withheld his sanction,) has now been ratified. By this treaty the United States obtain legal possession of the whole of East and West Florida.

Accounts from Buenos Ayres furnish particulars of a dreadful storm experienced there on the 24th of August; by which many vessels had been lost, besides coasting craft, sloops, &c. engaged in the river trade, and their crews drowned. At a village on the coast, 50 people were also drowned in their houses by the overflowing of the river. The private letters state, that up to the 8th of August, tranquillity reigned at Buenos Ayres; and that Alvear and Carrera, the *soi disant* leaders of the federal party, had sustained so complete a defeat from the citizens, that they had been deserted by all their followers. Both these chiefs contrived to effect their escape.

Advices from Spanish America state, that the envoys of Morillo had remained only ten days at Angostura, and that the truce was only

only for a month; and a letter from La Guayara of the 6th August states, that hostilities had been renewed on the 4th; the cry and motto of the inhabitants being "War or independence."

Madrid accounts of the 26th ult. state, that general Morillo was, at his own request, to be allowed to return to Europe; and that he was to be succeeded by general Latorre.

An extensive and calamitous fire has spread its ravages for nearly one hundred miles in extent over the most fertile proportion of the north and western parts of Nova Scotia, from the neighbourhood of Yarmouth to the county of Annapolis. The fire continued burning for the space of three days, and such was its intensity that the very potatoes were burnt in the earth; houses, barns, fences, fields of grain, stock of all kinds, whole villages and settlements fell a prey to the devouring element, and not a vestige of vegetation or herbage remains. Several lives also are lost. From among several statements, we select the following, as containing a simple but affecting representation of the awful scene; and if what this writer relates of the distress which happened to his family and his immediate neighbours within his observation be true, what must have been the general calamity! The greatest space between the extremes without a house is between Yarmouth and Salmon River, seventeen miles. The settlement at Montagan alone contains several thousand souls.

The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. John Wetmore to his son at St. John's. "On re-

turning from Yarmouth, we ran under our bare poles for Bartlet's River, hoping the tide was up; we in a few minutes were in the breakers, but without striking, and anchored safe; found the whole shore in flames eastward, landed near Porter's, and followed the shore all round Black Point, the wind blowing a hurricane: the flames outran us, an immense fire behind Frank Davoo's, which threatened destruction to every thing—we reached the road behind this fire—got home safe, took tea, thinking ourselves safe—went to assist the French, who were moving; young Frank's house in flames, and others not to be seen for the smoke—we stayed perhaps twenty minutes—returned, met one of the children crying 'Clarke's house is on fire;' we ran our best, met women and children flying before the tempest—the mill, barn, and house, with twenty acres of land in a blaze—trees falling in all directions—we got to the house through forty rods of almost solid fire—threw trunks, &c. into the well. I took a bed, tied a woollen blanket round it, and escaped for my life, the fire flying on me like a heavy shower of hail—I fell under the bed, got breath, and ran—fell again, nearly melted with heat and suffocated with smoke—I rose once more, and fell again—quit my load—saw my boys a-head bare-foot—could not enter the fire—they met me, and we got the bed safe through; Mr. Clarke came up with a book in his hand, nothing more saved, all burned in the well, fences and fields of potatoes swept clean. My fields, though not much burned, are all laid open to cattle and hogs; at sun-set found

my

my house and uncle Nathaniel's crowded with women and children, who left their all, and fled before the fiery tempest, from the neighbourhood of Beaver River. Wednesday morning, seven o'clock, a fine rain that deadened the fire; heard the settlement at Beaver River was all in ashes. Mr. Saunders, Clarke, and myself, went to their assistance, found but three houses standing for six miles in length. Thomas Trask has lost his house, new grist and saw mill, two barns full of grain, hay, &c. a yoke of oxen, one horse, two or three cows, several hogs, all their furniture, and a little boy four years old burnt in the house, having crept into a cradle and was left unperceived, together with a trusty dog, which lay by its side. Daniel has lost all—a cow, two hogs, furniture, clothing, &c.; the word at sunset was to escape for their lives. Daniel took up his child, and bid his wife follow him and my brother Ronna—others cried, Which way shall we fly? answer, To the lake—Some reached it, others were cut off, and drove up the road for a mile or more, before an opening was found to the sea shore. Husbands and wives were parted by the fire and smoke, and did not meet again until the next day. Daniel took his wife (very sick) on his back to the edge of the lake, and waded over some rods to a bog, which sunk with them; but he found old stuff, and raised it so that his wife sat in the water until morning. Ronna lost them: he waded up to his neck, and there stood twelve hours, the fire often streaming in his face, when he was obliged to sink under, then rise and take breath. I found him on

1820.

Wednesday, and took him home with me; he had eaten nothing for 26 hours. It was a melancholy scene to see fences swept away, fields of grain, potatoes, and turnips, all burnt up—great numbers of cattle, sheep, and hogs, lying dead by or near the road side. Some persons were skinning cattle which were not so much burnt, others locking up their stock; I saw two large hogs lying together alive, burnt so as not to walk, and we are not alone. I have just heard from Yarmouth, Chebouge, that much damage is done, many houses, barns, mills, &c. burnt; and also through the French settlement above Montagu, a great many houses, barns, mills, &c. are destroyed; the French chapel, with the priest's house, are consumed, one negro burnt; so much hay lost, it is supposed half the stock cannot be wintered. People from Yarmouth, on hearing of our distress, came up with ox and horse carts, chairs, and horses, to remove the sufferers, and I believe there were not two cart loads of furniture saved out of sixteen houses, from J. Clark's to E. Corning's, seven miles; Daniel has nothing left but a shirt and trowsers which he had on, his wife and child, nothing but what were on their backs, and set out for Yarmouth, on their stocking feet, the last I heard of her; but where they will go, or what he will do this winter, I know not; he has nothing to eat or wear.

Saturday, 16th.—News has just arrived, that as far as Annapolis, 100 miles above this, is mostly in ashes, many lives lost, grain and hay mostly destroyed. How we are to live through the winter I know not. Daniel has not yet come here;

(I) perhaps



perhaps he has followed his wife to Yarmouth, or he may be trying to save some of his potatoes, &c. I shall finish this and go in search of him. We are all employed (that is me and my two boys) in trying to save what little crop I have left. My buck wheat is nearly lost."

16.—A most dreadful fire broke out in the premises of Mr. William Spooner, an honest and industrious farmer, at Lynn, Norfolk, which in a very short time consumed all the hay, corn (nearly the whole crop), and all the implements of husbandry, a sow and six pigs, with a variety of other articles. The injury amounts to the sum of 666*l.* 13*s.*

29.—At Wootton house, near Aylesbury, the seat of earl Temple, a most destructive fire broke out about midnight, occasioned by the over-heating of an iron pipe in the nursery, which, coming in contact with some wainscoting, communicated to the other rooms.

—Captain Jervis, a friend of his lordship's, and it is said a considerable sufferer on the occasion, was the first to give the alarm, by calling upon all to save themselves. At this moment the fire was making rapid strides; and lord and lady Temple, and their infant daughter, with difficulty escaped to the house of the venerable minister. The floor soon after began to fall in, and but a few minutes had elapsed before the main part of the house presented one stupendous body of flame. The roof sunk about day-break with a tremendous crash. Nothing remains but the two wings, which were detached. The house was built at the beginning of the last century, and part of the interior was

superbly painted by sir James Thornhill, in the same style as Hampton court. At a moderate calculation, the loss is rated at 40,000*l.* and no part of it insured.

The benevolent and philanthropic Mrs. Fry has lately paid a visit to the Derby county gaol. The attention which this lady has long bestowed on the arrangements of prisons, and the discipline of their wretched inmates, and, above all, the distinguished success which has attended her judicious and unwearied exertions in the metropolis, particularly in Newgate, are well known. She was attended by several ladies and gentlemen, and made the most minute inquiries respecting the arrangement of the gaol, regretting exceedingly the want of accommodation for the purpose of classification and discipline; which is now under the serious contemplation of the magistracy. She addressed the prisoners in a most kind and affectionate manner.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, taking into consideration the depressed state of agriculture, has generously applied the sponge to the great arrears upon his rental; and has thus fairly claimed for himself the old title of the head of his family, "A prince of Wales."

The 22 men, charged with high treason; arising out of the late disturbances in the west riding of Yorkshire, and who pleaded guilty, have been sentenced to transportation.

The marquis of Tavistock lately took the chair at a meeting at Wisbeach, of landholders, &c.; when a plan was put in train to effect an improved drainage of the fens.

Leamington never was so full  
of

of fashionable company as it has been all this season. New buildings on a most extensive scale are going on with great rapidity; and many houses are engaged by families of distinction for their winter quarters.

2.—In York Consistory Court, a suit for divorce was decided, which had been instituted by Mrs. Millicent Killingley against her husband, both residing at Nottingham; the plea of the wife was adultery; and the fact being admitted by Mr. Nicoll, the defendant's advocate, the court pronounced for the divorce.

3.—The following extraordinary circumstance took place at the house of William Turner, esq. at Reigate, Surrey:—Mr. Turner was in the benevolent practice of giving away milk to the poor inhabitants of the place, and among the rest to the family of a man named Yeomans. On the morning in question, this man's daughter, a girl about 12 years old, went to the house as usual to fetch her milk; the maid-servant took the vessel, with which she proceeded to the dairy, leaving the girl standing on the stone pavement in the scullery. Presently afterwards she was alarmed by a noise, which seemed to come from the scullery; and, on looking into the room, she missed the little girl, and observed that a part of the flooring had given way, discovering a vast subterraneous recess of very great depth. She could not then discern the girl; but she gave an immediate alarm, and ladders were procured to descend, for the purpose of exploring the vault, which, however, was for some time found impossible, owing to the strong foetid effluvia that is-

sued from the place. This having in some degree abated, a person ventured down the opening, and found the body of the girl at the bottom, a depth of 30 or 40 feet, quite dead, apparently from suffocation. The account this person gave of the place was, that it resembled a cess pool, or well (for which it probably had been used); but, what is very singular, the existence of this dangerous hole was altogether unknown to the present family, and a more than ordinary number of persons had passed and re-passed that spot during the morning. The rafters under the pavement were found much decayed.

5.—A benefaction, as singular as it was noble, was made at Dr. Hanna's meeting house in Belfast, after a sermon preached there for the Charitable Society of that city. On examining the collection made at the door, two bank post bills for five hundred pounds each were found in one of the plates.

8.—A great number of people assembled to witness the cruel diversion of baiting a bull, in a shallow of the river near the bridge at Rochdale, Lancashire; when the pressure upon the wall became so great that it gave way, and fell into the river. Six men under the wall were instantly crushed to death, and a great number of men, women, and children, precipitated into the water, many of whom were seriously hurt.

The following is an extract of a letter from Portsmouth, dated the 9th inst.:

"Last night arrived in Cowes roads the American ship Bengal, 95 days from the Straits of Sundra; she left lying in Samarang roads the ships Claudine and

Malabar, for Europe, the latter to sail about the middle of August. The country ship *Georgiana*, Worthington, left Tangier, for the Isle of France and Liverpool, the 2d of August. The Dutch expedition against Palembang left Batavia on the 31st of July, consisting of one 74 razee, one 60 gun-ship, three frigates, nine ship-sloops, about 100 gun-vessels, and a large proportion of flat boats to disembark troops:—a number of British, and other vessels, had been taken up to transport troops, stores, &c. The Dutch having been twice before defeated, doubts were entertained at Batavia of their success, particularly as it was well known the rajah of Palembang was well prepared to receive them. The Dutch, from want of energy or a sufficient force, had allowed the pirates to go so long unchastised; that their ships and settlements, as well as ships of other nations, were suffering every indignity. The Malays were now so daring, that they fitted out single prows of large dimensions to attack European ships; formerly they never thought of attacking unless a large fleet of their own prows were in company. On the 8th of June the Dutch ship *Samarang*, captain Jagers, was attacked on the north side of Java, to the east of *Samarang*, by a pirate prow; the successive attacks lasted four hours, during which the *Samarang* lost her captain and one seaman killed, the chief mate and ten seamen wounded: however, as night came on, the pirate was obliged to lay-to to repair damages, but with every intention of re-attacking in the morning, when fortunately two sail coming in sight, the pi-

rate made off. The *Samarang's* crew consisted of the captain, mate, Mr. John Gransden, a passenger, and 31 Malay seamen, who behaved extremely well. The *Samarang* mounts six six-pounders, besides swivels and small arms. A report was prevalent at Batavia, that a British sloop of war had been thrice attacked in the Straits of Sunda by a fleet of the Malays' largest prows, and had lost 49 men in killed and wounded, but had gallantly beat off the pirates. Our informant could not learn the name of the British ship. On the 17th of August, in lat. 17. 49. S. long. 68. 31. E. spoke the *Georgiana*. There were four outward-bound East Indiamen in Tangier roads when the *Bengal* sailed.—Viscount Strangford, in the *Cambrian*, captain Hamilton, sailed this day for Constantinople. Transports from Deptford are hourly expected, to take detachments from Albany barracks to the West Indies."

The births within the bills of mortality in October exceeded the deaths by 369, and the largest number of deaths in proportion to age, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6, of between 50 and 60 years; 397 died under two years of age. During the four past weeks the casual small-pox has carried off 39, of which four died at the hospital at Pancras; and there are some of the severest cases in the hospital not included in the bills of mortality, the termination of whose disease is very doubtful.

For the last two years the market-gardeners, farmers, and others, of Kent and Surrey, have had their horses' tails and manes cut off in the night time, and carried off. The practice at length got

got to such a pitch, that meetings of the sufferers were held, to devise some means by which they might be enabled to protect themselves against the visits of this midnight marauder, and it was agreed upon to enter into subscription, and employ men to watch the paddocks all night; but all in vain, the nocturnal thief still carried on a flourishing trade in horse hair. A short time ago a grazier near Brixton well nigh nicked the thief, but he escaped, although not before the farmer obtained such a view of his person as would enable him to swear to him; and a few nights back he was taken in a field in Kent, with a sack on his shoulder containing the stolen property. He was recognised to be a cheap chair manufacturer, and was brought before Mr. Mason, one of the magistrates of Greenwich, by whom he was fully committed.

Lord Kames used to relate a story of a man who claimed the honour of his acquaintance on rather singular grounds. His lordship, when one of the gusiciary judges, returning from the north circuit to Perth, happened one night to sleep at Dunkeld. The next morning, walking towards the ferry, but apprehending he had missed his way, he asked a man whom he met, to conduct him. The other answered, with much cordiality, "That I will do with all my heart, my lord. Does not your lordship remember me? My name's John —, I have had the honour to be before your lord-

ship for stealing sheep! "Oh, John! I remember you well, and how is your wife? She had the honour to be before me too for receiving them, knowing them to be stolen." "At your lordship's service. We were very lucky: we got off for want of evidence; and I am still going on in the butcher trade." "Then," replied his lordship, "we may have the honour of meeting again."

One of the most curious applications of galvanism to the useful purposes of life, is its recent employment as a means of distinguishing bad teeth from good. The test which galvanism has now supplied to remedy the frequent mistakes made by dentists, who, instead of ridding you of a bad tooth, will draw the best tooth you have in your head, is considered to be one of infallible certainty in its application. The method is thus described by professor Aldini, the nephew of Galvani: "He (the dentist) first insulates the patient, and then places in his hand an electric chain; he then applies a small piece of wire, and draws it gradually over the surface of the tooth; he then applies it to the next tooth in the same manner, and proceeds in the like method with the rest, until he comes to the diseased tooth, which is discovered by violent pain being produced, and an involuntary emotion in the body. It has always been remarked, when the tooth is extracted, that it exhibits a carious part, which in its proper situation was not visible."

## BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

Of the original majority in favour of the second reading . 123

16 peers did not vote for the third, viz.

Marquis of Thomond,	Viscount Falmouth,*	} 16
Earl of Portsmouth,*	Baron Prudhoe,	
Aylesford,	Gambier,	
Stamford,	Bayning,*	
Huntingdon,	Brodrick,	
Harrowby,	Archbishop of Tuam,	
Brownlow,	Bishop of Chester,*	}
Lonsdale,	Gloucester,*	

107

One peer voted for the third reading who did not vote before, viz. lord Rous . . . . . 1

108

Those marked \* voted against the third reading.

Of the original minority against the second reading . 95

Four peers did not vote against the third, viz. :—

Earl of Darlington,	} . . . . . 4
Plymouth,	
Pembroke,	
Harewood,	

91

Three peers voted against the third reading who did not vote before, viz. :

Earl of Bradford,	} . . . . . 3
Lord Gwydir,	
Ponsonby, (earl of Besborough)	

Five peers voted against the third reading who had voted for the second, viz. :

Earl of Portsmouth,	} . . . . . 5
Viscount Falmouth,	
Lord Bayning,	
Archbp. of Tuam,	
Bishop of Gloucester,	

90

For the third reading . . . . . 108

Against it . . . . . 99

Majority . . . . . 9

The sugar-house of Messrs. in gross invective against the Nesbitt, in Old Gravel-lane, Rat- Scriptures and clergy, was fined cliffe, was burnt to the ground in three several times by the judge the night—the loss is very great. (Best): the fines (in all 100*l*)

In the court of King's Bench, were afterwards remitted. In the Guildhall, Thomas Davison was the above court, the same day, Jane, found guilty of publishing two the wife of Richard Carlile, (who blasphemous libels. Davison de- during her husband's imprison- fended himself; and, indulging ment continues to keep a shop in Fleet-

Fleet-street for the sale of political and deistical pamphlets,) was also found guilty of publishing two blasphemous libels: she was not committed.

November 7.—The Southampton, the finest and largest frigate ever built in England, was launched from his majesty's dock-yard at Deptford amidst the cheers of a large assemblage of spectators.

9.—This evening, about five o'clock, a fire broke out in the back premises of Mr. Glazier, timber merchant, Drury-lane, which burnt so rapidly that it threatened destruction to the whole neighbourhood. There being a great quantity of wood and shavings on the premises, it communicated with the dwelling house, which in an instant was in a blaze. The premises were totally consumed, and several other houses damaged. The theatres were in the greatest danger; the doors were kept closed beyond the usual hour of opening.

10.—This evening the houses in most of the principal streets of the metropolis were illuminated; and the bells of several parish churches were rung, in consequence of the Bill of Pains and Penalties being given up. But the most interesting and novel sight was the illumination of the ships in the Pool, visible from London bridge. The effect was, indeed, extremely beautiful. Every ship, as far as the eye could reach, was lighted, not only at the mast-head, but at the bows, and in various other parts of the vessel. In the metropolis, the police were on the alert, in consequence of orders received by the persons connected with the police establishments. They were no where so necessary as in that

part of the Strand which is the principal seat of the daily newspapers. The Courier office refusing compliance to the demand for lights, the populace became incensed, and from hooting and hissing, proceeded to break the windows. There was a large force of constables in front of the house, but they were not sufficient to restrain the outrage. A little after eight o'clock a detachment of horse guards, and of the horse patrol, made their appearance, and continued to traverse that part of the Strand until about half past ten o'clock, when tranquillity was perfectly restored. During this interval large parties of the populace followed the military, huzzing and shouting, "The queen! the queen!" At one time a placard was exhibited in the Courier office window, announcing that the Riot Act had been read. Fortunately, however, the populace showed no disposition to further violence, and the military bore this very harassing and annoying service with patience and good temper. On the arrival of the military at Temple-bar, they were about to enter the city; but they were prevented from so doing by the gates being shut against them. Among the crowd near Charing Cross, a person armed with a dirk rushed forth from a house which was particularly assailed, and wounded several individuals; he displayed the utmost violence until he was disarmed; after which he escaped with difficulty.

11.—This night the illuminations were more general than on Friday. The lord mayor had, in the forenoon, caused a large placard to be posted up in front of the mansion-house, announcing his intention

tion of illuminating both on Saturday and Monday nights. In consequence of the shameful conduct of the mob on Friday, in breaking the windows of such persons as did not choose to illuminate, the police magistrates on Saturday adopted proper measures to prevent as much as possible a recurrence of such proceedings. The *New Times* office, in Fleet-street, however, was assailed by a mob, and the whole front, doors, and window-frames, demolished.

Her majesty having addressed a letter to earl Liverpool, demanding a suitable palace and establishment, his lordship replied, that he had communicated her demands to his majesty, but had not received an answer. On the 17th inst. an answer was returned by earl Liverpool to the request of her majesty: it is in substance as follows:

"That he has received his majesty's commands to inform the queen, that it is not possible for his majesty, under all the circumstances, to assign any of the royal palaces for the queen's residence. Lord Liverpool has been further commanded to inform the queen, that, until parliament shall meet for the dispatch of business, the allowance which has hitherto been enjoyed by the queen will be continued to her; and that it will then be for parliament to determine the amount of the future provision to be granted to her majesty."

In an annexed paper, lord Liverpool adds:

"That he thinks it material to observe, that this answer must not be understood as withdrawing the facilities which had been previous-

ly offered for procuring a residence in London for the queen."

15.—His majesty held a court, at his palace in Pall-Mall, at which the reverend Dr. Cary (the bishop of Exeter,) was introduced to kiss hands upon his appointment to that bishoprick. The reverend prelate did homage before his majesty upon the occasion.

17.—John Palin was apprehended, for being concerned with the Cato-street conspiracy, and committed to the house of correction, on a charge of high treason.

THE POLAR VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.—Lieutenant Parry sailed from England on the 1st of May, 1819, having under his charge the *Hecla* and *Griper*; he followed the course which captain Ross had previously taken into Davis's Straits and Baffin's Bay; and as he and captain Ross had differed in opinion respecting the practicability of a passage through Lancaster Sound, which captain Ross had asserted was not possible, on account of mountains, which he supposed he had seen, his object was to effect this passage, and to proceed westward into Behring's Straits.

After passing through the Sound, he proceeded westward, running down the parallel of latitude of 75 deg. N. until he arrived at about 115 deg. W. longitude, which he reached on the 28th of September 1819, when his farther progress was stopped by the setting in of winter.\* He was then compelled to cut his way through two miles of ice of about two feet in thickness, when he got safely into a snug harbour of a new island, which he named after lord Melville the first

\* In this space twelve islands have been discovered, and named islands of New Georgia, in honour of his majesty.

lord of the admiralty, and there took up his winter quarters. There were several islands contiguous. In this situation he remained from the 28th of September until the 1st of August, 1820, when the sea broke up.

During his stay he saw no other human beings than his own ship's company, nor any animals besides a few lean deer, and some other non-descript animals. Of the former he obtained a few, and these were the only fresh provisions which the ships had during the whole of the voyage. They were enabled to grow sallad in the ship, by which means the ship's crew were preserved from the effects of the scurvy.

A singular phenomenon was observed relative to the magnet, which held a variation of 126 west, and only about 150 miles farther, of 128 east; plainly proving that in the course the ship took, he had gone round the magnetic pole. The ice in the harbour where he wintered increased to about seven feet; but he found the ice westward to be upwards of 40 feet, which effectually stopped him, as he had no chance of cutting his way through such an immense body for 500 miles into Behring's Straits. The purposes of science have been fully answered; but it is not likely that any commercial benefit will be derived, unless it be in the trade of furs.

The lords of the admiralty have printed, lithographically, a chart of the track of the *Hecla* and *Griper* on their north-west expedition. Some copies of the chart have been distributed among their friends and men of science, which convey some information respecting the dimensions of Lancaster Sound. Measured by the eye, without re-

ference to a scale, it appears to be about 150 miles long, and from 20 to 25 miles broad. On leaving the Sound, the ships proceeded about 100 miles to the southward, and then, returning to the point from which they had diverged, proceeded in a direct line to the west. Notwithstanding the attempts to decry the value of the discoveries that are accomplished or contemplated, much commercial benefit has already resulted from the navigation of those trackless seas. The confidence acquired by the experience of captain Parry has this year induced the whalers, who had been intimidated at the horrors of the higher regions, to venture, as was suggested, to the mouth of Lancaster Sound; and the consequence has been, that they have returned with fuller cargoes than were ever known.

29.—Was the day appointed by her majesty to return public thanks, at St. Paul's cathedral, for the result of the late proceedings against her. At a little before ten the queen in her carriage (closed) set out from Brandenburgh house, and was escorted to Hyde Park Corner by about 150 horsemen. Great numbers of persons followed and joined the cavalcade on its way. The procession went along the Strand to Temple-bar, where it was met by the lord mayor, the sheriffs, the marshalsmen, &c.; and, after the queen had entered the city, the gates were closed. The crowd here was tremendous. The lord mayor's and sheriffs' state carriages fell into the line, and the whole moved on to St. Paul's. Sir R. Wilson rode on one side of her majesty's carriage, and Mr. Hume on the other. The windows



dows were crowded with spectators. On arrival at the cathedral, the royal carriages passed round to the usual entrance. Her majesty entered the church, leaning on the arm of the lord mayor, and preceded by the city marshals, the sheriffs, and the members of the corporation. She was attended by her vice-chamberlain, lady Anne Hamilton, sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Hobhouse, lieutenants Flinn and Hownam; Mrs. Hownam, and the countess of Oldi, were also present. During the queen's progress to St. Paul's, her carriage was closed up; but on her return from that cathedral it was opened.

About half-past one o'clock this morning, the neighbourhood of Wardour-street, Soho, was thrown into the utmost confusion by flames bursting forth from the shop-windows of the house of Mr. Dring, tallow-melter and chandler. The premises were soon completely gutted, and the whole of the extensive stock in trade and valuable furniture was destroyed. The fire extended its ravages to the two adjoining houses; the one occupied by Mr. T. Little, a master cooper, and the other by Mr. Griffiths, appraiser and undertaker, both of which, together with their stock in trade and furniture, shared the fate of the former. Several other houses suffered materially.

Mr. Kemble has left England for his retirement at Lausanne. He has executed a deed of gift, substituting Mr. Charles Kemble the proprietor, in lieu of himself, of the valuable share he possessed in Covent Garden theatre. Report states it to be worth 25,000*l*.

Dr. Tomline, now bishop of Winchester, who for so many

years held the deanery of St. Paul's, has most munificently presented 2,000*l*. to the chapter for the purchase of a painted window for that cathedral.

The master and governors of the College of Surgeons have published an earnest recommendation to the members of that college, not to inoculate small-pox; but to pursue and promote the practice of vaccination; being convinced that the entire extinction of the small-pox would be the happy result of the suppression of inoculation of that disease, and the universal adoption of vaccination.

In the Insolvent Debtors' Court it has been publicly announced, and wished to be made public, that, by the new act of parliament, persons living in the country might save the expense of coming to town by sending up their affidavits.

The machinery and plate for the 1*l*. notes have been completed some time, and about one million and a half printed; 70,000*l*. per day are struck off, and the issue at the Bank averages about 60,000, so that there are plenty of Ones now ready; but it is said the directors have ordered the numbering of those notes by machinery, consequently it will take a considerable time before they are completed. The 5*l*. notes are also ready for working; but the larger ones are still in an unfinished state.

#### THEATRICAL REGISTER.

##### DRURY LANE THEATRE.

November 21.—A Wild Goose Chase, a comic farce, in two acts. This piece contains much humorous interest and bustle, and is likely to become a favourite. It has been generally ascribed to the prolific pen of Mr. Theodore Hook.

COVENT

## COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

14.—Wallace, an historical tragedy. We have here a not injudicious mixture of fact and fiction. The play commences immediately before the battle of Falkirk. The author, we have heard, is a young man not exceeding 19 years of age, and the son of Mr. Peter Walker; and though we think that a more experienced dramatist would have thrown in more of the heroism, and somewhat less of the love of Wallace, yet as a whole, it is a production of which its writer need not be ashamed. It has been several times performed.

20.—The Iroquois; or, The Canadian Basket-maker, a musical Indian tale. The chief merit of this afterpiece belongs to the scene-painter, and the compiler of the music. It is very deficient in dramatic interest.

## DECEMBER.

## FRANCE.

A French paper, under the date of Bordeaux, Nov. 3, contains the following interesting account:

“Mr. Lalande, the naturalist, is just arrived from the Cape, and has brought with him, among other objects of curiosity, the skeletons and skins of an enormous hippopotamus, a rhinoceros, and three whales, one of which is 75 feet in length. The hippopotamus and rhinoceros were both killed by Mr. Lalande, who prepared the skins and skeletons himself. It was not until after a month passed in the midst of dangers that Mr. Lalande met with this monster, whose approach was announced with an incredible noise. When he received his death-wound, he rushed rapidly into the river, which he discolour-

ed with his blood. A second shot deprived him of life. It required ten pair of oxen to draw him out of the river, and Mr. Lalande was compelled to construct a rampart of bamboo cane round the dead animal, to protect the carcass from being devoured by wild beasts. The whole collection brought home by Mr. Lalande for the museum at Paris, comprises 15,000 articles. This enterprising naturalist speaks with rapture of the kind and hospitable conduct of the British settlers, who afforded him every facility, and took off in his favour the severe interdiction which is laid against hunting the hippopotamus.”

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Spanish Cortes closed its session on the 9th ult. The king being, as is stated, unwell with a cold and hoarseness, the president read his majesty's speech. When the president had declared the sittings closed, great applause followed from the spectators; the deputies, on entering the streets, were received with every token of regard and esteem: and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

At Valencia, a considerable tumult took place on the 10th, directed chiefly against the archbishop, who had published a pastoral letter, condemning the conduct of the Cortes. The archbishop has since been arrested, and placed in a convent. Another prelate, the bishop of Cadiz, had got into disgrace with the people, in consequence of his publishing a pastoral letter containing doctrines at variance with the principles of the constitution. A tumult commenced in the streets, which called forth the garrison under arms, followed by the militia. Tranquillity was, how.

however restored, through the persuasion of the public authorities; but the bishop took flight.

The king of Spain returned to Madrid on the 21st ult.; thereby fulfilling the pledge he had given, and diffusing the most cordial satisfaction among the great body of his subjects. The garrison and militia were drawn up to receive the royal family. The people hailed him with tumultuous acclamations; and at night the city was illuminated.

Advices from Lisbon to the 18th ult. contain accounts of the Spanish constitution having been adopted in that city, by the heads of the civil government, and of the Portuguese army, on the 11th. The cause of this measure appears to have been, a fear that their liberty would be endangered by further delay. On the 13th, four members of the government requested their discharge; but on the 17th, in consequence of a resolution of the general officers, commanders of divisions, &c. that it was necessary for the public interest that they should continue in office, they resumed their functions. In the same military assembly, it was resolved, that the modifications which may be necessary in the Spanish constitution shall be left to the Cortes, who are to be convoked as soon as possible. There are to be 100 deputies.

#### ITALY.

Advices from Naples to the 27th Oct. state, that in the Neapolitan parliament, on the 23d, the deputy Pepe alluded to the dangers that threatened the country, and censured the parliament for not taking measures sufficiently decisive to repel invasion. He then exhorted them to firmness, tranquillity, and

courage, as the best security for their independence. At the close of his speech, all the deputies rose spontaneously, and declared that such were the sentiments of all.

The Carbonari are said, in a letter from Naples, in the *Hamburgh Correspondent*, to bear a strong resemblance to the Scotch Presbyterians. They preach up austerity of morals, virtue, continence, &c. Hence the clause in their oath, not to stain the conjugal honour of a Carbonari, and their zeal against games of hazard. This sect, if it should keep its ground, would effect a reformation in the catholic church. They profess to wish to bring it back to the practice of the first centuries. Already an opposition to Rome displays itself. Their principles are neither limited to Naples nor even to Italy; and the Carbonari have succeeded in sending out branches to Switzerland and Tyrol; from which they keep up a communication, by travellers, with the north of Germany.

#### GERMANY.

The accounts from Troppau to the 30th ult. inclusive, state, that it appeared to be decided upon, that the allied sovereigns, as well as the ministers, should proceed to Vienna, where they were to remain till the 20th inst. and then to continue their negotiations in a more southern town, supposed to be Laybach; but their meeting at all at the latter place probably depends upon the answer received from the Neapolitan government. The reports respecting Austria and Naples continue to be pacific.

Troppau, the seat of the present congress of sovereigns, is a city of Silesia, and capital of the principality of the same name. It is situated

tuated on the river Oppa, being walled, and containing an ancient palace of the princes, with three parochial churches, a college, three convents of monks, a nunnery, and a commandery of the order of St. John. It is also the seat of the regency for the Bohemian part of Silesia. In 1753 the greatest part of this town was destroyed by fire. It belongs to Austria, and is eighty miles S.S.E. of Breslau.

#### ASIA.

The ceremony of proclaiming the accession of his present majesty took place at Bombay on the 7th of June. A considerable degree of alarm was created on the occasion by the explosion of a powder-chest on one of the batteries; by which accident six European artillerymen and two lascars were killed, and one matross desperately wounded. His majesty's ship Carron, captain Furneaux, was totally lost on the 6th of July, on the coast of Jugernaut; lieutenant Sconce of the royal artillery, the master, and nineteen of the crew were drowned; the rest only preserved their lives. Uniform tranquillity appears to reign throughout the interior of Hindostan.

The Bombay government have resolved to make the island of Kerm, or Kneese, in the Persian Gulf, a military and commercial station. This island is spoken of as early as the voyage of Nearchus, and has been a place of note as a Mahomedan depôt of commerce.

#### AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

We have received the message to congress of the president of the United States. The following is the substance of the most material passages:—The president commences with observing, that,

taking all circumstances into consideration, the country has much cause to rejoice in the felicity of her situation; but unvaried prosperity is not implied thereby. A pressure has been felt in certain classes of the community, which, from the partial sufferings they have experienced, form exceptions to the great body of the nation. Respecting Spain, he says, nothing explicit can be communicated; but he expresses a hope that the differences between Spain and the United States, on the subject of the Floridas, will be amicably adjusted. The negotiation with France, for placing the American commerce with that country on a footing of reciprocity and equality, is, with the consent of the French government, to be transferred to Washington. The finances of the union are declared to be in a flourishing state. Since September 1815, about the close of the war with England, the national debt amounted to upwards of 158,000,000 dollars; on the 30th of September last, it did not exceed 92,000,000; two-fifths of the whole debt having been paid off in five years! On the 30th of September, there remained in the exchequer of Washington, after defraying the expenses of the year, a sum estimated at 1,950,000 dollars. The remainder of the message relates to the fortifications erecting in various parts of the American territory; and the measures taken to obtain an efficient controul over, and to introduce the blessing of civilization among the Indian tribes.

#### AMERICAN NAVY.

Authentic official documents state, that exclusively of the vessels authorised by the act for the gradual

gradual increase of the American navy, and by the act of last session of congress, their navy consists of—

Three 74's, viz.—The Washington, the Franklin, and the Independence.

Four 44's, viz.—The Constitution, the Guerrier, the United States, and the Java.

Three 36's, viz.—The Congress, the Constellation, and the Macedonian.

Six sloops of war, viz.—The Cyane, the John Adams, Erie, Hornet, Ontario, and the Peacock.

Two brigs—the Spark and the Enterprise.

Five schooners—the Nonsuch, the Lynch, the Hornet, the Dispatch, and the Asp—all small.

Six gun-boats, and four galleys; one steam battery, the Fulton.

One block ship, and a receiving ship, the Alert.

And when all the vessels authorized by the act for the gradual increase of the navy, and by the act of the last session of congress, shall have been built and equipped, their navy will consist of—

12 Twelve ships of the line, 14 44-gun frigates, 3 36-gun frigates, 6 sloops, 2 brigs, 10 schooners, 6 gun-boats, and 4 galleys, 4 steam batteries, 1 block ship, and 1 receiving ship.

The vessels on the lakes are not considered as part of the navy, and being constructed of very inferior green materials, they are really not worth even the trifling expense the nation is now subject to on their account. In a few years, their decay having already commenced, and which no human skill can arrest, they will, no doubt, be entirely rotten.

Letters from Rio Janeiro mention the arrival there of the Conway, 28, captain Basil Hall, from England, on her way to explore certain parts in the south seas. The American frigate Constellation had also left Rio for the South Seas; as had the French ships Colossus, 80, and Galatea frigate.

Christophe, the black monarch of Hayti, is related to have perished by his own hands. By advices to Lloyd's, dated Cape Henry, October 13, it appears, that his troops revolted; declaring they would no longer have a king; the inhabitants joined them, and subsequently his own guard: upon hearing the latter event, Christophe exclaimed, "then all is finished with me." He soon after retired, and shot himself through the heart. It is said, a greater tyrant never existed. Not a drop of blood has been shed, nor has the sacredness of property been violated. It is said that 40,000,000 dollars were found in the treasury of Christophe.

Intelligence has since been received from St. Domingo, that the whole island is now under one republican government, at the head of which is president Boyer. His movements on the death of Christophe appear to have been rapid and decisive. On the 20th of October he took possession of Gonnaives, without opposition, his army consisting of ten thousand men. On the 22d October he marched for the capital, where, it seems, every thing had been arranged for his reception; for, on the 21st, a meeting of the principal inhabitants, magistrates, and military officers was held, and the immediate entry of Boyer was announced, as well as that in future

all

all Hayti would be under one government. He accordingly entered the capital on the 22d, at the head of 20,000 men, and he was proclaimed president on the 26th, on which day he issued a proclamation to the Haytians.

As two men were looking into a chalk-well near Doddington, in Kent, they were alarmed by a human voice issuing from it; they immediately procured a ladder and descended; when, to their great surprise, they found a young woman in a state of excessive exhaustion, she having been in this deplorable situation sixteen days, without any other support than a small quantity of water which occasionally dripped into the well. She stated, that proceeding homeward on Monday, the 6th inst. she fell into this well, which had been left uncovered; that during her agonizing confinement, she had repeatedly heard the voices and whistling of ploughmen and of persons passing that way, but could not make her own voice reach them, being at a depth of nearly forty feet below the surface of the earth. She had endeavoured to form steps by raising pieces of chalk, but they had constantly given way, thus increasing her despair at every disappointment. She received very little injury from her fall, and has recovered from the effects of fear and fasting.

A man in the neighbourhood of Carnarvon some time ago had his nose bitten off in an affray. His opponent was brought to justice for this brutal offence, and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment; but, what is very curious, the complainant appeared in court with a handsome new nose, made out of the integuments of the forehead; this operation

was performed by a surgeon at Carnarvon.

For the first time in the memory of man, a shoal of herrings has, for several days past, made their appearance as high up the river Thames as Gravesend.

A Sussex paper says: "Such is the depressed state of the agricultural interest, that many graziers in this county are now selling stock, in a fatted state, for less money than they gave for the same, when lean, twelve months ago! Several farmers are turned mealmen, and are selling flour to their neighbours at  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  per gallon less than the bakers. In some instances, rectors have lowered their tithes, and landlords allowed time for the payment of their rents."

The sea is making such rapid encroachments at the eastern extremity of Brighton, that it has been deemed necessary to call a special session of the commissioners of the town, to devise some mode to prevent the future destructive washings of the water.

A liberal subscription has been entered into at Harwich, under the patronage of the mayor of that port, for the philanthropic purpose of building a life-boat for the preservation of seamen, in case of accident off that coast.

Sir Walter Scott, baronet, has been unanimously elected president of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, on the resignation of sir James Hall.

The regular packets between Liverpool and the United States now perform their passage with the rapidity, and almost with the regularity, of a mail-coach. A gentleman of the former place, lately returned from America, was only fifty-five days absent from

from his departure to his return, including a stay of fourteen days at New York.

A most barbarous murder was committed at a place called Illogan highway, Cornwall, on the night of December 5. It was observed on Wednesday morning, that the house of a man named Simon Rogers, who lived alone, was not opened at the usual time; and at length an entrance was effected, when the unhappy man was found dead in his bed, under which were some sheaves of reed (straw used for thatching, &c.), partly burned, and which had been placed there evidently for the purpose of setting fire to the bed and the house, in order to consume the body, and conceal the horrid deed. Happily, we trust, for the purposes of justice, the ruffians, by shutting the door, prevented the access of air, and caused the fire to go out. On examining the body, it was found that a sharp instrument had been forced into the mouth and down the throat, so as to cause the death of the unfortunate man. The house was rifled; but the chief object of the villains was a number of guineas, which the deceased was well known to keep by him, and which he was in the habit of showing and boasting of whenever he drank freely, which he sometimes did. Every exertion is making to discover the perpetrators, who must have been well acquainted with the habits of the deceased.

A most melancholy occurrence took place on Thursday night Dec. 14, at Kirkby-Lonsdale, in the total destruction, by fire, of the Rose and Crown inn, (kept by Mrs. Roper,) and the death of no less than five young women, who perished in the flames!—The

alarm was first given a little before one o'clock in the morning, when it was discovered that the fire was raging vehemently in all the front rooms of the third story. The flame then burst from all the upper windows, in tremendous sheets, and in a very short time the lower parts of the house were enveloped in flames. On the alarm being first given, Mrs. Roper, her two daughters, and a servant girl, named Hall, (whose parents reside on the Fell-side, in Kendal,) appeared at the windows of the second floor, and, as their escape by the stairs was cut off, they were compelled to leap from the windows, with nothing on but their night-clothes, in order to avoid the destruction which was inevitable if they remained longer in the house. The five unfortunate females all lodged on the same story. Their shrieks were heard by the people in the street, and one of them was seen struggling at a window; but their sufferings were of short duration—they were all quickly engulfed in the burning ruins! An attempt was made to rescue the poor sufferers; but the door which led to their apartments was found to be fastened in the inside, and the person who made the humane attempt narrowly escaped destruction. The fire was prevented from communicating to the elegant mansion of Mr. North, which nearly adjoins the Rose and Crown, by pulling down the office of Mr. Preston, solicitor, and thus cutting off the communication.

On Thursday the remains of four of the poor girls were found nearly consumed amongst the ruins—three of them were huddled close together—the fifth had not been found on Thursday evening.

ing. One of the girls who has perished, named Alice Clarke, was lately in the service of Miss Brocklebank, in Kendal; and, having formerly been a respected servant of Mrs. Roper's, had gone to the Rose and Crown, only a day or two before, on a visit. A young man named Wilcock, and two others, were seriously injured by the falling of stones, and the breaking of a ladder, whilst they were attempting to subdue the flames.

*Further particulars.*—Mrs. Roper herself was the first that perceived a smell of burning in her room, up two pair of stairs, and mentioned it to Ann Hall (one of the servants, and the only female servant saved), who slept in the same room. She (Mrs. R.) immediately got up—opened the door, and exclaimed—"The house is on fire!" She then ran to the room in which her two daughters slept. All the four (Mrs. R. her two daughters, and Hall) ran down stairs to the first floor, when they found the stairs leading to the kitchen on fire, and were under the necessity of retreating into one of the front sitting rooms, upon the first floor, where they jumped out into the street, one after the other; Mrs. Roper fell upon her back, and is much bruised; the others are hurt, but nothing of consequence.

Four servant girls slept in a room adjoining Mrs. Roper's; an attempt was made to alarm them, but in vain. In another room was a young woman, who had formerly been a servant in the house, and who was on her way to see her friends at Arkholme; she had been pressed by Mrs. Roper to remain all night. These five girls were all burned to death; the fol-

lowing are their names:—Agnes Nicolson, Hannah Armstrong, Bella Cornthwaite, Agnes Waller (servants); Alice Clarke, the young woman going to Arkholme.

The bodies were all found yesterday, but so much burnt, that they could not be identified one from the other. The coroner's inquest was held to day—verdict "Accidental death, from the house, &c. being burnt."

The fire began about one o'clock, and the roof fell within two hours. Very little of the furniture is saved; and neither Mrs. Roper, her daughters, or the servants, have saved an article of wearing apparel but the shirts or shifts they had on at the time. The premises are insured, but not to the amount of the loss. Six of the men servants had a very narrow escape, as they slept in a room with iron bars to the window, which bars they had great difficulty in knocking out, and had no other means of escape. Two of them endeavoured to get to the room where the girls slept, but found it impossible to penetrate through the smoke. The fire is supposed to have first taken place in the front kitchen.

As Mr. Evelyn, of Sheerness, who had been to the Globe Tavern, Chatham, where he received between three and four hundred pounds, was proceeding lately to Gillingham, in the evening, he was stopped in a field beyond the lines by two men: one of them came towards him, and said, "Give me your money, or"—"What!" said Mr. Evelyn, interrupting him, "why, man, I am upon the same business: there is a person coming from Chatham, who I know has received a large sum



sum of money, and if you like to join me, we will attack him together." The proposal was immediately acceded to, and the party loitered about for some time, till Mr. Evelyn suggested that they might be observed if they remained much longer in the open place where they then were, and proposed that they should proceed to a field near Gillingham, in which there are two paths, one leading to the church and the other to the middle of Gillingham street, and that to escape notice they should separate, but that they should keep near enough mutually to assist one another. This arrangement they also fell in with, and Mr. E. having got rid of one of his troublesome companions, gave the other the slip, effected his escape, and saved his money.

**CHARLES JAMES FOX.**—After Byron's engagement in the West Indies, there was a great clamour about the badness of ammunition. Soon after this, Mr. Fox had a duel with Mr. Adam. On receiving that gentleman's ball, and finding it had made but little impression, he exclaimed, "Egad, Adam, it had been all over with me if you had not charged with government powder."

*Detection of forged notes.*—Every genuine or true note is a paper with three natural or uncut edges, and one edge cut. Every forged note has fewer natural edges than three, and more cut edges than one. This must be the case with all forged notes, unless the forgers use paper made for the purpose, as the regular banks do. But to make or procure such paper would cause many chances of discovery, and will rarely be attempted. What ren-

ders this criterion valuable, is the impossibility of making any near imitation of the natural edge of paper on a cut edge. It would be as difficult as to pass a cut edge of cloth for a selvage.

In removing the library and clearing away the floor and bookcases that have so long incumbered the Lady chapel of Exeter cathedral, a discovery has been made of two ancient tombs.—The sculpture of both is early. They are placed in Gothic niches of much later date, and appear to be the lids only of sarcophagi, and to have been removed from some other station to that which they now occupy. The material is Purbeck marble. The most ancient of them is the figure of a prelate with a depressed mitre, a beard and mustachios; the two first fingers of the right hand pointing upwards, in the act of benediction, in the left hand a crosier. In spandrils, above the head, on each side, are cherubs. The feet of the figure and the crosier rest on two birds, which terminate in the centre with a single head, the face of which is human. The sides and ends are wrought into wide flutes, without fillets, like the fluting of the Doric column; the front is placed parallel with the niche, and the upper corner of the lid at the back inserted four or five inches into the wall. This tomb is on the north side of the chapel. The other tomb is placed in a niche on the south side of the chapel, immediately opposite that first described. This is likewise the figure of a prelate, and is carved in good style, and in much higher relief than the former. The arms and hands are placed in easy and natural positions on the body, over

over the staff of the crozier: the head or crook is defeated.—The mitre of this figure is of a more recent form than the other: the feet rest on a chimera, carved in a style of spirit and beauty that would do honour to a period of more refined art. The head is that of a wolf, terminating in the body of a serpent, branching on each side, and scrolling down the sides of the lid, and finally branching off into rich foliage, tastefully arranged by the feet of the figure, between which the head is seen.

5.—In the court of king's bench, Westminster, an action was tried, *Cleary versus Cobbett*; in which the former sought to obtain damages from Mr. William Cobbett, for aspersing his character in a letter written by him to Mr. H. Hunt, wherein it was stated that Cleary had forged the well-known letter read at the Westminster hustings, in which Mr. Cobbett reflected on the character of Mr. Hunt. The jury returned a verdict against the defendant. Damages, 40s. They were laid at 3,000l.

7.—His majesty held a court to receive a loyal address from the university of Cambridge. The members of the university assembled at Willis's rooms, in King-street, St. James's, with the university officers, &c.; from which place they began to move in grand procession at a few minutes before three o'clock. The procession was headed by two esquire beadles, in their full robes, carrying their silver insignia of office, followed by the vice-chancellor, the caput, the proctors, pro-proctors, taxors, moderators, and scrutators. They consisted of about 260; among the distinguished members present

were—the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, the earl of St. Germans; the rev. Dr. Walmsley; sir Henry Russel, &c.

8.—In the court of chancery, a case was heard, in which the question for decision was, whether or not the executors of a person deceased should be compelled to pay a doctor's bill, amounting to no less than 321l. The parties lived at a village in Leicestershire, and the bill was for five years' medical attendance. Among the items charged were the following:—Twenty-four visits at a guinea each—five thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight draughts—one hundred and sixty-eight mixtures—one hundred and nineteen boluses—sixty-eight lotions—seventy-eight liniments—two hundred and fifty-eight boxes of pills—and other doses of various descriptions, to the amount of seven hundred in number. There was also a charge for having seven times tapped the patient for dropsy.—The lord chancellor said, he would read the affidavits before giving his decision.

The lord mayor, accompanied by aldermen sir W. Curtis, sir W. Leighton, sir C. Flower, Birch, Bridges, and Heygate, the recorder, sheriff Williams, and city officers, attended his majesty at Carlton-palace, with a loyal address from the court of aldermen; from which we give a single extract:—“We feel, sire, that in order to avert the devastation threatened by a torrent of impiety and sedition, it becomes the bounden duty of all the liege subjects of the realm, to stand forward without delay, and avow their determination to support the principles of the British constitution in the true spirit of British loyalty; to rally  
(K 2) round

round the throne, and guard the religion and laws of the country from outrage and insult."

To this address his majesty returned a most gracious answer, concluding thus:—"You may rely on my constant support in the discharge of the duties which arise out of the present extraordinary conjuncture. We are engaged in a common cause; and I feel most deeply, that the honour of my crown, and the happiness of my reign, are inseparably interwoven with the maintenance of our established constitution, and with the true interests and welfare of my people."

9.—The lord mayor, attended by Mr. alderman Wood, the recorder, Mr. sheriff Waithman, Mr. sheriff Williams, the city officers, and about 60 members of the court of common council, proceeded from Guildhall about two o'clock, and went to Carlton palace, where they presented an address to his majesty. It concluded thus:—"We therefore humbly pray your majesty to dismiss from your presence and councils for ever, those ministers whose pernicious measures have so long endangered the throne, undermined the constitution, and blighted the prosperity of the nation." To which his majesty was pleased to return the following answer:—"It has been with the most painful feelings that I have heard the sentiments contained in the address and petition now presented to me by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen of the city of London. Whatever may be the motives of those by whom it is brought forward, its evident tendency is to inflame the passions and mislead the judgement of the

unwary and less enlightened part of my subjects, and thus to aggravate all the difficulties with which we have to contend."

11.—In the court of king's bench, an action was tried, Wright *versus* Cobbett, to recover a compensation in damages for an injury which the plaintiff's character had sustained from several libels published by the defendant in the Political Registers of Jan. 4, 1817, Mar. 6, 1819, Jan. 6, 1820; in which he described the plaintiff as a wretch whom he intended to hold up to infamy the first opportunity—an associate with Cleary in fabricating letters and vouchers—a person who (he had often said) would be hanged for forgery, and whom he had cautioned to beware the jest did not become a prophecy. Mr. Wright and Mr. Cobbett had been concerned in the Parliamentary Register, and other works published by the latter. Mr. Cobbett conducted his own defence.—The jury, after deliberating an hour and three quarters, found a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 1,000*l*.

This being the day appointed, by royal command, for the presentation to his majesty of the loyal address from the university of Oxford, preparations were made for the proper reception of the deputation at Carlton house. The noblemen and gentlemen who formed the procession assembled before two o'clock at the "Gothic hall," in Pall-mall, in great numbers. It was headed by lord Grenville, chancellor of the university, and Dr. Lee, the vice chancellor, in their robes; they were followed by an immense number of the members of the university, attired according to their respective ranks.

We

We noticed amongst them, the lord chief justice Abbott, sir W. Scott, sir C. Robinson, Mr. justice Holroyd, sir C. S. Hunter, the recorder of London, &c.—His majesty received the deputation on his throne, and surrounded by his cabinet ministers and principal officers of state. The address was received and answered in the most gracious manner.

20.—Mr. Canning resigned the place of president of the board of controul, and his seat in the council. It is said that he will go to reside for a short time on the continent, but not in any official capacity. The reason given for Mr. Canning's resignation is this—“Because he could not, with honour to himself, remain in administration, after the turn which the queen's business has taken, and the parliamentary discussion likely to ensue upon it.”

#### BUFFALO HUNT IN LONDON.

Wednesday morning, Dec. 20. About half-past nine o'clock, three buffaloes, consisting of a grown bull and two calves, one of them about the size of a small donkey, and the other of a sheep, arrived at the menagerie in Exeter's Change in the Strand. They were driven up the Strand by a keeper, moved on slowly, and appeared as tame as any of our domestic cattle. On their arrival in front of the menagerie, a great crowd of people was collected by curiosity to see them, and amused themselves with shouting and other noises, while the keepers were preparing to take them up into the menagerie. The bull, frightened by the strange noise and clamour, darted away, followed by the two young buffaloes and the crowd collected on the spot. He ran down the Strand,

round the equestrian statue at Charing-cross, and up again as far as Southampton-street, then down again to Charing-cross, and up again as far as the Adelphi theatre. He then turned down Adam-street, along the Adelphi, and to the bottom of Villiers-street. There his progress in that direction was stopped by an iron pallisade. Foremost among the pursuers was one of the keepers in a chaise-cart, which he drew across the street; but the bull, followed by the calves, made a turn, and rushed along the flag-way. The young buffaloes being perfectly gentle and harmless, having no horns, were permitted to accompany the bull, with a view to take him more easily. From Villiers-street they went along the Strand, passed Charing-cross, and dashed into Pall-mall. They then crossed St. James's-square, along Jermyn-street, crossing Piccadilly into Albemarle-street. From thence they proceeded to Bond-street, crossed Oxford-road, thence to Grosvenor-square, Portman-square, and thence back into Oxford-street to Tyburn turnpike, where, not paying toll, their progress was stopped at the gate. They then turned down Park-lane, and one of the gates of Hyde Park was instantly opened for the purpose of letting the bull in. At this part of Park-lane a horse and cart were standing loaded with hay; the bull refused to enter the park, and fell in close behind the load of hay. Here he stood tired and exhausted, while the carter being provided with a rope having a running noose, succeeded, after several ineffectual attempts, to throw it round his horns; the rope was then

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then made fast to the cart. Finding himself secured, he kicked and plunged furiously, and from his great strength there was great danger that he would upset cart and horse. It was therefore thought advisable to secure him by another rope to a lamp post. He was then secured in a more effectual manner by additional ropes to the cart, and drawn to a neighbouring stable, where he was deposited for safety. In this course the young buffaloes, not able to keep up with the bull, were separated from him in Oxford-road; but being taken, they were brought to the stable and left with the bull. In this long chase no very serious injury nor accident occurred. At Charing-cross the bull fell in with a coal waggon, and gored one of the horses slightly with his horn. He never attempted to run at any passenger, nor did any further mischief until he arrived in Park-lane, where he upset a gentleman on horseback. The rider and horse escaped unhurt. When tied to the cart he broke one of his horns in plunging and struggling, which bled profusely. When in motion he went at a great rate. It was only in consequence of his stopping occasionally that the pursuers were

able to keep him in sight until he was taken. The bull and calves are very handsome animals of their species. They are of a greyish slate colour.

THEATRICAL REGISTER.

COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

December 2.—The Warlock of the Glen, a melo-drama. The scenery is rich, the music appropriate, and the story interesting; and the piece has been often acted with success.

DRURY LANE THEATRE.

Nov. 28.—Justice; or, The Caliph and the Cocker; a musical drama, in three acts, said to be the production of a Mr. Faucit, the manager of one of the provincial theatres. The scene is laid at Bagdad; and the main plot rises out of a whimsical scheme of the caliph to promote the marriage of an unfortunate cocker, who had no relations, by appointing him his vizier *pro tempore*; which draws upon him the kind attention of all who are even namesakes of his.—The piece was well received.

Dec. 15.—Pocahontas; or, The Indian Princess; an American drama, in three acts, founded on an historical fact. Well acted, and much applauded.



At her father's, lieutenant-gen. Macleod, St. James's-park, lady Gardiner, of a son.

*Lately*, in Mountjoy-square, Dublin, viscountess Massarene, of a son.

At St. Helena, the lady of lieutenant-gen. sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B. a son.

In Rutland-square, Dublin, the countess of Wicklow, a daughter.

*March*. In Rutland-square, Dublin, the countess of Longford, a son.

At Charleville, viscountess Monck, a daughter.

At Hampstead Heath, the countess of Huntingdon, a son, being her tenth child.

In Berkeley-square, lady Harriet Clive, a daughter.

The duchess of San Carlos, a boy.

*April*. At Putney, lady Sarah Lyttelton, a son.

At Arbutnot-house, lady Arbuthnot, a son.

At Preshaw-house, Hants, lady Mary Long, a daughter.

*Lately*, at the Hermitage, Brompton, lady Charles Bentinck, a daughter.

*May*. In St. James's-square, lady H. Williams Wynn, son and heir.

At Paris, the lady of the right hon. Edward Thornton, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his most faithful majesty, a son.

*Lately*, at Lyndhurst, the hon. lady Stopford, a daughter.

*June*. The hereditary princess of Oldenburg, a daughter.

In Upper Grosvenor-street, her grace the duchess of Richmond, a son.

The duchess of Rutland, a son.

At Edinburgh, the lady of sir

James Montgomery, bart. M. P. a daughter.

*July*. Lady Frances Webster Wedderburne, a son.

In Dublin, the lady of hon. A. Hely Hutchinson, a son.

The lady of hon. col. Lowther, a son.

*Lately*, in Hamilton-place, the countess of Shannon, a daughter.

*August*. In Heriot-row, Edinburgh, the right hon. lady Ann Fraser, of a son.

In Piccadilly, the countess of Roseberry, of a daughter.

*September*. At Bourn-hall, Cambridgeshire, the countess De La Warr, a son.

At Yester, the marchioness of Tweedale, a daughter.

At Rockville, East Lothian, the lady of sir Thomas Trowbridge, bart. of a daughter.

At Ballygiblin (Cork), the lady of William W. Becher, esq. M. P. (late Miss O'Neill), of a son. We regret to state, the child only lived till next day.

At Bedale, Yorkshire, the lady of rear admiral sir J. P. Beresford, bart. a son.

*October*. The lady of sir George Sitwell, bart. of Renishaw-hall, Derbyshire, a son and heir.

The lady of sir R. M'Pherson, bart. a daughter.

At Clumber, the duchess of Newcastle, a son.

In Grosvenor-square, lady Elizabeth Belgrave, a daughter.

At the duke of Clarence's, in Audley-square, the wife of colonel Fitzclarence, a daughter.

*Lately*, at the rectory-house of Hawarden, Flintshire, lady Charlotte Neville, a daughter.

*November*. At the Hague, the countess of Athlone, a son and heir.

In Mansfield-street, the viscountess Ashbrook, a daughter.

In Holles-street, Dublin, lady Killeen, a son.

*Lately*, at Chesterfield, the wives of three gentlemen, all skimmers by trade, and the only skimmers in the town, were, within a few days of each other, delivered of twins, and all females.

*December.* The duchess of Clarence of a princess. His royal highness the duke of York, the lord chancellor, and the right hon. George Canning, first commissioner for the affairs of India, were in attendance. The young princess, although prematurely born, is expected to live. She has since been named Elizabeth, by royal command.

### *MARRIAGES in the year 1820.*

*December 1819.* Lord viscount Kingsland, to Julia, daughter of J. Willis, esq. of Walcot-terrace, Lambeth.

*January 1820.* J. L. Cotter, esq. eldest son of sir J. L. Cotter, bart. of Rockforest (Cork), to Helena, daughter of the late J. Lombard, esq. of Lombard's-town.

Sir John Litchford, bart. of Boothby Pagnal, to Louisa Elizabeth, sister of sir C. Eggleton Keat, bart. of Little Penton-house, both in Lincolnshire.

At Edinburgh, W. F. Campbell, esq. to lady Elinor Charteris, daughter of the right hon. the earl of Wemyss and March.

William, son of W. Wilberforce, esq. M. P. to Mary Frances, daughter of the rev. John Owen, rector of Paglesham.

Sir James Stuart, bart. of Allankbank, to Elizabeth Catherine, dau. of the late E. Woodcock, esq.

At Edinburgh, the hon. Henry Robert Westenra, son of lord Rossmore, and M. P. for the county of Monaghan, to miss Anne Douglas Hamilton.

*February.* At St. George's, Hanover-square, by the very rev. the dean of Chester, the earl of Uxbridge, eldest son of the marquis of Anglesey, to Eleanor, second daughter of the late John Campbell, esq. of Shawfield, having been previously married on the 5th of August last, at Altyr, in Scotland, the seat of her brother-in-law, sir W. G. Cumming, bart.

F. W. Campbell, esq. of Barbreck, N. B. to Sophia, daughter of the late sir E. Winnington, bart. of Stamford Court, Worcestershire.

Mr. John Whitehead, clothier, to miss Ross, both of Gomersall, Yorkshire; the bride is daughter, niece, and sister to her father and mother; aunt and cousin to her brother and sisters; niece to her husband; sister to uncles and aunts; and daughter to her grandfather.

Captain Laugharne, R. N. to Mary Amelia, daughter of the late sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, bart. of Shuckburgh-park, Warwickshire.

The hon. R. W. Penn Curzon, (now viscount Curzon) to lady Harriet Georgiana Brudenell, dau. of the earl of Cardigan.

*March.* The hon. Charles Augustus Fitzroy, of the royal horse guards (blue), to lady Mary Lenox, daughter of the late, and sister to the present, duke of Richmond.

*April.* Hon. and rev. W. L. Addington, son of lord viscount Sidmouth, to Mary, daughter of the rev. John Young, rector of Thorpe, Northampton.

F. New.



F. Newdigate, esq. to lady Barbara Legge, daughter of the countess of Dartmouth, and sister to the present earl.

At St. Helena, count Balmain, commissioner of the emperor of Russia, to miss Charlotte Johnson, daughter of lady Lowe, and granddaughter of sir John Johnson, bart.

*May.* Sir W. Newry Clerke, bart. to Mary Elizabeth, daughter of G. W. Kendrick, esq. of Mertyn, Flintshire.

At Warsaw, the grand duke Constantine.—His consort is to take the title of princess de Krucinska, which is her family name.

At Prague, his imperial highness the archduke Rainier, to the princess Francisca of Savoy Carignan.

*June.* Hon. Berkeley Octavius Noel, son of sir Gerard Noel Noel, bart. and the baroness Barham, to Letitia Penelope, daughter of the late Ralph Adderley, esq. of Coton, in Staffordshire, and widow of And. Hacket, esq. of Moxhall-park, Warwickshire.

His excellency count Reginald Victor Romanshoff, eldest son of the prince de Lichtenstein, to Mrs. Anne P. Shortt, daughter of the late T. B. Grantham, esq. of Stamford, Lincolnshire.

George Finch, esq. M. P. son of the earl of Winchelsea, to Jane, daughter of admiral and lady Elizabeth Halliday.

Right hon. Robert Peel, M. P. son of sir Robert Peel, bart. to Julia, daughter of the late general sir John Floyd, bart.

*August.* At Paris, earl Poulett, of Hinton St. George, to Charlotte, daughter of the hon. Mrs. Portman, and niece of lord Dormer, of Grove-park, Warwickshire.

Hereditary prince of Lucca, to the princess Maria Theresa of Savoy.

*September.* Sir Chas. Ogle, bart. of Worthy, Hampshire, to Letitia, daughter of sir W. Burroughs, bart.

Lord Frederick Bentinck, to lady Mary Lowther, daughter of the earl and countess of Lonsdale.

The right hon. Hans Francis, eleventh earl of Huntingdon, to Elizabeth Mary, widow of the late Alexander Thistlewayte, esq. of Hampshire, and eldest daughter of the late Joseph Bettesworth, esq. of the Isle of Wight.

*October.* Sir Edward Knatchbull, bart. M. P. of Mersham-hatch, Kent, to Fanny Catherine, daughter of Edward Knight, esq. of Godmersham-park, and of Chawton-house, Hants.

*November.* At Hampton, Henry Thomas Liddell, esq. eldest son of sir Thomas H. Liddell, bart. of Ravensworth-castle, county of Durham, to Isabella Horatia, eldest daughter of the right hon. lord George Seymour.

Capt. George Wyndham, R. N. son of the hon. W. Wyndham, and nephew to the earl of Egremont, to Jane, daughter of the rev. W. Roberts, vice provost of Eton college.

*December.* At St. George's church, Hanover-square, the right hon. William Hay Carr, earl of Errol, hereditary lord high constable and knight marischal of Scotland, to miss Eliza Fitz-Clarence, third daughter of his royal highness the duke of Clarence, who gave the bride away.

The hon. capt. Joceline Percy, R. N. son of the earl of Beverley, to Sophia, daughter of Moreton Walhouse, esq. of Hatherton, Staffordshire.

The

The rev. J. T. Law, eldest son of the bishop of Chester, to lady H. C. Grey, daughter of the earl of Stamford and Warrington.

### *DEATHS in the year 1820.*

*December 1819.* At the Phoenix-park, Dublin, Frances-Thomasine, countess Talbot, in her 38th year.

At Naples, after an illness of only two days, of an inflammation in the bowels, sir Thomas Freemantle.

Aged 94, Mr. John Rowe, founder and preacher to a new sect of religion which sprung up at Calverton about 40 years ago.

At Tiverton, aged 102, Wm. Gammins. He reaped several sheaves of corn in a field belonging to George Barne, esq. when in his 100th year.

*Lately.* At Greenhills, near Sheffield, aged 88, Mr. John Fox. He has left children, grand-children, and great grand-children, to the number of 100.

At Pleasant View, near Dublin, in her 83d year, the relict of the late Napper Tandy, esq.

*January.* At Sidmouth, his royal highness the duke of Kent. The complaint which so suddenly terminated the life of his royal highness was an inflammation of the lungs, with cough, attributed to a neglected cold which he caught from sitting in wet boots after a walk in the environs of Sidmouth with captain Conroy. In the morning of Thursday the 20th, his royal highness was reported to be in imminent danger; but towards the middle of the day he partly recovered, in consequence of a little refreshing sleep which he had been enabled to obtain. Towards evening, however, all the

alarming symptoms returned again with increased vehemence, and continued so till towards Saturday morning, when a kindly remission of them took place. This, however, proved to be only that fatal relief which so commonly occurs before death ensues. Prince Leopold, captain Conroy, and generals Weatherall and Moore, were present to afford consolation and support to the duchess at the awful and trying event. The royal duke bore his afflictions and illness with the greatest composure and resignation. His amiable and afflicted duchess was most indefatigable in her attentions upon her departed consort, and performed all the offices of his sick bed with the most tender and affectionate anxiety. She did not even take off her clothes for five successive nights, and all the medicines were administered by her own hands. The melancholy event was brought to town on the morning of the 24th by general Moore, who arrived in London at half-past eight o'clock, and drove to Carlton-house in a chaise and four. Carlton-house was soon after closed, as a token of respect to the demise of the regent's brother.—General Moore then proceeded to York-house and Clarence-house, to communicate the death of their beloved brother to the dukes of York and Clarence, and the duchess of Clarence. The general soon after proceeded to Windsor, to communicate the dismal tidings to the princesses.

His royal highness was the fourth son and fifth child of his majesty: he was born on the 2d of November, 1767, and was consequently in the 53d year of his age. He was educated, in part, under the present bishop of Salisbury; but

but in the 18th year of his age went to Germany for the completion of his studies, and resided successively at Luneburg and Hanover, until October 1787, when he removed, by his majesty's command, to Geneva, and there remained until he had completed his twenty-second year. In January, 1790, his royal highness re-visited England, but for a few days only, proceeding immediately, in a military character, to Gibraltar, whence, in May 1791, he went to Canada. From that station he proceeded, in December 1793, through the United States, to the West Indies, to join the army under the late lord Grey, and was present at the reduction of St. Lucie on the 4th of April following. At the close of the campaign of 1794, the duke of Kent, pursuant to his majesty's commands, returned to British North America, and served at Halifax as major-general till 1796, and as lieutenant-general till October 1798; when, in consequence of a severe fall from his horse, he was obliged to return to England.

In April 1799, his royal highness was created a peer by the titles of duke of Kent and Strathern and earl of Dublin, and obtained a parliamentary establishment adequate to the support of his new dignities. The following month he was promoted to the rank of general in the army, and appointed commander-in-chief in North America, to which destination he proceeded in July; but ill health again obliged him to return, and he arrived in England in the autumn of 1800. In March 1802, his royal highness was appointed governor-in-chief of the important fortress of Gibraltar, which office

he held till the time of his decease. In May 1802, he went to preside there in person, and exerted himself very laudably to suppress the licentiousness and dissipation of the wine-houses, which had been found highly prejudicial to military discipline. These regulations, however, occasioning great dissatisfaction among the soldiery, who proceeded to some acts of violence on the occasion, his royal highness was recalled to England in May 1803, where he continued to reside till August 1816, when economical views led him to the continent. Here he continued, residing principally at Brussels, until May 1818, on the 29th of which month he was married at Coburg, according to the Lutheran rites, to her serene highness Victoria Maria Louisa, youngest daughter of the late reigning duke of Saxe-Coburg, widow of his late serene highness the prince of Leiningen, and sister of his royal highness the prince of Saxe-Coburg, the chosen husband of our much-lamented princess Charlotte. The royal pair, shortly after the solemnity, arrived in England, and were remarried, according to the rites of the English church, at Kew-palace, on the 11th of July 1818. Persevering in the economical plan which he had laid down before his marriage, the duke, a few weeks after this second ceremony, returned with his royal bride to Amorbach, the residence of the duke of Leiningen, which the duchess, who was left by the will of her late husband guardian of her son (a minor) and regent of the principality during his minority, had occupied as her residence during her minority. It was during their royal highness's retirement

tirement at this spot, that the duchess proved to be pregnant ; and as her royal highness fully concurred in the sentiments entertained by her illustrious consort, as an Englishman, that her child ought to draw its first breath on English ground, they both revisited this country, where the duchess gave birth to a daughter named Alexandrina Victoria, who was born at Kensington-palace on the 24th of May 1819. His royal highness, a very few weeks ago, took his duchess and their lovely offspring into Devonshire, to give them the benefit of its purer air and milder climate ; but unhappily fell himself a victim to a sudden attack of pulmonary inflammation, produced by accidental cold. At the time of his death, besides the offices and dignities we have already enumerated, his royal highness was invested with those of a knight of the garter, thistle, and St. Patrick, a knight grand cross of the Bath, keeper and paler of Hampton-court park, colonel of the royal Scots regiment of foot, and since the year 1805, a field marshal in the army.

The public are too well acquainted with the zealous benevolence of the duke of Kent to render it necessary that we should call to their remembrance the many noble instances of that virtue which he displayed. Scarcely a public charity in the metropolis was known to him to exist, which did not, in one way or other, derive benefit from his ready patronage. To most he contributed, and over many he presided, delivering his sentiments on all public occasions with a dignity and propriety rarely to be met with. His royal highness was eminently distin-

guished as a man of business, carrying on an extensive correspondence, both on charitable and other concerns, with his own hand, and writing with an ease and elegance seldom equalled. Nor did his royal highness's private virtues less endear him to his family and his numerous friends. His loss to society in general may truly be said to be great indeed.

The body of his royal highness lay in state for a short time at Woolbrook-cottage, Sidmouth, previous to its final removal from a scene which, but a few days before, was distinguished by all the joys of domestic bliss and social happiness. This took place in a spacious room, which was hung with black cloth and lighted with thirty wax candles. The glare of day was altogether excluded. The coffin and urn were raised upon trestles, and covered with a rich velvet pall, turned up at each end to show the splendid materials of which they were composed.

At the head of the coffin was a superb plume of feathers, and three smaller plumes placed on each side ; right and left were three large wax tapers, in solid silver candlesticks, standing near five feet high.

The whole had an awful and imposing effect. The concourse of persons who were admitted to the solemn spectacle was immense for a country town. The company entered at one door, and having walked round the royal remains, made their egress by another. Every thing was conducted with the greatest order and regularity.

On Monday the 7th of February the procession towards Windsor commenced, attended by an immense concourse of spectators from the surrounding country, who sincerely

cerely lamented the early loss of one to whose future residence among them they had looked with the most pleasing sensations.

Upon the arrival of the procession at Bridport, the remains of his royal highness were placed in the church there, under a military guard, during the night of Monday.

On the following morning, at ten o'clock, the procession moved in the same order, halting on Tuesday, the 8th, at Blandford; on Wednesday, the 9th, at Salisbury; and on Thursday, the 10th, at Basingstoke; the same arrangement being observed, for placing the remains of his late royal highness, each night as at Bridport.

In every town throughout which the cavalcade passed, the utmost respect was evinced by the inhabitants; the shops were closed—the church bells tolled, and every other suitable attention was paid which the solemn occasion required.

On Friday the procession moved on in the same order to Cumber-

land-lodge, which is situate in the great park on the south side of Windsor, and arrived there at six o'clock in the evening.

On the procession arriving at the lodge, the coffin was received at the principal entrance by Mr. Mash, attended by colonel Stevenson. It was conveyed into one of the suite of rooms on the ground-floor, on the left of the hall.

Upon the arrival of the procession at St. George's chapel, Windsor, the drums and trumpets of the royal household, the knight marshal's men, and the servants and grooms of the royal family, filed off without the door.

The coffin was one of the largest which has been made for any of the royal family. It was 7 feet 5 inches and a half in length; 2 feet 10 inches in breadth; 2 feet and 1 inch in depth; and weighing altogether upwards of a ton.

The following is a copy of the inscription upon the plate of his coffin:—

#### DEPOSITUM

Illustrissimi Principis

EDUARDI DE BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG,

Ducis Cantii et Stratherniæ, Comitis Dublinæ,

Nobilissimi Ordinis Priscelidis,

Honoratissimi Ordinis Militaris de Balneo et Illustrissimi Ordinis

Sancti Patricii, Equitis,

Filii Quartogeniti Augustissimi et Potentissimi

GEORGII TERTII,

Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Regis, Fidei Defensoris.

Obiit

XXIII Die Januarii, Anno Domini

MDCCCXX.

Ætatis suæ

LIII.

The supporters of the pall and canopy bearers were lord Cathcart, sir William Keppel, sir Charles Asgill, sir Hew Dalrymple, sir George Nugent, sir Alured Clarke, and

general Gascoyne, all full generals, in their uniforms, his late royal highness being of that rank.

At the entrance into the chapel the dean of Windsor commenced reading

reading the sublime funeral service, "I am the resurrection and the life."

After the conclusion of the office of burial, the venerable sir Isaac Heard proclaimed the style of his late royal highness.

After the funeral obsequies had been solemnized, the royal dukes retired to the castle.

In her 89th year, Mrs. Driffield, of Clapham-common, Surrey.

At Exeter, aged 84, captain Jas. Hudson, of the royal invalids. He served at Martinico, in 1756; at Belleisle, in 1761; at New York, 1770 (where he was severely wounded); and at Bunker's-hill, in 1775.

At West End, in the parish of Fewston, Yorkshire, in his 110th year, Mr. John Demaine. The chief amusement of his life was hunting, which he always pursued on foot, and which he continued until within the last five years of his life. He was never known to change his clothes, however wet, and never experienced a day's confinement from illness in his life. After he had attained his 100th year, he complained that he was grown old, and could not leap over a stile or a ditch with his customary agility.

Aged 105, John Edwards, a pauper in the workhouse of St. Ives, Huntingdonshire.

In Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, in his 83d year, Mr. Denis Jacob.

At Little Syon, the right hon. lady Elizabeth Percy, second dau. of the late and sister of the present duke of Northumberland.

At Exeter, in her 77th year, Mary, dowager countess of Rothes, relict of the late S. Langton, esq. of Langton, Lincolnshire.

In Queen-street, May-fair, at a

very advanced age, the hon. Catherine Neville, daughter of William, 14th lord Abergavenny. She was born June 20, 1728, and was sister to the late, and aunt to the present, earl of Abergavenny.

At Homburg, aged 72, the landgrave of Hesse Homburg. He is succeeded by his son Frederick, the husband of princess Elizabeth of England. Thus her father, her father-in-law, and her brother, all died about the same time.

At Bristol Hot Wells, Georgiana Augusta, dowager countess of Granard. She was the daughter of Augustus, fourth earl of Berkeley; was born Sept. 18, 1749, at Cranford, in Middlesex, and baptized October 14, his majesty George III. and the princess Augusta in person, and the countess of Middlesex, being sponsors.

At Naples, cardinal Carracciolo, bishop of Palestine. Diegna Ignatius Carracciolo was born on the 16th of July, 1759, at Martin. Having entered the prelacy, he followed pope Pius the Sixth into France, and was with that pontiff when he entered Valencia. It was in honour of his attachment to the head of the church that Pius VII. made him a cardinal on the 11th of August, 1800. This was the first hat given by the present pope.

Margaret, viscountess Gormanston, of Gormanston-castle, (Meath). She was the eldest daughter of Thomas Arthur, viscount Southwell; and was born Sept. 1, 1775; married Dec. 19, 1794, to Jenico, twelfth viscount Gormanston; by whom she had a numerous family.

Aged 82, Joseph Mason, esq. of Swineshead-villa, Lincolnshire.

In his 82d year, Mr. Speer, many

many years a respectable furnishing ironmonger, and one of the oldest inhabitants of Hammer-smith. It is a curious coincidence, that Mr. Speer was born on the 4th of June, 1738, at the same hour as his late majesty, and expired on Saturday evening, the 29th ult. about nine o'clock, being near the time when our lamented monarch breathed his last. Mr. S. was also married on the same day as their late majesties.

His majesty king George III. expired, full of years and of honours, at half-past eight o'clock on Saturday evening, January 29th. He breathed his last in the arms of his royal son and guardian, the duke of York.

About three months since, a gradual loss of strength and flesh was perceptible; since which time the medical gentlemen attendant on him considered themselves bound to prepare the public mind, by alluding to the infirmity of his age in the monthly bulletin. A slight bowel attack about six weeks ago gave his medical attendants considerable alarm; and although it lasted but two days, it left his majesty much debilitated. No actual bodily malady, however, existed from that time until a few days prior to his death, when the renewal of the bowel complaint, which showed that the bodily functions had lost their power, announced a probability that the king's dissolution could not be very far distant. Every thing that he took passed through him as he received it, so that nature had become entirely exhausted, and refused her office. In this state it is not surprising that the decay should be rapid; the retentive powers only a short time

before his dissolution lost their command—the royal patient sunk without a struggle.

At the moment of the king's dissolution there were present, besides the usual attendants, his royal highness the duke of York, lord Henley, lord Winchelsea, all the physicians, and general Taylor. In the palace were the duchess of Gloucester and the princesses Augusta and Sophia. The princesses had been most unremitting in their attention. The royal etiquette on these occasions requiring that none of the royal family shall sleep under the roof that contains the corpse of a branch of that family, the duchess of Gloucester departed shortly after for Bagshot. The princesses remained in the neighbourhood of Windsor.

Thus terminated the reign of George the Third, after a duration of fifty-nine years, three months, and nine days;—a reign distinguished alike by the public and private virtues of the monarch, and by the extraordinary vicissitudes in the affairs of the world, in which the British cabinet has taken so prominent a part.

Upon the news of this melancholy event arriving in London, the lords of the privy council assembled at Carlton-house, and gave orders for proclaiming his present majesty; who made a most gracious declaration to them, and caused all the lords and others of the late king's privy council, who were then present, to be sworn of his majesty's privy council. On Monday, about noon, his majesty was proclaimed; first before Carlton-house, where the officers of state, nobility, and privy counsellors were present, with the officers of arms, all being on foot. Then, the

the officers being mounted on horse-back, the like was done at Charing-cross, within Temple-bar, at the end of Wood-street in Cheapside, and lastly at the Royal-exchange, with the usual solemnities; the principal officers of state, a great number of the nobility, and of other persons of distinction, attending during the ceremony.

George III. the second child of Frederick prince of Wales, son of George II. and of Augusta princess of Saxe-Gotha, was born in Norfolk-house, St. James's-square, the 4th of June, 1738. His constitution was sound and vigorous, though he came into the world at the term of seven months. The education of the young prince, upon whose principles and abilities so much of the future happiness of these kingdoms was destined to depend, was conducted upon a somewhat narrow system. His acquirements were neither very extensive nor very important; but the conscious strictness in morals, and the uniform impressions of piety, which he ever so strikingly displayed, are the best proofs that, in the most essential points, the cultivation of his mind had not been neglected.

The princess of Wales, his mother, communicated to a friend the following character of the young prince, at the age of 17. The passage is in Doddington's Diary. She said,

"He was shy and backward; not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole; that those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick; but with those he was acquainted with, ap-

plicable and intelligent. His education had given her much pain. His book-learning she was no judge of, though supposed it small or useless; but she hoped he might have been instructed in the general understanding of things."

He was brought up in great privacy, as far as regarded a familiar acquaintance with the prevailing manners of the young nobility; and the prejudices which George II. entertained against the princess dowager, effectually excluded his grandson from the splendours and allurements of a court.

George III. having completed his 22d year, ascended the throne on the 25th of October, 1760. The death of George II. was unexpected. The young sovereign was somewhat embarrassed by the novelty of his situation; but, in his first public act, the good sense and modesty of his character were manifested in the following address to his council:

"The loss that I and the nation have sustained by the death of the king my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by many circumstances augmented, and the weight now falling on me much increased, I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish; but animated by the tenderest affection for my native country, and depending upon the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, on the support of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms,

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doms, to preserve and strengthen the constitution both in church and state; and as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies."

Though the conflicts of party were, within a few years after the accession, unusually violent, the king was highly popular at the commencement of his reign. Looking at the national character, it would have been impossible to have been otherwise, when a sovereign, interesting from his birth and education in England, his youthfulness, and his unimpeached conduct, delivered himself to his people in a speech from the throne containing many passages as notable and patriotic as the following:

"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton, and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection for me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the

practice of true religion and virtue."

His majesty very soon evinced that his consideration to preserve the welfare of his people, by constitutional principles and actions, was not confined to professions. Within six months after his accession to the throne, he recommended the famous alteration of the law by which the judges were rendered independent of the crown. Of the importance of this measure, we cannot better speak than in the words of Blackstone:

"By the noble improvements of the law, in the statute of 1 Geo. III. c. 23, enacted at the earnest recommendation of the king himself from the throne, the judges are continued in their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the crown (which was formerly held immediately to vacate their seats), and their full salaries are absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions; his majesty having been pleased to declare that 'he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice, as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects, and as most conducive to the honour of the crown.'"

The same love of constitutional freedom, and the same desire to exercise his prerogative for the benefit of his subjects, were manifested by his majesty throughout his life. "The king," said lord North frequently, "would live on bread and water, to preserve the constitution of his country; he would sacrifice his life to maintain it inviolate."

On the 8th of July, 1761, the king announced to the privy council his intention to marry. In thus declaring the object of his choice, he manifested the prudence which uniformly characterized him. The union was completed on the 7th of the following August.

The early years of the reign of George III. were distracted by party conflicts of the most virulent nature. These produced changes of ministry, which demanded from the king the exercise of the strongest forbearance, as well as the greatest address. On the resignation of the first Mr. Pitt in 1761, the king displayed at once the firmness and benevolence of his nature. His majesty expressed concern at the loss of so able a minister; and, to show the favourable sense he entertained of his services, made him an unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow; at the same time he avowed himself satisfied with the opinion which the majority of the council had pronounced against that of Mr. Pitt. The great minister was overpowered by the nobleness of this proceeding. "I confess, sire," he said, "I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness: pardon me, sire; it overpowers, it oppresses me." He burst into tears.

About this period of his reign, his majesty had to bear up against a spirit, not only amongst the populace, but displaying itself very violently in some constituted authorities, which, to the dispassionate observation of the present day, must present more of the character of licentiousness than of a

genuine love of freedom. The popular commotions which arose out of the factious violence of Wilkes and his adherents are as disgraceful to the character of the people, as some of the measures which were taken to repress them were inconsistent with our present notions of constitutional justice. The king's conduct, throughout this trying occasion, was manly and consistent.

In 1772, George III. lost his excellent mother, the princess dowager of Wales. His father, the prince of Wales, had died 18 years before, in 1754.

The American war commenced in 1773. This contest has already been subjected to the impartial scrutiny of history. It is quite clear that the war was originally impolitic, and that it was unnecessarily prolonged. But, although it has been the fashion to ascribe much of the perseverance in this calamitous contest to the personal character of the sovereign, it will, we think, be conceded, that the abdication of so large a portion of his hereditary dominions was no determination to be lightly or hastily adopted by the king of England. His majesty's sentiments on this subject were magnanimously evinced on his first interview with Mr. Adams, the ambassador of the United States. "I was the last man in the kingdom, sir," he said, "to consent to the independence of America: but now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

The most remarkable events of the American war were the battles of Bunker's-hill in 1775, Long Island, 1776, and the Brandy Wine, 1777, the surrender of general

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Burgoyne in the latter year, Rodney's defeat and capture of the Spanish admiral Langara in 1780, the action off the Dogger bank in 1781, Rodney's defeat and capture of the French admiral De Grasse in 1782, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries off Gibraltar the same year. Peace was restored in 1783.

The riots in London in 1780, which threatened to overturn the very foundations of the government, called forth, in a most signal manner, the energies of the king's character. It is an undoubted fact, that, when the advisers of the sovereign were in a state of confusion and alarm, bordering on despair, he at once decided upon those necessary measures of military assistance, which effectually repressed the tremendous dangers of a populace so infuriated. The following is an interesting account of this memorable transaction:

"At the council on the morning of the 7th of June, the king assisted in person. The great question was there discussed on which hinged the protection and preservation of the capital—a question respecting which the first legal characters were divided, and on which lord Mansfield himself was with reason accused of never having clearly expressed his opinion up to that time. Doubts existed whether persons riotously collected together, and committing outrages and infractions of the peace, however great, might legally be fired on by the military power, without staying previously to read the riot act. Lord Bathurst, president of the council, and sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the house of commons, who were both

present, on being appealed to for their opinions, declared that 'a soldier was not less a citizen because he was a soldier, and consequently that he might repel force by force.' But no minister would sign the order for the purpose. In this emergency, when every moment was precious, Mr. Wedderburn, since successively raised to the dignity of a baron, and of an earl of Great Britain, who was then attorney-general, having been called in to the council table, and ordered by the king to deliver his official opinion on the point, stated in the most precise terms, that any such assemblage might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for forms, or reading the act in question. 'Is that your declaration of law, as attorney-general?' said the king. Wedderburn answered decidedly in the affirmative. 'Then so let it be done,' rejoined his majesty. The attorney-general drew up the order immediately, which the king himself signed, and on which lord Amherst acted the same evening: the complete suppression of the riots followed in the course of a few hours. Never had any people a greater obligation to the judicious intrepidity of their sovereign!"

It has been stated to us as a fact upon which we can rely, that the firm conduct of the king, on this remarkable occasion, arose out of a conversation with the late Mr. De Luc, a gentleman of whose sensible suggestions the king often availed himself.

The second William Pitt came into power in 1783. This was, without doubt, the most important era of the king's life. Never was an English minister invested with such unbounded power as this great

great statesman ; and never did a servant of the crown better deserve the confidence that was placed in him.

In 1788, his late majesty was attacked by that malady which, for the last 10 years, deprived his family and his people of the guidance of his once active and benevolent mind. It is believed that, soon after his accession to the throne, the king had a slight attack of a similar indisposition. The national gloom produced by this severe visitation in 1788, and the universal joy manifested on the sudden recovery of the monarch, are well-known events.

The following extraordinary circumstance has lately been made public :

On the 22d of February, 1789, Mr. Pitt and lord Melville were dining with lord Chesterfield, when a letter was brought to the former, which he read, and sitting next to lord Melville, gave it to him under the table, and whispered, that when he had looked at it, it would be better for them to talk it over in lord Chesterfield's dressing-room. This proved to be a letter in the king's own hand, announcing his recovery to Mr. Pitt in terms somewhat similar to the following :

"The king renews with great satisfaction his communication with Mr. Pitt, after the long suspension of their intercourse, owing to his very tedious and painful illness. He is fearful that, during this interval, the public interests have suffered great inconvenience and difficulty.

"It is most desirable that immediate measures should be taken for restoring the functions of his government, and Mr. Pitt will

consult with the lord chancellor to-morrow morning, upon the most expedient means for that purpose. And the king will receive Mr. Pitt at Kew afterwards, about one o'clock."

There could be no hesitation on the part of Mr. Pitt ; but, having held the necessary conference with the chancellor, he waited upon the king at the appointed time, and found him perfectly of sound mind, and in every respect as before his illness, competent to all the affairs of his public station. This was the first notice in any way which Mr. Pitt received of this most important event. The reports of the physicians had indeed been of late more favourable ; but lord Melville verily believed there was not a man, except Dr. Willis, who entertained the smallest hope of the restoration of the king's mind. Mr. Pitt continually declared this opinion to lord Melville, and they had both determined to return to the bar, as the dissolution of the ministry was then on the point of taking place.

The letter in question lord Melville took from Mr. Pitt, saying he had a trick of losing papers, and furnished him only with a copy, the original remaining in his lordship's possession. The king wrote the letter at a little table of the queen's, which stood in his apartment, without the knowledge of any person ; and, having finished, rang his bell, and gave it to his valet de-chambre, directing it to be carried to Mr. Pitt.

During the excesses which grew out of the spirit of anarchy called into action by the French revolution, the king was repeatedly exposed to the insults and attacks of a licentious mob. On each of these

occasions he manifested the utmost fortitude and calmness : his personal courage astonished his friends, and awed his enemies.

The same qualities were displayed in 1800, when a maniac at Drury-lane theatre fired at the royal person. The dramatic piece which was about to be represented, commenced in a short space of time, precisely as if no accident had interrupted its performance ; and so little were his nerves shaken, or his internal tranquillity disturbed by it, that he took his accustomed doze three or four minutes between the conclusion of the play and the commencement of the farce, as he would have done on any other night.

The king manifested a like extraordinary composure after the attempt made to assassinate him by Margaret Nicholson.

During the long contest against the military spirit of France, his late majesty uniformly sanctioned and warmly supported the struggles of Great Britain, when almost every other country was at the feet of the conqueror. Although most desirous of an honourable peace, he would never listen to any attempt to compromise the honour of his country, by propitiating the favour of the ambitious Napoleon. The preliminaries of the peace of Amiens were concluded without his knowledge or concurrence. On reading the letter communicating this important intelligence, he said to those about him, " I have received surprising news, but it is no secret. Preliminaries of peace are signed with France. I knew nothing of it whatever ; but, since it is made, I sincerely wish it may prove a lasting peace."

We are approaching that period

when the independence of the European states appears ready to be entirely swallowed up in the military preponderance of France. The king's heart expanded to witness the glorious rallying-cry of his whole people on the prospect of invasion ; and he saw in the mighty victory of Trafalgar the total destruction of the naval power of our enemy. But, like his great minister, it was not permitted to him to witness the succession of triumphs, which finally placed this country in the most commanding attitude of her history, and broke down for generations the once-called invincible power which aimed at universal empire. The glories of Spain had just commenced, when, in November 1810, the king was visited by that malady whose continuance has been so long deplored, and from which he has only been released by the hand of death.

Over the last nine years of his majesty's life an awful veil has been drawn. In the periods of the deepest national solicitude his mind has felt no interest ; in the hour of the most acute domestic feeling, his eye has been tearless.

The present age has not done justice to the king's abilities. His conversation in public was sometimes light and superficial ; but he often had a purpose in such dialogue, and as often entered into it to relieve himself from the weight of superior thoughts. The king taking exercise and amusing himself with those about him, and the king in the cabinet, were two different men. In the discussion of public affairs, he was astonishingly fluent and acute ; and his habits of business enabled him to refer with ease to the bearings of every

every subject. His successive ministers have each borne testimony to the dignity of his manners, as well as the readiness of his address, when he put on the character of the sovereign. Nothing which was submitted to him was passed over with indifference or haste. Every paper which came under his eye contained marks of his observation; and the notes, which he almost invariably inserted in the margin, were remarkable as well for the strong sense as the pithiness of their character.

The king was not a great reader. Indeed, he scarcely ever took up a book. He had a particular tact in obtaining information, and employed persons of ability to read books, and convey to him their substance.

The temperance of his late majesty's life has become almost proverbial. He rose in summer and winter before six o'clock. He would take a slight breakfast at eight, and dine off the plainest joint at one. He retired early to rest, after passing the evening with his family, generally amused with music, of which he was passionately fond, and in which he manifested a most correct taste. The king's agricultural pursuits (for, as Burke has justly said, "even in his amusements he was a patriot") contributed to the strength of his constitution.

The habitual piety of his late majesty was always the most striking part of his character. Those who have been with him at his morning devotions at the private chapel at Windsor will never forget the fervour of his responses during the service. This constant sense of religion doubtless contributed to the invariable firmness

and serenity of his mind. When one of the young princes was hourly expected to die, the king was sitting on a Sunday, reading a sermon to his family. An attendant came in with the tidings of the child's death. The king exchanged a look with him, signifying he understood his commission, and then proceeded with his reading till it was finished.

The reign now terminated has been the longest, the most prosperous, and the most glorious, of any recorded in our annals, perhaps of any in the history of the world: nor do the private and domestic virtues of our lamented king less embalm his memory in our affections, than the splendour and renown of his achievements demand our admiration.

The most striking feature in the late king's character was his deep-rooted and zealous attachment to the great interests of religion and virtue, of which, as he steadily cultivated the principles, so he afforded to his subjects, both in public and private life, a bright and unvarying example. Yet was not his an austere or repulsive piety. His eminent and public respect for the established religion of the state did not prevent him from indulging a wise and liberal toleration; and in the course of his reign numerous statutes attested his desire to enlarge and extend the freedom of conscience, as far as was compatible with public morals, and the Christian faith. In all respects, lenity, moderation, and paternal mildness, were the characteristics of his government at home, as justice and liberality were of his intercourse with foreign powers.

Ash-Wednesday, the 15th instant.  
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stant, being the day appointed for the royal obsequies, at an early hour on the Tuesday preceding, all the roads leading to Windsor were thronged with carriages driving forward with the utmost expedition. On their arrival in Windsor they completely blocked up the streets. At one side, and in front of the principal inns, were carriages and four filled with personages of distinction eagerly inquiring for any accommodation which could be afforded them, and at any price. The great attraction of this day (if such a term be applicable to a pageant of such mournful grandeur) was the lying in state of our late lamented sovereign. The public were to have been admitted to witness this ceremony precisely at 10 o'clock; but owing to the necessity of making some further arrangements which were not originally contemplated, the state rooms were not thrown open until 11 o'clock. At that hour the public were admitted through the entrance to the castle, called queen Elizabeth's gate. The crowd then passed on to the eastern extremity of the upper court, and entered it at the tower adjoining the department of the kitchens: after ascending the narrow winding flight of stairs in the tower, the spectators were ushered into an ante-room, where two porters stood in full uniform, with crapes on their arms and staves. From the ante-room they passed direct into the magnificent apartment called St. George's Hall, the chamber which is dedicated to the order of the garter. No sign of mourning met the eye in this splendid hall, except a black cloth covering the throne. Its paintings were all

uncovered, and the fine allegories which decorate the walls were as fresh and brilliant as during the days of the grand pageants so often celebrated within them.

Passing from St. George's Hall, the crowd entered the king's guard chamber, the left side of which was railed off, so as to form an avenue of about ten feet wide, along which the people passed. Without the railing an open space was kept, in which several yeomen of the guard were stationed in full mourning.

From the guard-chamber the throng moved at once into the king's presence-chamber, which was the first room that directly reminded the spectator of his advance to the funeral bier. This spacious chamber was entirely hung with black cloth.

In the presence-chamber were stationed a line of yeomen of the guard in full mourning. The next room, the king's audience-chamber, was that in which the body lay in state. This chamber was hung with purple cloth from the ceiling to the floor, and lighted with a number of silver lamps and candelabra filled with wax lights. At the upper end, under the throne on which his late majesty so often sat in regal state, was placed upon tressels the royal coffin.

The canopy of the throne was on this occasion considerably enlarged, so as nearly to extend over the whole surface of the coffin: the foot of the coffin was the only part exposed; the pall, which was of the richest black velvet, was there thrown aside, and the silver ornaments, richly gilt, lay open to view.

The following is a copy of the inscription on the coffin plate:—

## DEPOSITUM

Serenissimi, Potentissimi, et Excellentissimi Monarchæ,

GEORGII TERTII,

Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regis,  
Fidei Defensoris,

Regis Hanoveræ, ac Brunsvici et  
Luneburgi Ducis.

Obiit XXIX die Januarii, Anno  
Domini

MDCCLXXX,

Ætatis suæ LXXXII, Regnique  
sui LX.

Two rows of gentlemen pensioners in full uniform (six on each side) lined the approach to the royal coffin. On the steps of the platform, and on each side of it, stood pages of his late majesty in full mourning, and two heralds in their full uniform, with crape, were stationed at the foot of the coffin. At the head of the coffin sat a lord of the bedchamber. The heralds and lords of the bedchamber were relieved every two hours. Some grooms of the bedchamber were also in attendance; among them were general sir W. Keppel, honourable A. C. Bradshaw, and the honourable sir W. Lumley. This chamber was lighted in the most tasteful and appropriate manner, by a happy arrangement of the lamps.—At each side of the coffin were three large silver altar candlesticks, with very large wax lights. From the room where the body lay, the spectators were led through the king's drawing-room, and part of the state bed-room, and they retired through the western end of the quadrangle.

During the day no less than 30,000 persons were admitted to see the mournful spectacle.

At half past four o'clock, after the doors were shut with regard

to the public in general, the Eton youths were admitted. The masters, fellows, and scholars were all in deep mourning, with crape round their hats. The effect was mournfully grand. From ten to three o'clock yesterday the public were admitted, in the same manner as on the preceding day.

At seven o'clock his royal highness the duke of York entered the chamber of mourning, and took his seat at the head of the coffin, where he sat as chief mourner until the body was removed.

At eight o'clock the different parties who were to join in the procession assembled in St. George's Hall, and were marshalled by sir G. Naylor.

The peers entered through Elizabeth gate, and passed over to the gate of the king's lodge; they then passed across the kitchen gate, and entered the castle at the east end of the same apartments.

At a quarter before nine the coffin was brought through the different rooms, upon the bier used at the funeral of her late majesty.

The chapel was decorated in a style of splendour unexampled on any previous occasion. There was a raised platform, which extended through the south aisle up the nave to the choir; it was covered with black cloth. Upon each side were ranged soldiers of the foot-guards, every second man holding a wax light; behind these were stationed the Eton scholars, to the number of 500 at least, all of whom were admitted by the special order of his present majesty. In the north aisle, seats elevated above each other were arranged for the accommodation of those persons who had received tickets of admission; those tickets were inad-



inadmissible after seven o'clock. The choir was also fitted up for the accommodation of persons of distinction; it was calculated to hold 94 persons.

The chapel was hung with black, as well as the knights' stalls. The gothic images only were left uncovered. The altar also was hung with black, and near it were erected temporary seats for the foreign ministers and other strangers of distinction who attended the procession. Amongst those ministers were observed the duke de San Carlos, count Lieven, baron Linsingen, baron Langsdorf, &c.

The communion table was covered with massive gold plate, from the chapel royal, London,

as well as from the chapel royal at Windsor.

Over the royal mausoleum was a canopy of rich blue velvet; on the top was a gold crown upon a cushion; upon the border was a gothic scroll, with festoons beneath, upon each of which the royal arms were emblazoned.

Upon the procession reaching the great gate of St. George's chapel, on the south aisle, the body was received by the dean of Windsor, and the organ immediately played, "I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord."—The funeral service (composed by Dr. Croft and Mr. Purcell,) was then chaunted, and the procession entered in the following order:

Trumpets and kettle-drums, and drums and fifes of the foot guards.

Knight marshal's men, two and two, with black staves.

Knight marshal's officers.

The knight marshal.

Poor knights of Windsor, two and two.

Pages of his late majesty.

Apothecary to his majesty.

Surgeons to his majesty.

Apothecaries to his late majesty.

The curate and vicar of Windsor.

Gentlemen ushers quarterly waiters to his majesty.

Pages of honour to his majesty.

Grooms of the privy chamber to his majesty.

Gentlemen ushers daily waiters to his majesty.

Serjeant surgeons to his majesty.

Physicians to his majesty.

Physicians to his late majesty.

Household chaplain to his late majesty.

Deputy clerks of the closet to his majesty.

Equerries to the royal family.

Equerries to his majesty.

Clerk marshal and first equerry.

Gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber to his majesty.

Grooms of the bed-chamber to his majesty.

Solicitor general.

Attorney general.

Barons of the exchequer and justices of both benches.

The lord chief baron.

The lord chief justice of the common pleas.

The vice chancellor.

The master of the rolls.

The

The lord chief justice of the king's bench.

Treasurer of the king's household.

Privy counsellors (not peers):

The right hon. John Beckett, C. Bagot, W. S. Bourne, W. Huskisson, F. J. Robinson, sir J. Nicholl, R. Ryder, N. Vansittart, C. Arbuthnot, C. Long, C. Bathurst, T. Wallace, W. Dundas, G. Canning, sir W. Scott, W. W. Pole, sir A. Paget, G. C. B., J. C. Villiers, Charles Manners Sutton.

Bluemantle pursuivant.

Eldest sons of barons: the hon. W. G. Harris, F. Stewart, H. L. Rowley, C. J. Shore, S. E. Eardley, C. Blaney, R. W. Curzon.

Eldest sons of viscounts: the hon. G. A. Ellis, R. W. Chetwynd, F. J. Needham, J. T. Townshend.

Portcullis pursuivant.

Barons: lords Prudhoe, Harris, Ducie, Alvanly, Lilford, Rolle, Braybrooke, Kenyon, Montague, Walsingham, Aston.

Rouge dragon pursuivant.

Bishops: Oxford, Chester, Exeter (clerk of the closet to his majesty), Salisbury (chancellor of the most noble order of the garter).

Windsor herald.

Eldest sons of earls: lords Pelham, Binning, Brudenell; viscounts Sandon, Bernard, Duncannon, Valletort, Ingestrie.

Somerset herald.

Viscount Sidmouth:

The other viscounts present supported the canopy.

Eldest sons of marquisses: Viscount Castlereagh, K. G., the earl of Ancram.

Richmond herald.

Earl Powis:

The remaining earls who attended walked in other places.

Lancaster herald.

Marquisses:

The marquisses present walked in other places.

Dukes:

The dukes present supported the pall.

The deputy earl marshal: lord H. Howard-Molyneux-Howard.

The deputy lord great chamberlain: lord Gwydir.

The lord privy seal: the earl of Westmoreland, K. G.

The lord president of the council: the earl of Harrowby.

Chester herald, acting for Norroy king of arms.

Lords of his majesty's bed-chamber: lords Amherst and Graves; earl Delawarr; viscount Lake; marquis of Headfort, K. St. P.

Gold stick: earl Cathcart, K. T.

Captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners: earl of Courtown.

Groom of the stole: the marquis of Winchester.

The banner of Brunswick, borne by lord Howden, G. C. B.

The banner of Hanover, borne by lord Hill, G. C. B.

The banner of Ireland, borne by the earl of Roden, K. St. P.

The banner of Scotland, borne by the earl of Breadalbane.

The

The union banner, borne by lord Grenville.

The banner of St. George, borne by lord Howard of Effingham, K.C.B.

The great banner, borne by lord Clinton.

Supporter : a gentleman usher, T. B. Mash, esq.	The royal crown of Hanover, borne on a purple velvet cushion by sir L. Moeller acting for sir G. Naylor, blanc coursier king of arms of Hanover.	Supporter : a gentleman usher, John S. Dobyns, esq.
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Supporter : gentleman usher, R. Powell, esq.	The imperial crown of the united kingdom, borne on a purple velvet cushion by R. Bigland, esq. Norroy acting for Clarenceux king of arms.	Supporter : gentleman usher, S. Randall, esq.
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The lord steward of his majesty's household & the marquis of Cholmondeley, attended by his secretary T Brent, esq.

A gentleman usher, H. Seymour, esq.	The lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, the marquis of Hertford, K. G. attended by his secretary John Calvert, esq.	A gentleman usher, H. J. Hatton, esq.
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#### THE ROYAL BODY

Covered with a fine Holland sheet and a purple velvet pall adorned with ten escutcheons of the imperial arms, carried by ten yeomen of the guard under a canopy of purple velvet.

Five gentlemen pensioners with battle axes reversed.

Supporters of the canopy—viscount Carleton, viscount Bulkeley, the earl of St. German's, the earl of Verulam, the earl of Mayo.

Supporters of the pall—the duke of Dorset, the duke of Buccleugh, the duke of Richmond.



Supporters of the pall—the duke of Wellington, K. G. the duke of Atholl, K. T. the duke of Beaufort, K. G.

Supporters of the canopy—viscount Melville, viscount Chetwynd, viscount Sydney, the earl Brownlow, the earl of Chichest.

Five gentlemen pensioners with battle axes reversed

1st gentleman usher { Garter principal king of } Gentleman usher of  
daily waiter to his { arms : sir Isaac Heard. } the black rod : sir  
majesty. T. Tyrwhitt, kn.

Supporter : { The chief mourner, his royal } Supporter :  
the marquis of { highness the duke of York, in a } the marquis of  
Stafford, K. G. { long black cloak, with the star } Buckingham.  
of the order of the garter embroi-  
dered thereon, and wearing the  
collars of the garter, bath, and  
royal Hanoverian Guelphic or-  
der.

Train-bearers : the marquis of Bath ; the marquis of Salisbury, K. G.  
assisted by lord viscount Jocelyn, vice-chamberlain of his majesty's  
household.

Assistants to his royal highness the chief mourner : the marquis Co-  
nyngham, the marquis Cornwallis, K. St. P. ; the earls of Shaftes-  
bury, Huntingdon, Dartmouth, Aberdeen, K. T., Pomfret,  
Aylesford, Harcourt, Waldegrave, Bathurst, K. G.,  
Chatham, K. G. Liverpool, K. G.,  
Ailesbury, K. T., Arran, Besborough.

Princes of the blood royal in long black cloaks, the train of each borne  
by two gentlemen of the respective households of their royal  
highnesses :

The duke of Sussex. The duke of Clarence.

Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg. The duke of Gloucester.

The council of his royal highness the duke of York as *custos persone*  
of his late majesty.

The lord chancellor ; the archbishop of Canterbury ; lord Arden ;  
the archbishop of York ; the rt. hon. sir Wm. Grant ; the mar-  
quis of Camden, K. G. ; lord St. Helen's ; the lord bishop of  
London ; the earl of Macclesfield ; lord Henley, G. C. B.

Master of the house- { Groom of the stole to his late } Vice chamberlain  
hold to his late ma- { majesty on the Windsor } to his late majesty  
jesty on the Windsor { establishment : the earl } on the Windsor  
establishment : B. C. { of Winchelsea. } establishment :  
Stephenson, esq. lord J. Thynne.

Grooms of his late majesty's bedchamber :

Vice-adm. the hon. sir A. K. Legge ; hon. R. Greville ; vice-  
adm. sir Harry Neale, bart. ; lieutenant gen. sir H. Campbell.

His late majesty's trustees :

Count Munster, represented by baron Best, K. C. B. ; major gen. sir  
Herbert Taylor ; sir John Simeon, bart.

Equerries to his late majesty :

Generals Gwynne, Manners, Cartwright, Garth ; lieutenant gen. sir  
Brent Spencer, G. C. B.

Gentlemen pensioners with their axes reversed.

Yeomen of the guard with their partizans reversed.

Upon the arrival of the proces- pets and drums, filed off without  
sion at St. George's chapel, the the door.  
knight's marshal's men, the trum- At the entrance of the chapel,  
the

the royal body was received by the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, who fell in immediately before blanc coursier king of arms bearing the crown of Hanover, and the procession moved into the choir, where the royal body was placed on a platform, and the crowns and cushions laid thereon.

His royal highness the duke of York, the chief mourner, was seated on a chair at the head of the corpse, and the supporters on either side.

The princes of the blood royal were seated near the chief mourner.

The lord chamberlain of his majesty's household took his place at the feet of the corpse; and the supporters of the pall and of the canopy arranged themselves on each side of the royal body.

The service was commenced by the dean of Windsor. It was about nine o'clock when the first part of the procession entered the south aisle, and the whole had not taken their seats within the chapel until ten o'clock. The anthem of "Hear my prayer" was sung by masters Marshall and Deering in a superior style; and the celebrated funeral anthem by Handel, upon the death of queen Caroline, was sung by Messrs. Knyvett, Sale, Vaughan, and masters Marshall and Deering.

Sir Isaac Heard then proclaimed the style and titles of his majesty, and the royal body was lowered into the vault about half after ten o'clock.

The ceremony terminated about eleven o'clock, and as the royal dukes were departing with the other members of the procession, a "solemn voluntary" was performed.

His royal highness the duke of York appeared most sensibly affected. There was a settled melancholy in the countenance of prince Leopold, which naturally heightened the interest his royal highness's presence uniformly inspires. The dukes of Clarence, Sussex, and Gloucester, evinced considerable agitation of feeling, in which the whole of the spectators appeared to sympathize.

In the metropolis, business of every description was entirely suspended. Divine service was celebrated in the churches, while the deep funeral tone of the different bells proclaimed the obsequies of the father of his people. This spontaneous homage to his memory did honour to the moral and loyal sentiments of the British nation. No royal edict was required, to call forth this outward sign of affectionate respect. A simple suggestion from the chief magistrate of the city of London (and even that was anticipated by public feeling) is the only act of authority that preceded this general tribute to departed royalty.

Many appropriate and excellent sermons were preached in honour and commemoration of his deceased majesty's public and private virtues.

The great bell at St. Paul's and those of most of the churches tolled at intervals the whole of the day. The union flag was hoisted half-mast high on the Tower, the admiralty, the parliament-house, St. Martin's church, St. Giles's, and many other churches, as also on the different vessels in the river.

The stock exchange, by order of its committee, and the royal exchange, by order of the, *Gresham*

ham committee, were closed the whole day. Not only the shops but the counting-houses of the merchants were closed.

Minute guns were fired in the park, at the Tower, and on the banks of the Thames, from nine to ten o'clock.

At Charleston, America, Mrs. Starr Barrett, after fully completing 120 years of an active and various life.

*February.* In Russell-square, in his 65th year, sir Vicary Gibbs, knight, late chief justice of the court of common pleas.

Aged 94, Mr. Cannon, of Frederick-street, Portsea. This extraordinary man was never known to eat fish, flesh, or fowl, or to drink any thing stronger than water, excepting tea in the afternoon.

In the royal hospital, Chelsea, gen. the right hon. sir David Dundas, G. C. B. governor of Chelsea hospital.

At his house in Beaufort-buildings, Bath, aged 86, the rev. Thomas Haweis, LL.D. M.D. rector of Aldwinckle All Saints, Northamptonshire, chaplain and principal trustee to Selina countess of Huntingdon (whose funeral sermon he preached), founder of the London missionary society, and father of the missions to the South Sea Islands.

At Louth, aged 95, Mr. Edward Blyth, many years an eminent grazier and dealer in stock, and an extensive wool merchant, of which article he has been known to purchase upwards of 100,000 rods annually. Several of the principal improvements in the town of Louth are the fruits of his speculations. He retained his mental faculties, in a great mea-

sure unimpaired, till within about a month of his dissolution.

In her 83d year, the widow of the late William Wilson, of the Minorities.

At Totteridge, in his 96th year, gen. the hon. sir Alexander Maitland, bart. colonel of the 49th foot.—Sir Alexander was one of the oldest officers in the army; and, we believe, the last surviving servant in the household of Frederick prince of Wales, father of his late majesty.

At Prospect house, Woodford, Essex, in her 84th year, Mrs. Janet Enslic.

At Melville house, Fifeshire, the earl of Leven and Melville.

In Southampton-street, Camberwell, aged 87, Mrs. Sarah Brayfield, widow. Her memory and understanding were unimpaired to the last.

At Berlin, princess Anne Elizabeth Louisa, relict of his royal highness prince Ferdinand of Prussia. She was born April 22, 1738. Her father was Frederick William, prince of Prussia, and margrave of Brandenburg, grandson of the great elector; and her mother was Sophia Dorothea Maria, daughter of Frederick William I. king of Prussia, and sister of Frederick the great. Of the issue of the marriage with prince Ferdinand, his royal highness prince Augustus of Prussia, and the princess Louisa of Prussia, consort of prince Anthony Radzivil, survive her.

*March.* Aged 82, Benjamin West, esq. president of the royal academy.

At English, near Killarney, aged 115, T. O'Sullivan, the Irish bard. He expired while sowing oats in the

the field of one of his great grand children, and at the moment he had finished singing one of his own favourite lyrics. He also followed the occupation of a cooper, and made a churn from which butter was taken for the christening of his 26th great grand child.

In Gower-street, in her 89th year, the widow of the late Mr. alderman Gill, who died in 1798.

In his 85th year, Starling Day, esq. of Norwich.

In Quebec-street, in her 83d year, Mrs. Augusta Manners, second and only surviving daughter of the late right hon. lord William Manners, and aunt to sir William Manners, bart.

At Knightsbridge, aged 84, Michael Underwood, M. D. many years physician to the British lying-in hospital, and accoucheur at the birth of her late royal highness the princess Charlotte.

At Lympston, Devonshire, aged 85, Elizabeth, widow of the late capt. Edward Howorth, R. N.

In Long acre, in her 82d year, the mother of Mr. Abbott, auctioneer, of the Strand.

At Bromley, aged 84, Mr. Jacob Chaille, of the East India company's home service.

In Lower Brook-street, in his 92d year Asheton Curzon, viscount and baron Curzon.

At Cadogan terrace, the widow of Dr. Moore, in the 86th year of her age.

At Hampton court, aged 86, Mrs. Phillips; and March 2, at the same place, aged 83, Mrs. Joyce Phillips, the only surviving sisters of the right hon. lord Melford.

At Gloucester lodge, in his 19th

year, George Charles, eldest son of the right hon. George Canning.

At Littleport, Isle of Ely, in his 95th year, a farmer named Sindal.—His wife died about four years since at the same age.—They lived happily together upwards of 70 years, and at the time of her decease five generations of the family were in existence.—At the same place there is now living a person named Andus, in good health, who has attained his 101st year.

In his 89th year, Mr. Penhalow, the oldest freeman of the borough of Camelford.

At Darlington, Robert Culling, esq. a celebrated breeder of improved short-horned cattle.

In Green park buildings, Bath, at an advanced age, countess Nugent, mother of gen. count Nugent, commander in chief of the Neapolitan army.

In College green, Bristol, in her 102d year, Bridget, relict of Cranfield Becher, esq.

At Chateauroux, aged 75, the father of general Bertrand, so well known for his devotion to Napoleon, and his exile. He has left a widow with two children, and a considerable fortune.

At Madrid, cardinal Cyprian-y-Valde, patriarch of the Indies, and grand almoner to the king of Spain. He was born in 1734, and was created a cardinal in 1816.

At Polock, in Poland, in his 72d year, father Thaddeus Bogozowski, general of the order of the Jesuits.

April. At Kensington Gore, in the 70th year of his age, the very reverend Isaac Milner, D. D. F. R. S. Dean of Carlisle, pre-

president of queen's college, Cambridge, and Lucasian professor of mathematics in that university.

At Brompton, in his 42d year, Dr. Thomas Brown, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. In our last volume the death of professor Playfair was recorded; and we have now the pain of adding to it that of professor Dr. Thomas Brown, who, for amenity of manners, kindness of heart, and all the qualities which endear in private life, may well be styled the younger brother of professor Playfair. They were both possessed of highly-cultivated minds; both ardent lovers of letters; and both had contributed to the progress of philosophy and science, the one in physics, the other still more eminently in the philosophy of the human mind; for Dr. Brown, we believe, has left few equals behind him in metaphysical acumen, and in the powers of analysis and generalization. As a poet, he is entitled to no small praise; but as a metaphysician, he displayed more originality, perhaps, than any one of his contemporaries; whose comprehensive surveys, elevated feelings and conceptions, and great powers, cannot be injured by doing him justice. Some of his friends, we know, were inclined to think that he carried his refinements and generalizations too far; but that is impossible, we think, when care is taken to be accurate in the process. In all the relations of domestic life, Dr. Brown was most exemplary. A most anxiously kind and tender brother, a sure friend, a delightful companion. To refinement of manners—to all that forms the gentleman, he added all that di-

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tinguishes the man. Every one, from the most fashionable to the most lowly, knew where to find him, and how they would find him. He had none of that littleness which makes so many afraid of having any friendly communications with others less wealthy or less fortunate than themselves. He was elevated, not lowered; enriched, not impoverished, by the acts of kindness which he showed—by the attentions he bestowed on others. He was loved by many, and respected by all; but his ambition was to add something to that “mass of useful truths which is eternal, and to which each individual carries his particular tribute, in the certainty that no power can retrench the smallest fraction from the great imperishable treasure.” He wished “to bequeath to posterity the most valuable portion of himself, the fruits of his intellect.” He published “*Observations on Darwin's Zoonomia*,” 1798, 8vo; “*Poems*,” 2 vols. 1804, 12mo; “*A short Criticism on the terms of the charges against Mr. Leslie in the protest of the ministers of Edinburgh*,” 1806, 8vo.

At New York, John Day, at the age of 103 years, a native of England, but for more than 60 years a resident of New York.

At Harewood house, Harewood place, Edward Lascelles, earl of Harewood, viscount Lascelles, and baron Harewood, of Harewood, in the county of York.—His lordship was born Jan. 7, 1740; married, in June 1761, Miss Chaloner, daughter of Wm. Chaloner, esq. of Guiseborough, Yorkshire, who died February 22, 1805. His lordship had issue, Edward, vis-

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count



count Lascelles, born January 10, 1764, and died June 14, 1814; Henry, viscount Lascelles, born December 25, 1767; and other children. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estate by Henry, viscount Lascelles.

The right hon. countess Fauconberg. Her ladyship was the widow of Henry, the last earl Fauconberg, of Newburgh park, Yorkshire, who died in March 1802, and eldest daughter of the late John Cheshyre, esq. of Bennington park, Hertfordshire.

At Bury St. Edmund's, in her 84th year, the relict of the late, and grandmother of the present, sir Thomas Gage, bart. of Hengrave and Coldham, in Suffolk.

At Bath, in his 88th year, lieutenant. Elliot, late commandant of royal marines.

In Holles-street, London, in his 58th year, major-gen. William Mudge, of the royal artillery. He was a native of Plymouth, and combined in himself all the splendid talents that shone so eminently in his father, Dr. Mudge, and in his grandfather, the rev. Zachariah Mudge. "The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society," and "The Trigonometrical Survey of the Kingdom," with the correct and beautiful maps of the several counties already published, exhibit some of the labours of his life, that had been most beneficial to the public; while the advantages derived by the cadets of the royal military academy at Woolwich, and by those of the East India company's establishment at Addiscombe, entitle his memory to the gratitude of his country. Gen. Mudge had the distinguished honour conferred on him of LL. D. from Edinburgh. He

was a fellow of the royal society, fellow of the antiquarian society, commissioner of the board of longitude, member of the philosophical and geological societies, and honorary member of the Plymouth institution. His scientific abilities were held also in the highest estimation by foreigners, as he was fellow of the academy of sciences of Copenhagen, and had the marked honour conferred on him of being named correspondent of the royal institute of Paris. The king of Denmark also had lately presented him with a magnificent chronometer, and contemplated honouring him with a stronger proof of his royal favour. General Mudge has left a widow and daughter, two sons in the engineers and one in the artillery, and another a lieutenant in the navy.

In his 101st year, George Kelson, the oldest parishioner of Lyncomb and Widcomb, near Bath. During the last year he worked in a gentleman's garden; and his faculties were so perfect, that he gave evidence before the commissioners for inquiring into the state of public charities, at their recent visit to Bath, and deposed to facts which occurred 90 years ago!—Kelson was the individual who furnished the portrait of The Woodman, in illustration of Cowper's poem.

At Pau, in the south of France, in his 49th year, the right honourable Thomas earl of Selkirk, lord lieutenant of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. His lordship was born in 1774. He was the youngest of five sons (all of whom attained to manhood) of Dunbar, 4th earl of Selkirk, who died in 1799. In the latter end of 1807  
he

he married Jane, daughter of James Wedderburn Colville, esq. by whom he has left one son, now earl of Selkirk, born in 1809, and two daughters.

At Boulogne, the honourable Augustus Richard Butler Danvers, uncle and presumptive heir to the present earl of Lanesborough.

At Cullenswood, near Dublin, in his 70th year, rear admiral sir Chichester Fortescue, knight, Ulster king of arms.

At Doncaster, in his 69th year, Edward Topham, esq. of the Wold cottage, in Yorkshire, one of his majesty's deputy lieutenants, and during many years an acting magistrate for the north and east ridings of that county. He was the son of Dr. Francis Topham, master of the faculties and judge of the prerogative court at York; was educated at Eton, and at Trinity college, Cambridge. On leaving the university, he obtained a commission in the guards, became adjutant, and afterwards rose to the rank of major. He possessed a considerable share of literary taste and talent, which has been displayed in several poetical effusions, particularly in prologues and epilogues, in which he excelled. He was at one time a proprietor of the newspaper called *The World*; on leaving which he retired to his family seat in Yorkshire, with three daughters, whom he had by the once celebrated Mrs. Wells.

In Sackville-street, in his 79th year (the last ten of which he had been blind), Arthur Young, esq. F. R. S. secretary to the board of agriculture.

In James-street, Buckingham Gate, at the age of 76, Patrick Colquhoun, esq. LL.D. late one of the

magistrates of the police office, Queen-square, Westminster, and receiver of the Thames police office.

At Ballysalla, near Kilkenny, aged one hundred and eleven, Bridget Byrne, widow. — Until within these two years, she was hearty and active; and she retained possession of all her faculties to the last day of her long life. She lived in five reigns, one of them (that of Geo. III.) the longest recorded in British history.

At the marchioness of Exeter's, at Langley Park, Kent, after a long and painful illness, which she bore with uncommon fortitude, Frances Julia, dowager duchess of Northumberland. She was the third daughter of Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham in Kent (and sister of the duchess of Hamilton, now marchioness of Exeter, the countess of Beverley, and lord Gwydir); married to the late duke of Northumberland on May 25, 1779; by whom she had issue, the present duke; lord Prudhoe, and other children. The remains of the late duchess were removed, in grand state, from lord Gwydir's house at Whitehall, for interment in Westminster Abbey.

In consequence of a fall from his horse, sir John Trollope, bart. D.C.L. of Casewick, near Stamford, Lincolnshire. Sir John succeeded his brother, sir Thomas William, May 13, 1789, and married March 24, 1798, miss Thorold of Lincoln, by whom he has left a numerous family.

At Nab Hill, near Leek, in his 92d year, John Birchenough, for nearly half a century employed in the silk manufactory of Messrs. N. Phillips and co. He was able to perform the finest  
(M 2) work

work without glasses; had been 71 years a member of a benefit club, and never but one week on the sick list; was the father of 28 children; and had to walk to and from his work six miles a day.

At Brighton, in his 99th year, Mr. Austin, the drawing master, of eccentric memory, well known to the electors of Westminster some years ago, for his singular exertions in support of Mr. Fox when a candidate for that city.

May. Near Stamford, co. Lincoln, in his 65th year, the right honourable William Vaughan, earl of Lisburne, viscount Lisburne, baron of Fethers. The earl was born May 3, 1755, succeeded his father Wilmot, the late earl, January 6, 1800, since which period his lordship has laboured under a mental affection, which rendered it necessary to place his estates under the direction of trustees. Dying unmarried, the earl is succeeded in his titles and estates (amounting to near 18,000*l.* per ann.) by his half brother, the honourable John Vaughan, now earl of Lisburne, &c.

In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, in her 79th year, the right honourable lady Heneage Osborn, second wife and relict of sir George Osborn, bart. of Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire. She was the daughter of Daniel 7th earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

In Smart's Buildings, in her one hundred and fifth year, Anne Henley.—This extraordinary woman was born at West Chester in 1716, and completed her 104th year the 4th of March last. She had enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health till within six days of her death, and retained her faculties in full vigour till within a few hours of her end. Her beverage

to her 40th year was whey, which she discontinued upon coming to London.

At his seat, Scrivelsby hall, Lincolnshire, aged 57, Lewis Dymoke, esq. the king's hereditary champion at the coronation.—The office of the king's champion was enjoyed by him as lord of the manor of Scrivelsby. His motto was *Pro Rege dimico*.—He is succeeded in his honours and estates by his brother, the rev. J. Dymoke, rector of Scrivelsby and prebendary of Lincoln.

After a few hours' illness, in his 82d year, J. Forbes, esq. of Baker-street, Portman-square.

At Sherborne, the right honourable James Dutton, lord Sherborne, baron of Sherborne in the county of Gloucester. He was born October 27, 1744, and was consequently in his 76th year. His lordship was married July 7, 1774, to Elizabeth, daughter of Wenman Roberts Coke, of Longford, in Derbyshire, esq. by whom he had issue John, the present lord Sherborne, married to the honourable miss Legge, only daughter of Henry lord Stawell; Elizabeth Jane, married January, 1803, to viscount Andover, now earl of Suffolk and Berkshire; Anne Margaret, married April 1806, to prince Beriatinsky, of the Russian empire, died at Petersburg in March 1807, leaving issue the princess Beriatinsky; and Frances Mary Dutton, unmarried.

In King-street Norwich, in her 104th year, the relict of the rev. Benjamin Laney, formerly rector of Mulbarton, who was lineally descended from Benjamin Laney, D. D. successively bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and who died 1674.

At Copenhagen, the Icelandic poet

poet, J. Thorlaksen, who had translated into his native language Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Klopstock's "Messiah." He had received a sum of money from England, and enjoyed an annual pension from the king of Denmark.

*June.* At Aske, in the north riding of Yorkshire, aged 79, the right honourable Thomas lord Dundas.—His lordship was lord lieutenant and vice admiral of Orkney and Shetland, and president of the society of Scots antiquaries. He married Charlotte, sister of earl Fitzwilliam, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. He is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, the honourable Lawrence Dundas; by whose accession to the peerage a seat is become vacant in the representation of the city of York.

In Baker-street, Portman-square, in his 74th year, Henry Grattan, esq. M. P.

At Bath, in the 80th year of his age, Dr. James Sims, M.D. and LL. D.

At Brighton, the right honourable lord Gwydir. He was the eldest son of Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham in Kent, (M. P. for Launceston and Totness,) by Elizabeth daughter and co-heir of John Lewis, esq. of Hackney. He was elected M. P. for Haslemere in 1776; and for Boston, in 1782, 1784, and 1790. His lordship married February 23, 1779, Priscilla-Barbara-Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter and co-heir of Peregrine, duke of Ancaster (joint hereditary great chamberlain of England with her sister, Georgiana countess of Cholmondeley), baroness Willoughby de Eres-

by. He succeeded to the baronetage of his great uncle sir Merriek Burrell in 1787, and officiated at the trial of Warren Hastings, (in right of his wife) as deputy great chamberlain of England, on which occasion he was knighted. He was advanced to the dignity of baron Gwydir, of Gwydir, co. Caernarvon, June 16, 1796. He is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, Peter Robert now lord Gwydir, who married the sole heiress of James Drummond lord Perth, and has assumed the name of Drummond.

At Trinity college, Cambridge, in his 69th year, the right rev. William lord Mansell, D. D. lord bishop of Bristol, and master of Trinity college.

At Ramsgate, after a few hours' illness, aged 86, Mrs. Elizabeth Tipping, widow.

At the palace of Loo, in Holland, aged nearly 69, her royal highness Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, princess dowager of Orange, mother to the king of the Netherlands. She was born August 7, 1751. Her father was Augustus William, prince royal of Prussia; and she married, in 1767, prince William V. the last stadtholder of the seven united provinces, who died in 1806. The princess of Orange resided a considerable time in this country, where she was much respected.

At his seat, Hyde-hall, Herts, in his 64th year, the right honourable Robert Jocelyn, earl of Roden, viscount Jocelyn, baron Newport.

At Abbeyhill, in Scotland, the hon. Fletcher Norton, senior baron of the court of exchequer in  
(M 3) Scotland.

Scotland. He was second son of Fletcher, first lord Grantley, and was born in 1744.

In Lombard-street, aged 84, captain John Mann.

At Aldbury house, Cheshunt, aged 82, John Russell, esq. of Thruxton's-court, Hereford.

In Argyll-square, Edinburgh, Alexander Christison, esq. late professor of humanity in the university of Edinburgh.

In Manchester-square, in his 94th year, Lewen Smith, esq.

At Cahir, Ireland, aged 106, the rev. Jas. Keating, parish priest of Kilgobinet (Waterford) 70 years ago, and afterwards of Clogheen.

At Stonely, near Kimbolton, in her 89th year, Mrs. Jane Welstead, formerly of Berners-street.

*July.* In Conduit-street, in his 52d year, the right hon. John Bowes, 10th earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, in Scotland. He was born April 12, 1768; succeeded his father John, the late earl, in 1776; and he afterwards re-assumed the name of Lyon. The origin of this noble family is said to be the same as that of Lyon, in France, which derives itself from the noble house of Leoni at Rome, a branch whereof came from France into England with William the conqueror in 1066, and from thence, in 1098, into Scotland with king Edgar, the fourth son of Malcolm III. From that period the family has flourished in the annals of Scotland. July 18, 1815, the earl of Strathmore was created baron Bowes, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. His lordship was married only the day before his death to miss Mary Milner. He has left a son by this lady, who claims the earl-

dom of Strathmore. The title of baron Bowes is extinct. His lordship's estates were not entailed, and he made a full settlement of his property. A curious question will arise as to the legitimacy of the son; as it must depend whether a marriage in England, subsequent to the birth of a child, would legitimatize that child in Scotland.

At his seat at Fulham, Middlesex, the right honourable Thomas Jones, viscount Ranelagh in the county of Wicklow, and baron of Navan in the county of Meath; late a lieutenant-colonel and major in the 66th regiment of infantry. He was born Feb. 2, 1763.

Aged 88, Anne, widow of the late Edward Ives, esq. of Titchfield, Hants.

At Paris, in her 90th year, mademoiselle Montausier.—This lady at one time had the direction of all the theatres in Paris.

At his palace at Chelsea, aged 79, after a long illness and general decay of nature, the honourable and right rev. Brownlow North, D.C.L. lord bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order of the garter, provincial subdean of Canterbury, and visitor of Magdalen, New, Trinity, St. John's and Corpus Christi colleges, Oxford, F.A.S. and F.L.S. He was a younger son of the first earl of Guildford, and younger brother of the prime minister, lord North.

In Montagu-square, in his 75th year, the right rev. William Benet, D.D. bishop of Cloyne.

At his house in Nicolson-street, Edinburgh, Dr. John Murray, lecturer in natural philosophy, chemistry, materia medica, and pharmacy at Edinburgh.

At

At Arundel, in her 82d year, Catherine, widow of the late rev. John Griffiths, of Kingston-on-Thames.

At Ballyharty (Wexford), in his 82d year, Ebenezer Radford Rowe, esq.

*August.* At Oatlands, of a spasmodic affection of the chest, her royal highness the duchess of York. She breathed her last in the presence of her royal consort the duke of York, and some of her most faithful domestics. The declining state of her royal highness's health had long been a subject of public anxiety, and had rendered the presence of medical attendants almost constantly necessary.

On Monday the 14th, his royal highness the duke of York arrived at Oatlands from London, to superintend the arrangements for the last solemn rites. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence, Sussex, and Cambridge, prince Leopold, the earl of Lauderdale, and several other persons of distinction, who were to

form part of the funeral procession, also arrived at an early hour. The duke of York had directed the poor children who were supported and educated solely at the expense of the late duchess, to be in attendance at Oatlands, in order to join the procession. Previously, however, to the removal of the coffin from the apartment in which it had lain in state, these children were admitted to take a last view of the remains of their kind benefactress. The scene was highly interesting and affecting. They were 40 in number, 26 girls and 14 boys, from 8 to 12 years of age; and, while they stood round the bier, every one of the youthful group was dissolved in tears. At three o'clock the preparations for the funeral procession were completed, and at four it reached the church of Weybridge, where the body, with great solemnity, was consigned to its kindred dust. On the lid of the coffin was a large gilt plate, bearing the following inscription:

DEPOSITUM

Illustrissimæ Principissæ

FREDERICÆ CHARLOTTÆ ULRICÆ CATHARINÆ,  
Consortis illustrissimi Principis

FREDERICI DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURGH,  
Ducis Eboraci et Albaniz,

Fratris augustissimi et potentissimi Monarchæ

GEORGII QUARTI,

Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regis, Fidei Defensoris.

Obiit

VI. die Augusti, Anno Domini

MDCCCXX.

Ætatis suæ

LIV.

The late duchess of York was descended from the blood royal of Prussia, and sister to the reigning prince of those realms. She was the eldest daughter of the late king of Prussia, by his majesty's

first consort, Elizabeth Christiana Ulrica, princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, and was the only offspring of that union.

Her royal highness was born May 7th, 1767; and educated, (M +) under

under the eye of her mother, in those strict principles of the protestant faith which govern the ecclesiastical constitution of Prussia. She had been seen by the duke of York in an excursion which he made abroad some few years previous to their union. His royal highness, in his German tour, had paid a visit to the court of Berlin, and had there imbibed those elements of military knowledge which prevailed in the school of the great Frederick. He had at that period formed an attachment for the princess royal of Prussia, who then shone, in the full splendour of her beauty, and whose numerous accomplishments, and many mild and amiable virtues, were the common theme of admiration. There was not, however, at this time an opportunity of cementing the union; but in the summer of the year 1791 his royal highness again visited the court of Prussia; and, by consent of his royal parents, demanded the princess in marriage. The preliminaries were soon settled, and upon the 29th of September in the same year, the ceremony of marriage was performed in the presence of the royal family of Prussia and the principal ministers of state.

It was stipulated in the preliminaries, on the part of the king of Prussia, that his royal highness the duke of York should not, upon the failure of issue in the royal line of the present family, assert any claim upon the throne of Prussia. This exclusion was readily assented to.

Their royal highnesses left Berlin on the 27th of October, and arrived at Hanover on the 28th. Having spent some weeks in Germany, they continued their tour

d, where they arrived

in the latter end of the ensuing month.

The ceremony of a re-marriage in this kingdom between the duke and duchess of York, according to the ritual of our church, was rendered necessary by the royal marriage act, 12 Geo. III. cap. 11. sect. 1. which directs, "That his majesty's consent shall not only pass the great seal, but shall also be set out in license and register of marriage." His majesty's consent did pass the great seal previous to the marriage at Berlin, but the latter direction of the statute could be complied with in this country only; for our archbishop could not have granted a license for the marriage at Berlin, nor can a marriage be registered but in the parish or place where it is solemnized. The ceremony took place on Wednesday, November 23, at the queen's house.

When the marriage of his royal highness was announced to parliament, a more splendid provision was immediately voted to him, and an honourable settlement made upon his illustrious consort.

The life of her royal highness the duchess of York has been marked by few circumstances calculated to bring her prominently under public observation. She has not mixed much in the gaieties of fashionable life, nor has she taken any part in those domestic occurrences in the royal family, by which she might have been involved in the painful discussions to which they have so repeatedly led. From the state of her health she has found a life of retirement most congenial to her happiness, and the same reason has unfortunately operated as a bar to those domestic

tic

tic joys which her married state might have entitled her to expect.

Easy of access, affable and benevolent, she spent her whole time in promoting the comforts and the happiness of every individual within her sphere. The children of the whole neighbourhood—at least, all who needed her assistance—appear to have been considered by her royal highness almost as her own; they were clothed and educated under her own immediate inspection, and even assistance. Every Sunday whole troops of these infant *protégés* were to be seen crossing the park in their simple cleanly attire to the mansion of their benefactress, where they regularly partook of cakes and wine administered by her own hand. As they grew up, the patronage of her royal highness was still continued in the shape of apprentice premiums, &c. and, in many instances, small marriage portions to the young women. Among her own household, not a servant was married but a home was provided for them by the princess; and the estate and its neighbourhood abounded with cottages so tenanted. Her royal highness also founded two benefit societies for male adults: the one in Weybridge, and the other at Walton-upon-Thames, and not only did she endow them liberally at the outset, but she unceasingly watched over their progress; and fostered their interests by her care. Besides this, she had a long list of infirm pensioners, both male and female, in London, who were regularly paid out of her royal highness's funds, some five, some ten, and some twenty pounds a year. The list of public charities like-

wise bears testimony to the zeal of her humanity, and affords ample proofs of the interest which she took in every thing calculated to promote the happiness, or to alleviate the sufferings of her fellow creatures: in short, this illustrious lady appears never to have turned away her ear from the prayer of want or the plaint of woe, but to have had "a hand open as day for melting charity;" and the blessing of the poor and needy is upon her. His royal highness has been pleased to direct that all these charities shall be continued.

A correspondent at Weybridge says, "The duchess of York's charities were of so useful and discriminating a kind, that poor-rates here and at Walton are hardly known; she found the method to stimulate the poor to industry."

At his seat, Ulcombe-place, Kent, in his 51st year, the most noble Walter Butler, marquis of Ormonde, earl of Ormonde and Ossory, viscount Thurles, baron of Arklow, in Ireland, and a peer of Great Britain by the title of baron Butler of Llanthony, hereditary chief butler of Ireland, knight of St. Patrick, a privy councillor in Ireland, *custos rotulorum* and governor of the county of Kilkenny, colonel of the Kilkenny militia, F. S. A.

In Bouverie-street, of apoplexy, in his 80th year, James Dobie, esq. solicitor.

At Norwich, aged 88, the rev. Edward Beaumont.

In Lincoln's-inn-fields, in his 89th year, John Barnes, esq.

In Duke-street, Westminster, in her 86th year, Mrs. Hutton, daughter of Dr. Hutton, abp. of Canterbury,



terbury, who died as long ago as 1758. Her remains were interred in a vault at Lambeth, with those of her father.

In Grosvenor-place, Anna Maria Powys, baroness Lilford.—Her ladyship was the eldest daughter and heiress of the late Robert Vernon Atherton, esq. of Atherton-hall, in Lancashire, and was married to lord Lilford in 1797.

In her 81st year, Mrs. Frances Horne, of Clapham common.

At his house, in Queen Anne-street London, sir Hugh Inglis, baronet, of Milton Bryant in Bedfordshire, in the 77th year of his age.

In her 89d year, Anne, relict of the late William Wilson, esq. of Brunswick-square.

At Coombe house, Surry, in his 64th year, Beeston Long, esq. one of the directors of the bank of England.

At Islington, in his 81st year, Mr. William Pettitt, formerly of Hosier-lane.

At Liverpool, miss Margaret M'Avoy, whose faculty of distinguishing colours, &c. by the touch, gave rise to so much discussion about three years since.

At Pentonville, in his 85th year, Mr. Robert Crawford, formerly of Church-court, Lothbury.

In Grosvenor-place, in his 64th year, Henry Stawell Bilson Legge, second lord Stawell.

At Dent, Yorkshire, aged 111, Mrs. King.

At Trieste, madame Bacciochi, *ci-devant* princess of Piombino, eldest sister of Bonaparte.

*September.* At Castle Carey, Somersetshire, in his 59th year, John Peyto Verney, lord Willoughby de Broke. His lordship

is succeeded in his title and estate by his brother, the hon. Henry Verney, born 1778.

At Stratton, the seat of Robert Marsham, esq. (in consequence of an injury he received in a fall from his carriage on August 30), sir Edmund Bacon, of Raveningham in Norfolk, premier baronet of England.

In Hamilton-place, London, in her 41st year, the right honourable Sarah countess of Shannon.

At Baylis, co. Bucks, in her 70th year, the most noble Mary marchioness of Thomond.

At Southampton, sir Francis Holburne, bart. of Kirshie, North Britain.

At Paris, aged 86, the celebrated marshal Kellerman, duke of Valmy, and peer of France; and two days after, marshal Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic.

At Dover, aged 56, lieutenant-colonel sir Alexander Allan, bart. of Baker-street Portman-square, one of the directors of the East-India company, and late M. P. for Berwick upon Tweed.

At Portobello, near Edinburgh, the right honourable Alexander 7th lord Elibank.

At Simonburn, Northumberland, in her 78th year, Mrs. Mary Kirsop, widow; who since the month of December 1812 had been tapped for the dropsy 192 times, having undergone the operation every fortnight, or thereabouts, from that period till the week previous to her dissolution. The water drawn from her averaged full 10 quarts at each operation, amounting in the whole to 1,920 quarts, or 480 gallons.

At Newbury, on his way to Bath, in his 31st year, the honourable

able Dudley Carleton, 8th son of the late lord Dorchester.

In his 103d year, Samuel Heapy, a linen weaver of Ireton Wood. He was remarkably fond of hunting; and when in his 81st year followed the hounds on foot in a famous chace which lasted the whole of the day, when most of the horses were completely knocked up.

At Fulford, Thomas Brookes, a woodman, 105 years old. He enjoyed all his faculties (except that of hearing) to the last.

At Southwold, aged 80, William Smart, esq. of Penton-street, Pentonville, formerly of Lombard-street, banker.

At Christchurch, aged 79, Mrs. Elizabeth Neale, eldest sister of Jacob Preston, esq. Great Yarmouth.

At the advanced age of 93, much respected, William Kett, esq. of Kelsall.

At the Horse-shoe, near Dublin, aged 94, Mr. William Cogan.

At Sallymont, Dublin, aged 90, captain R. Mayne, R.N.

At Cheltenham, admiral sir Home Riggs Popham, K. C. B. He had but recently returned from his command on the Jamaica station, where he had lost his daughter and his health.

In St. James's Place, James Ferguson, esq. of Pitfour, M. P. for Aberdeenshire, in his 85th year.

Madame, the hereditary princess of Holstein Oldenburgh, who was born February 23, 1800, daughter of prince d'Anhaes Bernburgh Schaumburgh.

October. At Bicton house, aged 85, the right honourable lady Rolle. She was miss Walsand,

of Bovey, co. Devon; and had no issue.

At Marden park, near Godstone, Surry, in his 78th year, John Hatsell, esq. who was chief clerk of the house of commons. Mr. Hatsell sat at the table of the house of commons, as clerk assistant, at the close of the reign of George II., and succeeded to the office of chief clerk in 1768. He retired from active service 11th July, 1797; when the house "resolved, *namine contradicente*, that Mr. speaker be requested to acquaint Mr. Hatsell, that the house entertains a just and high sense of the distinguished and exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged the duties of his situation during his long attendance in the service of the house."

Dr. James Clarke.— In the death of this much lamented young gentleman, an unspeakable loss is sustained by society at large, and by that profession in particular to which he promised to be an ornament and was already an honour. Born to affluence (through the signally successful career of his universally respected and now much to be commiserated father), he nevertheless applied himself to professional pursuits, as if they were to be the source of his comforts and respectability in the world; if he ever intermitted them, it was to employ a short interval among his tenantry, that he might know their wants and omit no means of improving their morals and ministering to their comforts. Cold, caught in one of those rapid excursions, seems to have specially predisposed him to contagion in the Fever-hospital, with the care of which he had charged himself; most

most justly therefore may he be regarded as having fallen a sacrifice at once to public spirit and private virtue. How universally he was esteemed was shown by the anxiety which was manifested for him while hope remained, and by the gloom which on the last day of his life seemed to pervade the city. In the judgement of those who knew him best, a more noble-minded, generous, and worthy young man, without exception, never existed. He died at his house in Rutland square, Dublin, on Thursday the 5th instant, in the 33d year of his age.

At Sans Souci, in the 53d year of his age, Christophe, alias Henri I. king of Hayti.

At Paris, aged 81, the marchioness of Baudeville.

At Home Lacy, Herefordshire, in her 71st year, Frances duchess dowager of Norfolk. She was the only child of Charles Fitz-Roy Scudamore, of Home Lacy, co. Hereford, esq. and was the second wife of Charles the late duke of Norfolk; to whom she was married April 2, 1771, at St. George's church, Hanover-square; but had no issue.

*November.* In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, in his 75th year, James Harris, earl of Malmsbury, lord lieutenant of the county of Southampton, G. C. B. and D. C. L.

Mr. Tooke, after a long residence in great Ormond-street, in his 77th year, after a short illness.

At his house at Felpham, near Chichester, William Hayley, esq. aged 75, who for upwards of fifty years had been well known to the literary world as the author of

many works both in prose and verse.

At Yarmouth, in his 70th year, sir Edmund Lacon, bart. one of the aldermen of that borough.

Aged 105, Mary Bennet, a pauper of the parish of Longford St. Mary, near Gloucester. She retained all her faculties until within the last two years.

At Millgate hall, Stockport, in her 84th year, Mrs. Frances Richmond, daughter of the late rev. Legh Richmond, rector of Stockport, and grand-daughter of Henry Legh, esq. of High Legh, Cheshire.

In Portland-place, Frances countess dowager of Lincoln. She was the daughter of Francis earl of Hertford, and was married in 1775 to Henry Fiennes Pelham Clinton, commonly called earl of Lincoln, eldest son of the first duke of Newcastle, who died in 1778.

At Paris, aged 54, Jean Talien, of revolutionary notoriety.

At the priory, near Templemore, Ireland, in his 63d year, sir John Craven Carden, bart.

At his seat, Desart, co. Kilkenny, in his 33d year, the right hon. John Otway Cuffe, earl of Desart, viscount Castlecuffe, viscount and baron Desart.

At his residence in Hans-place, Knightsbridge, after a few days illness, of an inflammation of the intestines, aged 42, the hon. John Fitzmaurice, viscount Kirkwall.

At Glasgow, Mr. professor Young, who was long the ornament of that university.

At his seat at Ballybrack, in the county of Kerry, in his 93d year, Geoffroy O'Connell, esq. eldest brother to Maurice baron O'Connell,

nell, grand chamberlain to the emperor of Austria, and cousin-german to Daniel count O'Connell, lieutenant-general in the service of his majesty Louis XVIII. and colonel in the British service, grand cross of the order of the holy ghost.

At Orleans, in France, aged 85, Rich. Tyson, esq. who for many years held the situation of master of the ceremonies at the upper, and previously at the lower, rooms of Bath.

Suddenly, in her 59th year, the princess Mary-Anne, sister of the king of Saxony.

*Lately.* Near Basingstoke, at his son's house, in the 83d year of his age, admiral sir Benjamin Caldwell.

*December.* At Hastings, in her 87th year, the right honourable Frances countess of Clermont, widow of William Henry Fortescue, earl of Clermont, who died without issue in 1806, when the earldom became extinct; but the viscounty of Clermont devolved to his nephew William Charles, the present peer.

At Naples, after an illness of only two days, of an inflammation in the bowels, sir Thomas Freemantle.

Aged 94, Mr. John Rowe, founder and preacher to a new sect of religion, which sprung up at Calverton about 40 years ago.

In Ray-street, Clerkenwell, aged 57, Mr. Samuel Rousseau, a learned printer.

At Windsor, aged 82, the rev. Wm. Clarke, M. A. upwards of 54 years one of the minor canons of St. Paul's cathedral: he was also rector of Orpington, in Kent, and vicar of Willesdon, in Middlesex.

At Pencraig, Herefordshire, in his 85th year, John Eyles, esq. warden of the Fleet prison. This gentleman was the oldest officer of all his majesty's courts at Westminster; having been appointed by king George the second.

In his 74th year, the most rev. Dr. Bray, Roman catholic archbishop of Cashel and Emly, over which he had presided 28 years.

At Hethel, in his 68th year, sir Thomas Beevor, bart. deputy lieutenant, justice of the peace, and one of the chairmen of the quarter sessions for the county of Norfolk.

In her 85th year, the widow of the late Mr. John Dobson, of Ipswich.

At Paris, M. Naldi, buffo-performer at the opera. He met an untimely death by the bursting of a self-acting cooking apparatus. The following account of this lamentable catastrophe is extracted from the *Moniteur*:—"A terrible accident, which happened on Thursday evening, at half-past six o'clock, at the residence of M. Garcia, has plunged into despair the family of M. Naldi, of the Italian theatre royal. This celebrated buffo-performer, having been invited to dine with M. Garcia, immediately on his arrival with his wife and daughter, proceeded to examine the accelerated process of cooking by the self-acting boiler (*la marmite autoclave*). By an imprudent and fatal inadvertency, M. Naldi, with the tongs, stopped the valve, and the compression increased the heat to such a degree, than an explosion ensued; the lid of the boiler came in contact with his forehead, completely severed the skull, and stretched him dead at the feet of his

his daughter. M. Garcia, who was near his hapless friend, was not seriously wounded; the steam scorched all the upper part of his face, and injured the eyes, but not in any dangerous degree. Surgical aid arrived immediately after the explosion; but to M. Naldi all efforts were unavailing; he was no more. It would be a vain effort to describe the heart-rending effect of this tragical scene upon the two families. M. Naldi justly claims our deep regret. His demeanour bespoke an estimable man, and in fact such he was. He was a singer of rare excellence, and a correct performer. He was the sole tutor of his daughter, and brought her out in Mozart's opera *Cosi fan tutte*, and it must be acknowledged that if she wants energy (a disadvantage which is increased by timidity), no one can possess a more accurate method, or better taste. Pellegrini delighted in calling Naldi his master."

#### *PROMOTIONS in the year 1820.*

*January.* D. R. Graham, regius professor of botany in the university of Edinburgh.

Right hon. George earl of Glasgow, to be lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Ayr.

Sir G. Clark, one of the lords of the admiralty.

Major-general sir Benjamin D'Urban, K. C. B. to be governor of the island of Antigua, *vice* Ramsay deceased.

*February.* The earl of Chatham, governor of Gibraltar, *v.* duke of Kent dec.; lord Beresford, governor of Jersey, *v.* earl of Chatham; sir B. Spencer, governor of Cork, *v.* lord Beresford;

lieutenant general Hart, governor of Londonderry and Culmore, *v.* the earl of Suffolk dec.; and the duke of Richmond, high steward of Chichester.

10th light dragoons—lieutenant general lord Stewart, colonel.

1st foot—general the marquis of Huntly, colonel, *v.* duke of Kent dec.

42d—general the earl of Hopton, colonel, *v.* marquis of Huntly.

44th—lieut.-gen. Browne, colonel, *v.* earl of Suffolk dec.

92d—Lieutenant-general Hope, colonel, *v.* lord Hopton.

*March.* Sir U. B. Burgh, surveyor-general of the ordnance.

Rifle brigade—the duke of Wellington, colonel in chief.

1st dragoon guards—general Gwyn, colonel.

49th foot—lieutenant-general sir M. Nightingall, colonel.

General sir S. Hulse, governor of Chelsea hospital, *v.* Dundas dec.; and sir H. Calvert, bart. lieutenant governor, *v.* Hulse.

Wm. Hooker, esq. of Halesworth, Suffolk, regius professor of botany in Glasgow university.

Major-general sir H. Taylor appointed military secretary to the commander in chief.

Major-general sir H. Torrens, to be adjutant-general to the forces.

*April.* The dignity of baronet, granted to Walter Scott, of Abbotsford, esq. (the celebrated poet) and his heirs male.

Major-general sir B. D'Urban, appointed captain general and commander in chief of Antigua and Montserrat.

Rev. Richard Mant, D. D. (domestic chaplain to the archbishop

bishop of Canterbury,) to the bishopric of Killaloe.

Rev. R. Hodgson, D. D. (late dean of Chester,) to the deanery of Carlisle.

Rev. P. Vaughan, D. D. to the deanery of Chester.

Lord F. Conyngham, appointed first groom of his majesty's bed-chamber, and master of the robes; honourable F. Lamb, envoy to the Germanic diet; Brook Taylor, esq. envoy to the king of Bavaria; Alexander Cockburn, esq. envoy to the king of Wurtemberg; C. R. Vaughan, esq. secretary to the British embassy in France; and L. Harvey, esq. secretary to the British embassy in Spain.

Royal artillery—brevet-colonel and lieutenant-colonel Maclean to be colonel; and lieutenant-colonel Boger from the half-pay, to be lieutenant-colonel.

The earl of Morton, commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

*May.* Sir George Naylor, York herald, and blanc coursier herald of the most honourable military order of the Bath, king of arms of Hanover, &c. &c. to be clarenceux king of arms and principal herald of the south, east and west parts of England, *vice* G. Harrison, esq. resigned; also C. G. Young, esq. rouge dragon pursuivant of arms, to be York herald, vacated by the above promotion.

Mr. Frederick Cathcart has been appointed secretary to the Russian embassy; Mr. E. C. Desbrowe, secretary to the legation to Switzerland; Dr. J. Gregory, first physician to his majesty in Scotland.

Sir C. W. Bampfylde to be sheriff of Somersetshire, *v.* Napier dec.

Royal regiment of artillery—brevet colonel and lieutenant colonel sir G. A. Wood to be colonel; and brevet lieutenant colonel and major Macdonald to be lieutenant colonel.

*June.* Major-general Lewis Grant, to be governor in chief of the Bahama Islands.

Lord Galloway to be lord lieutenant and sheriff principal of Kirkcudbright.

The following are the names of the representative peers of Scotland, who were returned at Holyrood house:—Marquis of Queensberry, marquis of Tweeddale, marquis of Lothian, earl of Home, earl of Kellie, earl of Elgin, earl of Balcarras, earl of Stair, earl of Roseberry, lord Forbes, lord Saltoun, lord Gray, lord Sinclair, lord Colville, lord Napier, lord Belhaven.

*July.* A *congé d'élire* passed the great seal, empowering the dean and chapter of Bristol to elect a bishop, *v.* Mansel dec.; and recommending the rev. J. Kaye, D. D. master of Christ's college, Cambridge, and regius professor of divinity.

Alleyne lord St. Helen's, one of the lords of his majesty's bedchamber, *v.* lord Charles Spencer dec.

A *congé d'élire* passed the great seal, empowering the dean and chapter of Winchester to elect a bishop of that see; and recommending George Tomline, now bishop of Lincoln, to be elected bishop of Winchester.

*August.* The bishop of Llandaff to be dean and a canon residentiary of St. Paul's, *vice* Tomline promoted to the see of Winchester.

*September.*

*September.* Cambridge. A convocation of the senate was held, to confer on the earl of Guildford, chancellor of the Ionian university, the degree of doctor of laws. The grace having passed the caput, his lordship was presented to his degree by the rev. Dr. E. D. Clarke, acting as deputy public orator; who addressed the senate in a Latin speech upon the occasion.

Rev. T. Elrington, D. D. promoted to the bishopricks of Limerick, Ardfer, and Aghadoe, *vice* Warburton translated to Cloyne.

Rev. Dr. Kyle, provost of Trinity college, Dublin, *vice* Elrington.

Rev. Henry Phillpotts, prebendary of Durham, to the valuable rectory of Stanhope, in Weardale in that diocese; *vice* Hardinge dec. The bishop of St. David's to the first prebendal stall, *vice* Phillpotts resigned; and the rev. John Bird Sumner, M. A. of Eton, and formerly fellow of King's college, to the vacant prebend.

*October.* The king has been pleased to issue a *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of Exeter, empowering them to elect a bishop, *vice* Pelham translated to Lincoln, and recommending Dr. W. Carey to be by them elected.

Oxford. Vice-chancellor for the ensuing year, rev. George William Hall, D. D. master of Pembroke college. — Pro-vice-chancellors: The rev. Thomas Lee, D. D. president of Trinity college; the rev. F. Hodson, D. D. principal of Brazenose college; the rev. Richard Jenkyns, D. D. master of Baliol college; and the rev. J. Collier Jones, D. D. rector of Exeter college.

University officers for the year ensuing: — Proctors: J. Croft, M. A. Christ college; A. Dicken, M. A. St. Peter's. — Moderators: G. Peacock, M. A. Trinity college; Temple Chevalier, M. A. Pembroke hall. — Taxors: Joseph Jee, M. A. Queen's college; Richard Jeffreys, M. A. St. John's college. — Scrutators: Thomas Turton, B. D. Catharine hall; George Macfarlan, M. A. Trinity college. — The Caput: the vice-chancellor, rev. P. Douglas, D. D. Corpus, divinity; rev. J. W. Geldart, LL. D. Trinity hall, law; F. Thackeray, esq. M. D. Emmanuel college, physic; W. G. Judgson, M. A. Trinity college, sen. non regent; Richard Daws, M. A. Downing college, sen. regent.

At Oxford, rev. F. Hodson, D. D. principal of Brazenose college, regius professor of divinity, *vice* bishop Van Mildert resigned. Dr. Hodson also succeeds in consequence to a canonry of Christchurch.

John Henry Ley, esq. chief clerk of the house of commons, *vice* Hatsell deceased.

*November.* Rev. James Wood, D. D. (master of St. John's college, Cambridge), dean of Ely, *vice* Pearce deceased.

Rev. Edward Banks, LL. D. to a prebend in Norwich cathedral, *vice* Anguish resigned.

Rev. D. Williams, L. L. B. (second master of Winchester college), to a prebend in Winchester cathedral, *vice* Dr. Busby dec.

*December.* Rev. W. French, M. A. fellow and tutor of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, to be master of Jesus college, *vice* Pearce dec.

Rev. J. Savile Ogle, to the new prebend

prebend of Durham cathedral, *vice* honourable Anchitel Grey resigned.

Rev. George Williams, of Martin Hussingtree, to be a minor canon of Worcester cathedral.

### *SHERIFFS for the year 1820.*

Bedford. Sir John Burgoyne, of Sutton, bart.

Berks. Timothy Hare Altabon Earle, of Swallowfield place, esq.

Bucks. Charles Shard, of Hedgerley park, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. Thomas Burges, of Benwich, esq.  
Cheshire. James France France, of Bostock, esq.

Cornwall. William Rashleigh, of Menabilly, esq.

Cumberland. Wilfrid Lawson, of Brayton house, esq.

Derby. Fras. Mundy, of Mark-eaton, esq.

Devon. Robert Hunt, of Sidbury, esq.

Dorset. Thomas Billett, of Warmwell, esq.

Essex. Sir Thomas Neave, of Dagnam park, bart.

Gloucester. Sir Edwin Bayntun Sandys, of Miserden park, bart.

Hereford. Thomas Perry, of Eardisley park, esq.

Herts. John Earley Cook, of Nunsbury, esq.

Kent. Sir Thomas Dyke, of Lullingstone, bart.

Lancashire. Robert Hesketh, of Rossall, esq.

Leicester. John Clarke, of Little Peatling, esq.

Lincolnshire. William Thompson Corbett, of Elsham, esq.

Monmouth. Sir Robert Jones

Allard Kemeys, of Malpas, knight.

Norfolk. George Samuel Kett, of Brook, esq.

Northampton. John Cook, of Hothorpe, esq.

Northumberland. Wm. Clarke, of Benton house, esq.

Nottinghamshire. Sir Robert Clifton, of Clifton, bart.

Oxford. Thomas Fraser, of Woodcot house, esq.

Rutland. Robert Shield, of Wing, esq.

Salop. Thomas Taylor, of El-lerton, esq.

Somerset. Gerard Martin Berkeley Napier, of East Pennard, esq.

Stafford. Moreton Walhouse, of Hatherton, esq.

County of Southampton. James Scotts, of Rotherfield park, esq.

Suffolk. George Thomas, of Woodbridge, esq.

Surrey. Hatches Trower, of Unsted Wood, esq.

Sussex. William John Campion, of Danny, esq.

Warwick. Christopher Roberts Wren, of Wroxhall, esq.

Wilts. Ambrose Goddard, of Swindon, esq.

Worcester. Richard Griffiths, of Thorngrove, esq.

Yorkshire. Henry Vansittart, of Kirk Leatham, esq.

### SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. Ralph Stephen Pemberton, of Llanelly, esq.

Pembroke. Nath. Phillips, of Slebech, esq.

Cardigan. Henry Rogers, of Gelly, esq.

Glamorgan. Richard Blake-more, of Velindra, esq.

(N) Brecon.



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S H E R I F F S.

[1820.

Brecon. Thomas Price, of  
Builth, esq.

Radnor. James Crummer, of  
Harvey, esq.

Carnarvon. William Ormsby  
Gore, of Clenneney, esq.

Merioneth. Thomas Fitzhugh,  
of Cwmheision, esq.

Montgomery. John Buckley  
Williams, of Glanhafran, esq.

Denbigh. John Lloyd Salis-  
bury, of Galtvaynan, esq.

Flint. James Knight, of Rhual,  
esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. Robert Lloyd, of  
Tregauan, esq.

# PUBLIC PAPERS.

Compare of the Produce of the Excise Duties (exclusive of any Arrears received of the War Duty on Malt) in the Quarters ending 5th January 1819 and 1820, showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof.

	Quarters end. Jan. 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1819.	1820.		
Auctions .....	£ 66,050	£ 59,246	£	£ 6,804
Beer .....	624,629	560,494		64,195
Bricks and Tiles .....	180,261	196,431	16,170	
Candles .....	69,204	71,800	2,596	
Coffee and Cocoa .....	23,579	87,321	63,742	
Cider, Perry, &c. ....	2,698	14,038	11,340	
Glass .....	131,483	145,097	13,612	
Hides and Skins .....	158,255	157,856		419
Licenses .....	482,884	488,773	5,889	
Malt .....	970,612	651,031		119,581
Paper .....	124,361	115,329		9,032
Printed Goods .....	115,338	254,555	139,197	
Pepper .....		20,093	20,093	
Salt .....	401,616	390,772		10,844
Soap .....	262,719	277,685	14,966	
Spirits { British .....	603,744	522,000		81,744
{ Foreign .....	674,145	623,276	49,311	
Starch .....	12,119	12,464	346	
Stone Bottles .....	861	589		272
Sweets .....	2,312	3,307	995	
Tea .....	758,233	771,508	13,275	
Tobacco and Snuff .....	330,619	547,186	216,567	
Vinegar .....	9,808	8,610		1,122
Wine .....	330,774	258,052		72,722
Wire .....	1717	2,107	390	
	6,238,040	6,439,544	568,509	366,805
Deduct Decrease .....			366,805	
Increase on the Quarter .....			201,504	
		( N 2 )		Account

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## PUBLIC PAPERS.

[1820.]

Account of the net Produce of the Revenue in January 1820, compared with the corresponding Quarter ending the 5th of January 1819.

	Quarters ended Jan. 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1819.	1820.		
Customs.....	£2,465,664	2,226,455	....	289,209
Excise .....	6,238,040	6,439,543	201,503	—
Stamps .....	1,530,532	1,503,322	....	27,210
Post-office .....	319,000	378,000	59,000	—
Assessed Taxes....	2,303,778	2,301,875	....	1,903
Land Taxes .....	408,366	442,953	34,589	—
Miscellaneous .....	133,397	177,074	43,677	—
Total.....	£13,398,777	13,469,224	338,769	268,322
Deduct Decrease .....			268,822	
Increase in Quarter .....			60,447	

## CHARGE OF CONSOLIDATED FUND TO APRIL 5, 1820.

Exchequer Annuities .. ..	£23,750
South-Sea Company .. ..	153,456
Bank, on their Capital .. ..	89,125
Dividends .. ..	5,966,078
National Debt .. ..	3,055,348
Civil List .. ..	63,824
Pensions .. ..	63,656
Imperial Annuities .. ..	9,173
Other Charges .. ..	55,590
Total Charge .. ..	9,480,000
Surplus .. ..	777,617

£10,257,617

The Abstract of the net Produce of the Revenue for the Quarter ended 5th April 1819 and 5th April 1820 is as follows:—

1819—Customs ..	£2,119,350	1820—Customs ..	£1,960,703
Excise ..	5,377,878	Excise ..	5,876,335
Stamps ..	1,570,757	Stamps ..	1,453,224
Post-office ..	355,000	Post-office ..	341,000
Assessed Taxes ..	835,246	Assessed Taxes ..	873,716
Land Taxes ..	148,440	Land Taxes ..	149,409
Miscellaneous ..	75,245	Miscellaneous ..	48,860
Total ..	£10,481,916	Total ..	£10,708,247

The increase on diverse heads in the quarter just ended is £537,896

The decrease on others .. .. 316,565

Increase .. .. 221,331

Accounts

Accounts have been laid before parliament, showing the amount received of the new excise duties which were imposed last year, for the quarters ending the 10th of

October 1819, and the 5th January and the 5th April 1820. The following is an abstract of these documents:—

In the quarter ended 10th October 1819, the aggregate amount was

Quarter ending January 5, 1820	.. .. .	£152,861	7	8
Ditto, ditto, April 5, (upon estimate)	.. .. .	301,967	0	0
		522,209	0	0
Total	.. .. .	£977,037	7	8

The articles upon which the above duties were laid, are coffee; pepper, tea, tobacco and snuff, British spirits, malt, (stock in hand,) malt (new duty). In the first quarter nothing was received from malt, either upon the stock in hand or upon the new duty. The largest produce has been yielded by tobacco and snuff (294,450*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*), and the next most productive article has been malt (stock in hand), 277,263*l.* 13*s.* The duty on coffee has yielded more than that upon tea, by about £3,000; and the new duty on

malt produced, last year, only 76,787*l.* 7*s.*

An account has also been presented, for the same periods, of the produce of all additional duties of customs imposed in the year 1819, as affecting Ireland. The articles are tea, pepper, coffee the produce of the British plantations, coffee of the East Indies, snuff, and wool, viz. sheep or lamb's wool, the produce of any foreign country in Europe. The aggregate amount upon all these, for the three quarters ending April 5, is only 12,862*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*

Abstract of the net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, exclusive of the Arrears of War Duty on Malt and Property, in the Quarters ended the 5th of July 1819 and 1820, showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof.

	Quarters ended July 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1819.	1820.		
Customs.....	£ 2,244,639	£ 1,882,846	.....	361,793
Excise.....	5,692,270	6,620,609	928,339	—
Stamps.....	1,534,723	1,581,445	46,722	—
Post-office....	367,000	352,000	.....	15,000
Assessed Taxes	2,257,960	2,343,380	85,420	—
Land Taxes ..	444,753	440,744	.....	4,009
Miscellaneous	62,785	126,341	63,556	—
	12,604,130	13,347,365	1,124,037	380,802
	Deduct decrease.....		380,802	
	Increase in quarter....		743,235	

I.—An Account of the net Amount of the Revenue of the United Kingdom, from the 5th of April 1820 to the 5th of July 1820, separating Ireland from England.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Customs	.. .. .	£840,778	4	2½
Excise	.. .. .	5,638,474	0	0
Stamps	.. .. .	1,581,445	19	3
Incidents	.. .. .	3,136,694	3	2½
Surplus Annual Duties	.. .. .	423,894	12	0½
Ditto Duties on Property	.. .. .	5,317	14	0½
		<hr/>		
		11,621,599	12	9
Excise Duties, continued per 56 Geo. III.		616,922	0	0
Duties annually granted to pay off 3,000,000l.				
Exchequer Bills	.. .. .	1,038,074	0	7½
South Sea Company's Fund	.. .. .	2,195	17	0½
4½ per cent.	.. .. .	10,047	0	1½
		<hr/>		
		£13,288,838	10	6½

Note.—The exchequer is only enabled to make a return of the revenue of Great Britain.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

Exchequer, the 22d day of July 1820.

II.—An Account of the net Produce of the Revenue of Ireland, as paid into the Exchequer there, from the 5th of April 1820 to the 5th of July 1820—(in British currency):

Customs	.. .. .	£293,827	2	7½
Excise	.. .. .	398,772	0	7
Assessed Taxes	.. .. .	108,345	8	0
Stamps	.. .. .	106,111	6	8½
Post-office	.. .. .	13,846	3	1
Miscellaneous	.. .. .	29,725	19	0½
		<hr/>		
Total	.. .. .	£950,628	0	1½

S. R. LUSHINGTON.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers, 26th July 1820.

III.—An

III.—An Account of the Income and Charge on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, from 5th April 1820 to the 5th July 1820:

## INCOME.

£12,118,987 10 1

## CHARGE.

£13,779,782 9 9½

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

Exchequer, the 22d day of July 1820.

IV.—An Account of the Total Deficiency of the Consolidated Fund on the 6th of July 1820; together with an Account of the manner in which the same was made good:

The deficiency of the consolidated fund, at the 5th of July 1820, } 9,273,706 1 7½  
amounted to .. .. . }

And was made good by the making out of exchequer bills to that amount.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

Exchequer, the 22d day of July 1820.

Abstract of the net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain (exclusive of the Arrears of War-Duty on Malt and Property) in the Years and Quarters ended the 10th of October 1818, 1819, and 1820.

	Years ended.			Quarters ended.		
	1818.	1819.	1820.	1818.	1819.	1820.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Customs	10546183	9582820	8746105	3669754	2753167	2670683
Excise ..	22156082	22082875	26488508	5866804	5674687	7552021
Stamps ..	6427270	6211449	6115482	1672165	1575437	1581204
Post-office	1339000	1416000	1446000	360000	375000	375000
Assessed Taxes	6173833	6178432	6279547	787426	781448	760576
Land do.	1154920	1199736	1207630	181801	198177	174522
Miscellan.	490020	349055	360538	49150	77628	71642
	48289308	47920367	50643810	12587100	11435544	13185648

Abstract of the net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain (exclusive of the Arrears of War Duty on Malt and Property) in the Years and Quarters ended 5th January 1820 and 1821, showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof:—

Years ended 5th January.

	1820.	1821.	Increase.	Decrease.
Customs .....	9,349,029	8,631,891	..	717,138
Excise .....	23,184,378	26,364,702	3,180,324	
Stamps .....	6,184,239	6,151,347	..	32,892
Post-office .....	1,473,000	1,389,000	..	86,000
Assessed Taxes	6,176,529	6,311,346	134,817	..
Land Taxes	1,234,323	1,192,257	..	42,068
Miscellaneous .....	392,732	298,938	..	93,794
	47,996,232	50,334,481	3,315,141	976,892
	Deduct decrease		976,892	
	Increase on the year		2,338,249	

Quarters ended 5th January.

	1820.	1821.	Increase	Decrease.
Customs .....	2,231,873	2,117,659	..	114,214
Excise .....	6,439,543	6,315,737	..	123,806
Stamps .....	1,503,322	1,535,474	32,152	
Post-office .....	378,000	321,000	..	57,000
Assessed Taxes	2,301,875	2,333,674	31,799	
Land Taxes.....	442,955	427,582	..	15,373
Miscellaneous .....	177,074	114,187	..	63,887
	13,474,642	13,165,313	64,951	374,280
	Deduct increase .....			64,951
	Decrease on the quarter .....			309,329

An Account of the Produce of the Excise Duties of Great Britain (exclusive of any Arrears of the War Duty on Malt) in the Years ended 5th January 1820 and 1821: showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof.

	Years ended January 5		Increase.	Decrease.
	1820.	1821.		
Auctions .....	264,808	238,222		26,586
Beer .....	2,639,166	2,548,718		95,453
Bricks and Tiles..	367,195	319,669		47,526
Candles .....	305,020	310,043	5,023	
Coffee and Cocoa	207,135	387,554	180,419	
Cider, Perry, and Verjuice .....	58,461	56,884		1,577
Glass .....	554,605	405,546		149,059
Hides and Skins..	611,772	574,012		37,670
Hops .....	329,853	394,425	64,572	
Licenses .....	672,691	698,788	26,097	
Malt .....	2,631,630	4,782,073	2,150,438	
Paper .....	461,510	462,953	1,437	
Pepper .....	26,264	141,062	114,796	
Printed Goods ..	572,676	577,699	5,023	
Salt .....	1,493,394	1,529,862	36,468	
Soap .....	866,804	928,602	61,798	
Spirits { British..	2,849,090	3,037,655	188,565	
{ Foreign	2,315,215	2,349,975	34,762	
Starch .....	48,051	50,013	1,962	
Stone Bottles ....	2,267	2,117		150
Sweets .....	12,960	4,661		8,889
Tea .....	3,068,948	3,085,764	16,816	
Tobacco and Snuff	1,812,763	2,488,876	676,113	
Vinegar .....	44,225	40,315		3,910
Wine .....	962,611	944,501		18,111
Wire .....	7,356	10,319	2,963	
	23,186,479	26,364,703	3,567,254	389,030
Deduct decrease .....			389,030	
Increase on the year .....			23,178,224	



An Account of the Produce of the Excise Duties of Great Britain (exclusive of any Arrears of the War Duty on Malt) in the Quarters ended 5th January 1820 and 1821, showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof.

	Quarters ended Jan. 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1820.	1821.		
Auctions .....	£59,246	£55,130	£	£4,116
Beer .....	560,434	504,992		55,442
Bricks and Tiles ..	196,431	152,217		44,214
Candles .....	71,800	68,720		3,080
Coffee and Cocoa	87,321	94,276	6,955	
Cider, Perry, &c...	14,038	9,408		4,630
Glass .....	145,095	100,903		44,192
Hides and Skins ..	157,856	127,848		30,008
Hops .....		72,202	72,202	
Licenses .....	488,773	482,744		6,029
Malt .....	851,031	985,712	134,681	
Paper .....	115,329	100,071		15,258
Pepper .....	20,093	41,560	21,467	
Printed Goods....	254,535	242,436		12,099
Salt .....	390,772	323,027		67,745
Soap .....	277,685	258,747		18,938
Spirits { British ..	522,000	488,157		33,843
{ Foreign	623,276	589,571		33,705
Starch .....	12,464	11,554		920
Stove Bottles ....	589	809	220	
Sweets .....	3,307	940		2,367
Tea .....	771,508	789,998	18,490	
Tobacco and Snuff	547,186	560,067	12,881	
Vinegar .....	8,616	8,938	322	
Wine .....	258,052	243,378		14,674
Wire .....	2,107	2,342	235	
	6,439,544	6,315,737	567,453	391,260
Deduct increase .....				567,453
Decrease on the quarter .....				238,710

From some important financial returns to the house of commons, we collect the following facts concerning the public revenue.

The exchequer bills received in payment of duties, between the 1st July and 10th Oct. 1819, amounted to the sum of 350,364*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*

The amount payable out of the consolidated fund between the 5th of July 1818 and 10th of October 1819, for interest on loans raised in 1818 and 1819, distinguishing each quarter, and separating the charge created by each loan, was as follows:

## LOAN OF 1818.

Quarter ended on the 10th October 1818 ..	£269,915	1	8½
Ditto on the 5th Jan. 1819 .. ..	443,485	6	1
Ditto on the 5th April 1819 .. ..	583,519	16	10½
Ditto on the 5th July 1819 .. ..	557,122	8	6
Ditto on the 10th October 1819 ..	426,717	9	3½

## LOAN OF 1819.

Quarter ended on the 10th October 1819	100,813	5	7
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The net amount of revenue of the united kingdom, from the 5th of January 1819, to the 10th of October 1819, distinguishing each quarter, and separating Ireland from England, was as follows:

On the 5th April 1819, Great Britain 10,595,727*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.*; Ireland 990,444*l.* 3*s.* 8½*d.*—Total 11,586,171*l.* 14*s.* 2½*d.*

On the 5th of July 1819, Great Britain 12,644,896*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*; Ireland 1,191,800*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*—Total 13,776,695*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.*

On the 10th October 1819, Great Britain 11,456,931*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; Ireland 1,056,487*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.*—Total 12,513,419*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.*

Total, Great Britain 34,697,555*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*; Total, Ireland 3,178,732*l.* 9*s.*—Grand total, 37,876,287*l.* 11*s.* 2½*d.*

The deficiency of the consolidated fund on the 10th of October 1819 amounted to 8,056,009*l.* 12*s.* 6½*d.*; which was made good by the making out of exchequer bills to that amount, as directed by the 57th Geo. III. c. 48.

It appears from an account of all exchequer bills issued since the 1st of September last, that the total amount is 791,000*l.* They were all at par. The rate of interest 2*d.* per cent. per diem.

## NATIONAL DEBT.

Accounts have been presented to the house of commons of the amount of the public debt, both funded and unfunded, of Great Britain and Ireland, and the interest on the same, on the 5th of January 1820. The following are the most important of these accounts:

An Account of the total Capital of the funded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, including the Austrian and Portuguese Loans, as it stood in the Year ended 5th January 1820; distinguishing the Amount redeemed and unredeemed, and the total Charge of the said Debt.

## DEBT.

Unredeemed .. ..	£794,930,481
Redeemed, including the capital for the sinking fund loan 1819 .. ..	420,828,751
Total, including debt created in 1819 ..	1,215,809,232

## CHARGE.

In respect of redeemed debt, including charge of management .. ..	29,789,657
In respect of redeemed debt, including sinking fund .. ..	16,987,997
Total .. ..	£46,777,054

An Account of the Total Amount of the unfunded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, in Exchequer Bills, Navy Bills, Ordnance Debentures, and Irish Treasury Bills, as it stood in the Year ended 5th January 1820; distinguishing the Amount paid for Interest and Sinking Fund on those Securities in the said Year; and also an Estimate of the total Amount of Interest due on outstanding Securities on the 5th of January 1820.

Total unfunded debt	..	..	..	£41,966,442
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## CHARGE.

Issued for interest	..	..	..	769,698
Sinking fund	..	..	..	482,500

Total charge	..	£1,252,198
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Estimate of interest due	..	..	2,045,400
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An Account of the total Amount of the funded and unfunded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, as it stood in the Year ended 5th January 1820.

Unredeemed debt	..	..	£836,946,923
Redeemed debt	..	..	420,828,751

Total debt	..	£1,257,775,674
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Charge in respect of unredeemed debt, including annuities for lives or years, and management	..	32,604,755
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Charge in respect of redeemed debt, including sinking fund	..	16,987,397
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Total charge	..	£49,592,152
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Accounts have been printed by order of the house of commons, showing the amount of the total capital of the funded debt of Great Britain, including the Austrian and Portuguese loans, as it stood on the 1st of February, or 5th of January, in each year, from the year 1786 to the year 1819 inclusive. By these accounts, it appears that the total amount of the unredeemed debt in the year 1786 was 233,231,248*l.*, of which the total charge was 10,302,402*l.* The public debt thence was gra-

dually sinking to the year 1793, when the unredeemed debt amounted to 237,989,148*l.* From that year it rapidly and constantly increased to the present year and on the 5th of January 1819 the total debt of Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 1,181,502,362*l.*; of which has been redeemed 389,637,049*l.*; leaving the total unredeemed debt 791,867,313*l.*—The sinking fund amounted to 15,815,001*l.*; and the total charge, including the sinking fund, to 5,749,296*l.*

As

An official account of the total weekly amount of bank notes and bank post bills in circulation, from the 23d November 1819, to the latest period to which the same can be stated, states the total for the week ending the 30th of November, at 23,248,340*l.*, of which 6,745,850*l.* are under 5*l.*; for the

week ending the 7th December, 22,536,690*l.*, of which 6,694,040*l.* are under 5*l.*; for the week ending 14th December 22,418,220*l.*, of which 6,624,990*l.* are under 5*l.* and for the week ending the 21st December 22,194,650*l.* of which 6,569,560*l.* are under 5*l.*

An Account of the total weekly Amount of Bank Notes and Bank Post Bills in circulation.

		Bank Notes of 5 <i>l.</i> and upwards.	Bank Post Bills.	Bank Notes under 5 <i>l.</i>	Total.
		£	£	£	£
1819. Dec.	28	14,872,650	1,269,980	6,638,920	22,781,550
1820. Jan.	4	14,095,560	1,272,730	6,679,950	22,048,240
	11	18,157,130	1,356,050	6,773,210	26,286,390
	18	18,044,800	1,469,650	6,829,920	26,344,370
	25	17,144,520	1,489,530	6,816,230	25,450,280
Feb.	1	16,896,450	1,512,750	6,835,030	25,244,230
	8	16,076,920	1,486,660	6,787,040	24,350,620
	15	15,821,160	1,472,850	6,758,770	24,052,780
	22	15,293,300	1,437,230	6,689,610	23,420,140
	29	15,393,770	1,401,200	6,689,130	23,484,100
March	7	14,844,200	1,374,640	6,647,870	22,866,710
	14	14,714,570	1,373,840	6,605,840	22,694,250
	21	14,370,560	1,395,750	6,545,160	22,311,470
	28	14,669,660	1,450,850	6,593,010	22,713,520
April	4	14,555,690	1,412,320	6,637,800	22,635,810
	11	16,869,820	1,476,170	6,698,360	25,044,350
	18	16,876,490	1,500,910	6,743,960	25,121,360
	25	16,536,060	1,531,810	6,763,950	24,831,820
May	2	16,344,710	1,549,810	6,717,600	24,612,120

ABSTRACT OF THE ACT OF 1816,  
FOR THE BETTER REGULATION  
OF THE CIVIL LIST.

First. The preamble refers to various statutes relative to the civil list, from 22 George III. c. 82. to 52 George III. c. 8. and states that the ordinary revenues of the civil list have for many years past been found inadequate to defray the charges thereon, and the deficiency has been made good

by the application of funds arising from the droits of the crown, or other extraordinary resources, or by special grants of parliament; that it is highly expedient that the ordinary revenues of the civil list should be made adequate to the ordinary charges thereon; that therefore several charges heretofore borne on the civil list should be transferred to the consolidated fund; that distinct appropriations should

should be made of the civil list revenues to pay the distinct classes of charge; and that provision should be made to regulate and control the expenditure.

In pursuance of these views it is enacted, that certain allowances heretofore granted by his majesty out of the civil list to their royal highnesses the dukes of York and Clarence, the princesses Augusta,

Elizabeth, Mary and Sophia, shall in future be charged on the consolidated fund, and shall be paid at the exchequer without any deduction.—Sec. 1. 2.

The several classes of the civil list expenditure are stated in a schedule, with an estimate of their probable future annual charge, as follow:

1st Class.	Pensions and allowances to the royal family ..	£283,000
2d Class.	Allowances to the lord chancellor, judges, &c...	32,955
3d Class.	Allowances to foreign ministers, including pensions to foreign ministers, and salaries to consuls .. .. .	206,950
4th Class.	Bills of his majesty's tradesmen .. .. .	309,000
5th Class.	Salaries to the department of the lord chamberlain, lord steward, master of the horse, master of the robes, and surveyor-general of works; including compensation and superannuation allowances payable within those departments ..	140,700
6th Class.	Pensions limited by act 22 Geo. III. c. 82 ..	90,000
7th Class.	Salaries and allowances to certain officers and persons .. .. .	41,300
8th Class.	Salaries to the commissioners of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer ..	13,822
	Occasional payments, not comprised in any of the foregoing clauses .. .. .	26,000

£1,143,727

And it is enacted, that for insuring the regular payment of the charges arising in each class respectively, appropriations shall be made out of the civil list revenues, by warrants from the treasury, at the commencement of every quarter; and the sums so appropriated are, in the first instance, to be applied to the payment of the unsatisfied charges in their particular class, preferably to any other charges on the civil list; and if any surplus arise in any quarter, on a particular class, it is to be carried forward to the same class throughout the year, and if any re-

main at the end of the year, then to be applied in aid of the other classes.—Sec. 3 and 4.

In order to render the income of the civil list fixed and certain in amount, as far as may be practicable, the application of certain exchequer fees heretofore made to the civil list is abolished, and a fixed sum of 48,000*l.* given instead thereof.—Sec. 5.

The provisions of statute 50 George III., c. 117. which go to charge the civil list with any contingent deficiencies in the fee fund for certain great officers of state are repealed, and the civil list exonerated

onerated from such charge.—  
Sec. 6.

As it frequently happens that pensions and salaries are directed to be paid at the exchequer up to a day subsequent to the death of the person entitled to them, power is given to the treasury to apply the unappropriated surplus to the general account of the civil list.—Sec. 7.

The five following sections of the act appoint an auditor of that part of the civil list accounts which belongs to the departments of the lord chamberlain, lord steward, and master of the horse, in order to promote the exercise of a due economy in those branches of the royal household, by establishing a more effectual superintendence of their expenditure. Such officer is not to sit in parliament; he is to be guided by a code of instructions, prepared by the lords of the treasury; he may summon persons, require books, accounts, and vouchers, and examine upon oath, dismiss any of his majesty's tradesmen who refuse to comply with any of his lawful requisitions; and after due examination of the accounts, he is to present statements of the same to the treasury, who may allow the same, or remit them to him for further examination.—Sec. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

If the total charge upon the

civil list in any one year shall exceed the above estimate by 16,000*l*. the particulars of such excess are to be submitted to parliament within 30 days.—Sec. 13.

An official return to an order of the house of commons, states the total amount of recruits raised in Great Britain and Ireland for the land forces, from the 25th of October 1818, to the 25th of October 1819, at 5,071, of which 256 are for limited service, and the remainder for unlimited service.

#### EAST INDIA AND CHINA TRADE.

The following is the substance of two detailed documents, which have just been laid before parliament, relative to our commerce with India:—The first is, "An account of all goods, the produce of the East Indies and China, imported into Great Britain during each of the last six years; specifying the quantity and value of the principal articles imported, and stating the imports by the East India company, distinct and separate from the free trade."—The second, "An account of all goods exported from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, during each of the last six years, specifying the quantity and declared value of the principal articles exported, and stating the exports by the East India company, distinct and separate from the free trade."

Total value of East India and China produce imported into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th January 1815:

By the East India company	.. .. .	£7,227,663	0	0
Free trade, including the privilege trade	.. .. .	4,061,892	0	0
		<hr/>		
		Total	£11,289,555	0 0
			<hr/>	

In the year ending the 5th January 1816 :			
By the East India company ..	..	£.	s. d.
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	7,154,130	0 0
		5,769,459	0 0

Total ..	..	12,923,589	0 0
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In the year ending the 5th January 1817 :			
By the East India company ..	..	7,855,312	0 0
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	5,703,912	0 0

Total ..	..	13,559,224	0 0
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In the year ending the 5th January 1818 :			
By the East India company ..	..	7,361,802	0 0
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	5,097,748	0 0

Total ..	..	12,459,550	0 0
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In the year ending the 5th Jan. 1819:			
By the East India company ..	..	5,192,804	0 5
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	7,098,650	12 5

Total . . .	..	12,291,154	12 10
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In the year ending 5th Jan. 1820 :			
By the East India company ..	..	5,792,405	16 6
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	6,297,510	6 3

Total ..	..	12,089,916	2 9
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Total Value of Exports to the East Indies and China, in the Year ending 5th January 1815 :

By the East India company ..	..	£.1,739,719	11 7
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	870,177	8 8

Total ..	..	2,602,897	0 4
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In the year ending the 5th Jan. 1816 :			
By the East India company ..	..	1,753,302	2 0
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	1,454,728	7 9

Total ..	..	3,208,030	9 9
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In the year ending the 5th Jan. 1817 :			
By the East India company ..	..	1,539,130	2 11
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	..	1,868,396	14 3

Total ..	..	3,407,526	17 2
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In the year ending 5th Jan. 1818 :

By the East India company .. ..	1,318,493 16 5
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	2,708,021 10 4
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>4,021,518 6 9</b>

In the year ending the 5th Jan. 1819 :

By the East India company .. ..	1,250,064 13 5
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	3,052,741 3 1
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>4,302,805 16 6</b>

In the year ending the 5th Jan. 1820 :

By the East India company .. ..	1,358,326 13 8
Free trade, including the privilege trade ..	1,650,338 5 5
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>3,008,664 19 1</b>

An Account of the Value of all Articles, being of the Growth or Manufacture of the United Kingdom, exported by the East India Company, from the Year 1811-12 inclusive, to the latest Period to which the same can be made up; distinguishing such as were exported as Merchandize for Sale, from those that were exported as Stores, and distinguishing each Year.

From May to May.	Merchandize for Sale.	Stores.	Totals.
Years.	£	£	£
1811-12 .....	1,454,354	338,936	1,793,290
1812-13 .....	1,572,613	378,435	1,951,048
1813-14 .....	1,349,677	269,264	1,618,941
1814-15 .....	1,188,551	399,545	1,588,096
1815-16 .....	1,043,215	273,248	1,316,463
1816-17 .....	1,060,700	505,123	1,565,823
1817-18 .....	881,662	272,328	1,153,990
1818-19 .....	796,393	375,549	1,171,942
1819-20 .....	1,134,985	373,440	1,508,425
<b>Total....</b>	<b>10,482,150</b>	<b>3,185,863</b>	<b>13,668,013</b>

Errors excepted,

CHARLES CARTWRIGHT,  
Accountant-general.

East India House, June 8, 1820.



## A TABLE

Showing the Proportion which the Number of Persons committed to Prison, in each County of England and Wales, bears to the whole Population; and thus illustrating the Influence of local Circumstances on the Morals of the People. The average of the Commitments is taken for thirteen years, viz. from 1805 to 1817, inclusive, and the Population as stated in the returns of 1811.

COUNTIES.	ONE IN	COUNTIES.	ONE IN
Anglesea . . . . .	18,522	Lancaster . . . . .	1,068
Bedford . . . . .	2,638	Leicester . . . . .	2,161
Berks . . . . .	1,618	Lincoln . . . . .	2,161
Brecon . . . . .	3,384	Merioneth . . . . .	13,377
Bucks . . . . .	2,562	Middlesex . . . . .	588
Cambridge . . . . .	2,386	Monmouth . . . . .	2,469
Cardigan . . . . .	13,612	Montgomery . . . . .	3,534
Caermarthen . . . . .	7,348	Norfolk . . . . .	1,809
Carnarvon . . . . .	9,867	Northampton . . . . .	2,405
Chester . . . . .	1,868	Northumberland . . . . .	3,037
Cornwall . . . . .	4,287	Nottingham . . . . .	1,694
Cumberland . . . . .	3,804	Oxford . . . . .	2,161
Denbigh . . . . .	7,077	Pembroke . . . . .	5,669
Derby . . . . .	3,485	Radnor . . . . .	3,672
Devon . . . . .	1,996	Rutland . . . . .	2,696
Dorset . . . . .	2,292	Salop . . . . .	2,268
Durham . . . . .	4,337	Somerset . . . . .	1,369
Essex . . . . .	1,435	Stafford . . . . .	1,988
Flint . . . . .	8,399	Suffolk . . . . .	1,731
Glamorgan . . . . .	4,551	Surrey . . . . .	1,261
Gloucester . . . . .	1,834	Sussex . . . . .	2,422
Hants . . . . .	1,230	Warwick . . . . .	989
Hereford . . . . .	1,438	Westmoreland . . . . .	5,642
Herts . . . . .	1,636	Wilts . . . . .	1,969
Huntingdon . . . . .	1,431	Worcester . . . . .	1,668
Kent . . . . .	1,385	York . . . . .	3,002

For the whole of England, the proportion is 1 in 1,488; for Wales, 1 in 6,213; and for both England and Wales, 1 in 1,554.

## STATE OF CRIME IN THE METROPOLIS IN THE YEAR 1819.

Statement of the Number of Persons committed to His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, and how they were disposed of, in the Year 1819.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In custody on the 1st of January 1819, } committed to the 31st December..... }	277	107	384
Under 20 years of age .. .. .	677	82	2344
Above that age .. .. .	1228	357	
			2728
Of which there have been executed .. .. .		25	
Died .. .. .		13	
Removed to the hulks at Sheerness, preparatory to } transportation .. .. . }		376	
Ditto to Portsmouth .. .. .		125	
Ditto to Gosport .. .. .		177	
Ditto to Woolwich .. .. .		161	
Ditto to the Penitentiary .. .. .		55	
Ditto to the Refuge for the Destitute .. .. .		20	
Ditto to Bethlem Hospital .. .. .		2	
Ditto by habeas corpus for trial at the assizes .. .. .		7	
Ditto to the House of Correction for the city of Lon- } don, pursuant to their sentence .. .. . }		73	
Ditto to ditto for Middlesex .. .. .		310	
Ditto to female convict ships destined to New South } Wales .. .. . }		44	
Discharged, having had his majesty's free pardon..		15	
Ditto, being acquitted at the Old Bailey sessions ..		426	
Ditto, by proclamation ; no bills being found ..		254	
Ditto not prosecuted .. .. .		34	
Ditto, having undergone their sentence of imprisonment		101	
Ditto being privately whipped .. .. .		51	
Ditto, being fined one shilling .. .. .		73	
Ditto, upon bail, and other causes .. .. .		25	2367
Remained in custody 1st January 1820 { Males.. ..	248		361
{ Females .. ..	113		

Statement of the Numbers of criminal Offenders in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, who were convicted at the Old Bailey Sessions in the Year 1819, and the Nature of the Offences they were convicted of ; also the Number acquitted, discharged, &c. together with the Number sentenced in the same Period.

Stealing in dwelling-houses ..	59	Maliciously shooting ..	2
Burglary .. ..	29	Possession of forged bank-notes without lawful excuse ..	80
Highway robbery .. ..	27	Receiving stolen goods .. ..	15
Housebreaking .. ..	21	Embezzlement by servants ..	16
Sacrilege .. ..	1	Bigamy .. ..	5
Sheep-stealing .. ..	5	Misdemeanour .. ..	19
Horse-stealing .. ..	6	Fraud .. ..	6
Cow-stealing .. ..	2	Perjury .. ..	1
Unnatural offence ..	1	Child-stealing .. ..	2
Forgery .. ..	2	Uttering counterfeit coin ..	10
Uttering forged notes ..	14	Not submitting to be examined before commissioners under bankrupt laws ..	1
Stealing post office letters containing bank notes ..	3	Grand larceny .. ..	1138
Stealing privately in shops ..	10		
Murder .. ..	1		
Cutting and stabbing ..	1		
Manslaughter .. ..	2		
		Total	*1479

\*Of these there were between the ages of, ..  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \text{ and } 14 \quad 63 \\ 14 \text{ and } 18 \quad 329 \\ 18 \text{ and } 21 \quad 269-661 \end{array} \right.$

Convicted and sentenced.		For 2 years .. ..	8
To death .. ..	†183	1 year .. ..	69
To transportation.		9 months .. ..	3
For life .. ..	123	6 months .. ..	164
14 years .. ..	91	3 months and under ..	102
7 years .. ..	543	Whipped and discharged ..	51
To imprisonment.		Fined 1s. and discharged ..	73
For three years .. ..	1	Judgement respited .. ..	8
Convicted .. ..	1479	Discharged, not prosecuted	34
Acquitted .. ..	426		
Ditto, being insane .. ..	2		
Discharged, no bills found ..	254		
			2195

† Twenty of this number have been executed.

Statement of the Number of criminal Offenders in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, who were executed in the Year 1819, and the Nature of the Crimes for which they suffered.

Murder .. ..	1	Uttering forged notes ..	4
Highway-robbery .. ..	6	Stealing post office letters containing bank-notes ..	3
Burglary .. ..	2	Cow-stealing .. ..	1
Housebreaking .. ..	1	Sheep-stealing .. ..	1
Stealing in a dwelling-house ..	4		
Unnatural offence .. ..	1		
Forgery .. ..	1		
			*25

\* Five of these were convicted in the year 1818.

Statement of the Number of Persons committed to His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate in the Year 1820, and how they have been disposed of.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In custody on the 1st of January 1820	248	113	361
Committed to 31st of Dec. under 20 years	702	114	2360
Above that age	1216	328	
			—*2721
Of which there have been executed	..	48	
Died	..	2	
Removed to the hulks at Gosport, preparatory to transportation	..	200	
Ditto to Portsmouth	..	128	
Ditto to Sheerness	..	372	
Ditto to Chatham	..	25	
Ditto to Woolwich	..	33	
Ditto to the General Penitentiary at Milbank	..	99	
Ditto to the Refuge for the Destitute	..	32	
Ditto to Bethlem Hospital	..	2	
Ditto by habeas corpus for trial at the assizes	..	14	
Ditto to the House of Correction for the City of London, pursuant to their sentence	..	67	
Ditto to ditto for Middlesex	..	382	
Ditto on board a female convict ship bound to New South Wales	..	40	
Ditto to the House of Correction, having had their sentence of transportation mitigated on condition of being imprisoned therein for certain periods	..	39	
Discharged, having had his majesty's free pardon	..	13	
Ditto, being acquitted at the Old Bailey sessions	..	398	
Ditto by proclamation, bills of indictment not having been found	..	255	
Ditto not prosecuted	..	56	
Ditto, having undergone their sentence of imprisonment	..	52	
Ditto, being privately whipped	..	39	
Ditto, being fined one shilling	..	77	
Ditto, upon bail and other causes	..	52	
			— 2370
Remained in custody on 1st Jan. 1821	{—Males 239 } {Females 112 }		— 851

\* One in six of both males and females had been in the gaol before, and more than two-thirds of the whole number could read, and three-fifths of them could write also.

Statement of the Number of criminal Offenders in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, who were convicted at the Old Bailey Sessions in the Year 1820, and the Nature of the Offences they were convicted of. Also the Number acquitted, discharged, &c. together with the Number sentenced in the same Period.

CAPITAL OFFENCES.	High treason	..	..	..	11
	Burglary	..	..	..	24
	Highway robbery	..	..	..	39
	House-breaking	..	..	..	21
	Stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of 40s...	..	..	..	52
	Uttering forged bank notes	..	..	..	30
	Sacrilege	..	..	..	2
	Sheep-stealing	..	..	..	2
	Horse-stealing	..	..	..	7
	Cattle-stealing	..	..	..	3
	Stealing on the river Thames	..	..	..	1
	Returning from transportation	..	..	..	2
	Sending a threatening letter to demand money	..	..	..	1
	Bestiality	..	..	..	1
	Forgery	..	..	..	2
	Cutting and maiming	..	..	..	2
	Murder (tried at the Admiralty sessions)	..	..	..	1
	Privately stealing in shops	..	..	..	8
	Manslaughter	..	..	..	7
	Having possession of forged bank notes without lawful excuse	..	..	..	154
	Receiving stolen goods	..	..	..	4
	Embezzlement by servants	..	..	..	16
	Bigamy	..	..	..	4
	Misdemeanor	..	..	..	9
	Fraud	..	..	..	6
	Perjury	..	..	..	2
	Uttering counterfeit coin	..	..	..	6
	Dealing in slaves	..	..	..	2
	Grand larceny	..	..	..	1130 — 1549
	Of which there were sentenced—				
	To death	..	..	..	*210
	To transportation for life	..	..	..	202
	14 years	..	..	..	164
	7 years	..	..	..	422
	To imprisonment for two years	..	..	..	4
	Eighteen months	..	..	..	2
	One year	..	..	..	73
	Nine months	..	..	..	1
	Six months	..	..	..	138

Carried over 1216

ber have been executed.

Four

	Brought forward	1216
Four months .. ..	.. ..	8
Three months .. ..	.. ..	79
Two months .. ..	.. ..	49
Six weeks .. ..	.. ..	8
One month and under .. ..	.. ..	37
Whipped and discharged .. ..	.. ..	39
Fine 1s. and ditto .. ..	.. ..	77
Judgement respited .. ..	.. ..	86
Convicted .. ..	.. ..	*1549
Acquitted .. ..	.. ..	398
Discharged, bills of indictment not found .. ..	.. ..	255
Ditto, not prosecuted .. ..	.. ..	56
Total .. ..	.. ..	2258

Statement of the Number of Criminal Offenders in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, who were executed in the Year 1820, and the Nature of the Crimes for which they suffered.

Burglary .. ..	.. ..	6
Cutting and maiming .. ..	.. ..	1
Forgery .. ..	.. ..	1
Highway robbery .. ..	.. ..	7
House-breaking .. ..	.. ..	1
Horse-stealing .. ..	.. ..	1
High treason .. ..	.. ..	5
Murder on the high seas .. ..	.. ..	1
Sheep-stealing .. ..	.. ..	1
Sacrilege .. ..	.. ..	1
Stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of 40s. .. ..	.. ..	3
Uttering forged bank notes .. ..	.. ..	15
		— 43†

\* Of these there were between the age of 10 and 14, 77  
 14 and 18, 380  
 18 and 21, 296

† Three of these were convicted in the year 1819.  
 Jan. 1, 1821.

W. R. H. BROWN, keeper.

#### POOR RATES.

A document of much interest has been laid upon the table of the house of commons, relating to the expense of maintaining the poor in this country. It is entitled "An abstract of the returns to the order of the house of 30th April and 30th December 1819, and 16th May 1820, requiring an account

of the amount of the money assessed and levied in every parish, &c. in England and Wales, maintaining its own poor, for the years ending 25th March 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819; distinguishing the amount paid out of such assessments for any other purpose than the relief of the poor."

The following are the aggregate results.

The amount "expended solely on the poor," in the years named, for England and Wales, stands thus:

	£	s.
In 1816 ....	5,673,490	10
In 1817 ....	6,850,992	14
In 1818 ....	7,822,735	10
In 1819 ....	7,468,384	2

In the same years, the following sums were "assessed and levied:"

	£	s.
In 1816 ....	6,886,408	14
In 1817 ....	8,070,192	14
In 1818 ....	9,253,026	15
In 1819 ....	8,868,917	10

The difference between these respective amounts was "expended for other purposes," and stands thus:

	£	s.
In 1816 ....	1,214,070	18
In 1817 ....	1,210,720	10
In 1818 ....	1,432,332	12
In 1819 ....	1,408,905	16

It is pleasing to observe, that in the year ending 25th March 1819, there was a diminution of 354,351*l.*, as compared with the preceding year; and we understand the diminution in the year ending last March is still greater.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Whitehall, Jan. 31.*

On Saturday afternoon, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, our late most gracious sovereign king GEORGE the Third, whose strength had gradually declined for some weeks, expired without the least apparent suffering, at his castle of Windsor, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. No sovereign ever possessed in a higher degree the veneration and affection of his subjects; and their grief for his loss

is only abated by the unhappy malady, which has precluded his majesty from directing the measures of his government during the nine latter years of his glorious reign.

Upon the news of this melancholy event arriving in London, the lords of the privy council assembled yesterday at Carlton House, and gave orders for proclaiming his present majesty, who made a most gracious declaration to them, and caused all the lords and others of the late king's privy council, who were then present, to be sworn of his majesty's privy council.

And this day, about noon, his majesty was proclaimed; first before Carlton House, where the officers of state, nobility, and privy councillors were present, with the officers of arms, all being on foot. Then, the officers being mounted on horseback, the like was done at Charing Cross, within Temple Bar, at the end of Wood-street in Cheapside, and lastly at the Royal Exchange, with the usual solemnities; the principal officers of state, a great number of the nobility, and of other persons of distinction, attending during the whole ceremony.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late sovereign lord king George the third, of blessed memory, by whose decease the imperial crown of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty prince, George, prince of Wales; we therefore the lords spiritual and temporal of this realm, being here assisted with those of his late majesty's privy council, with numbers of other principal gentlemen of quality, with

with the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, do now hereby, with one voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim that the high and mighty prince George, prince of Wales, is now, by the death of our late sovereign of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful liege lord George the fourth, by the grace of God king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith. To whom we do acknowledge all faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affection, beseeching God, by whom kings and queens do reign, to bless the royal prince George the fourth with long and happy years to reign over us.

Given at the court at Carlton House, this thirtieth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

God save the king.

FREDERICK.

WILLIAM.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

LEOPOLD, Prince of Saxe Cobourg.

[Here follow 81 signatures, including noblemen, privy councillors, the lord mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens of London.]

At the court of Carlton House, the 30th day of January 1820,

PRESENT,

The king's most excellent majesty in council.

His majesty being this day present in council, was pleased to make the following declaration, viz.

I have directed that you should be assembled here, in order that I may discharge the painful duty of announcing to you the death of the king, my beloved father.

It is impossible for me adequate-

ly to express the state of my feelings upon this melancholy occasion; but I have the consolation of knowing, that the severe calamity, with which his majesty has been afflicted for so many years, has never effaced from the minds of his subjects the impressions created by his many virtues; and his example will, I am persuaded, live for ever in the grateful remembrance of his country.

Called upon, in consequence of his majesty's indisposition, to exercise the prerogatives of the crown on his behalf, it was the first wish of my heart to be allowed to restore into his hands the powers with which I was intrusted. It has pleased Almighty God to determine otherwise; and I have not been insensible to the advantages which I have derived from administering, in my dear father's name, the government of this realm.

The support which I have received from parliament and the country, in times the most eventful, and under the most arduous circumstances, could alone inspire me with that confidence which my present station demands.

The experience of the past will, I trust, satisfy all classes of my people, that it will ever be my most anxious endeavour to promote their prosperity and happiness, and to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.

Whereupon the lords of the council made it their humble request to his majesty, that this his majesty's most gracious declaration to their lordships might be made public; which his majesty was pleased to order accordingly.

JAMES BULLER.

At



At the court of Carlton House,  
the 30th of January 1820,

PRESENT,

The king's most excellent majesty.

His R. H. the duke of York

His R. H. the duke of Clarence

His R. H. the duke of Sussex

His R. H. the duke of Gloucester

His R. H. the Prince Leopold of

Saxe Cobourg

Archbishop of Canterbury

The lord chancellor

Duke of Atholl

Duke of Montrose

Marquis Wellesley

Marquis Camden

Earl of Lauderdale

Earl of Chatham

Earl Bathurst

Earl of Liverpool

Earl of Mulgrave

Viscount Melville

Viscount Sidmouth

Bishop of London

Right hon. the speaker

Right hon. sir William Scott

Right hon. sir William Grant

Right hon. Thomas Wallace

Right hon. Nicholas Vansittart

Right hon. Charles Arbuthnot

Right hon. sir John Nicholl

Right hon. Fred. John Robinson

Right hon. Robert Peel

Right hon. Wm. Sturges Bourne

Right hon. Charles Bagot

Right hon. sir Richard Richards

Right hon. sir Benj. Bloomfield

Right hon. sir John Leach

Right hon. sir Charles Abbot

Right hon. sir Robert Dallas.

His majesty, at his first coming into the council, was this day pleased to declare, that understanding that the law requires he should, at his accession to the crown, take and subscribe the oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, he was now ready to do it at this first opportunity, which his

majesty was graciously pleased to do according to the forms used by the law of Scotland, and subscribed two instruments thereof, in the presence of the lords of the council, who witnessed the same; and his majesty was pleased to order, that one of the said instruments be transmitted to the court of session, to be recorded in the books of sederunt, and afterwards to be forthwith lodged in the public register of Scotland; and that the other of them remain among the records of the council, and be entered in the council book.

COMMUNICATIONS ON THE PART  
OF THE QUEEN WITH HIS MA-  
JESTY'S GOVERNMENT, LAID  
BEFORE BOTH HOUSES OF PAR-  
LIAMENT,—June 18, 1820.

No. I.—Communication from the queen to the earl of Liverpool.

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform lord Liverpool, that she has directed her most serious attention to the declared sense of parliament, as to the propriety of some amicable adjustment of existing differences being attempted; and, submitting to that high authority with the gratitude due to the protection she has always received from it, her majesty no longer waits for a communication from the ministers of the crown, but commands Mr. Brougham to announce her own readiness to consider any arrangement that can be suggested consistent with her dignity and honour.

One o'clock, Friday, June 9, 1820.

No. II.—The earl of Liverpool in answer to the communication from the queen on the same day.

Lord Liverpool has had the honour

nour of receiving the queen's communication of this day, and begs leave to acquaint her majesty that a memorandum delivered by lord Liverpool to Mr. Brougham on the 15th April last, contains the propositions which lord Liverpool was commanded by the king to communicate thro' Mr. Brougham to her majesty.

Her majesty has not been advised to return any answer to those propositions; but lord Liverpool assures her majesty that the king's servants will still think it their duty, notwithstanding all that has passed, to receive for consideration any suggestions which her majesty or her advisers may have to offer upon those propositions.

Fife House, June 9, 1820.

No. III.—Communication from the queen to the earl of Liverpool.

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform lord Liverpool, that she has received his letter, and that the memorandum of April 15, 1820, which the proposition made through lord Hutchinson had appeared to supersede, has also been now submitted to her majesty for the first time.

Her majesty does not consider the terms there specified as at all according with the condition upon which she informed lord Liverpool yesterday that she would entertain a proposal, namely, that it should be consistent with her dignity and honour. At the same time she is willing to acquit those who made this proposal, of intending any thing offensive to her majesty; and lord Liverpool's letter indicates a disposition to receive any suggestions which she may offer.

Her majesty retains the same desire which she commanded Mr. Brougham yesterday to express, of submitting her own wishes to the authority of parliament, now so decisively interposed. Still acting upon the same principle, she now commands Mr. Brougham to add, that she feels it necessary, before making any further proposal, to have it understood that the recognition of her rank and privileges as queen must be the basis of any arrangement which can be made. The moment that basis is established, her majesty will be ready to suggest a method by which she conceives all existing differences may be satisfactorily adjusted.

June 10, 1820.

No. IV.—The earl of Liverpool in answer to the communication from the queen of the 10th June 1820.

Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the queen's communication, and cannot refrain from expressing the extreme surprise of the king's servants that the memorandum of April 15th, the only proposition to her majesty which ever was authorized by his majesty, should not have been submitted to her majesty until yesterday.

That memorandum contains so full a communication of the intentions and views of the king's government with respect to the queen, as to have entitled his majesty's servants to an equally frank, full, and candid explanation on the part of her majesty's advisers.

The memorandum of the 15th of April, while it proposed that her majesty should abstain from the exercise of the rights and privileges of queen with certain exceptions,

ceptions; did not call upon her majesty to renounce any of them.

Whatever appertains to her majesty by law, as queen, must continue to appertain to her so long as it is not abrogated by law.

The king's servants, in expressing their readiness to receive the suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment which her majesty's advisers promise, think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state, that any proposition which they could feel it to be consistent with their duty to recommend to his majesty, must have for its basis her majesty's residence abroad.

11th June 1820.

No. V.—Communication from the queen to the earl of Liverpool.

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to acknowledge having received lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his lordship that her majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April 15th was not submitted to her before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her majesty until lord Hutchinson was on the spot prepared to treat with her.

Her majesty commands Mr. Brougham to state, that as the basis of her recognition as queen is admitted by the king's government, and as his majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the object in contemplation may be attained.

Her majesty's dignity and ho-

nour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons, of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of parliament.

12th June 1820.

No. VI.—The earl of Liverpool in answer to the communication from the queen of the 12th of June 1820.

Lord Liverpool has received the communication made by the queen's commands.

The king's servants feel it to be unnecessary to enter into any discussion on the early parts of this communication, except to repeat that the memorandum delivered to Mr. Brougham, of the 15th April, contained the only proposition to the queen which the king authorized to be made to her majesty.

The views and sentiments of the king's government as to her majesty's actual situation are sufficiently explained in lord Liverpool's note of the 11th instant.

Lord Liverpool will proceed, therefore, to the proposal made on the part of her majesty at the close of this communication—viz. "That she is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming; and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of parliament."

The

The king's confidential servants cannot think it consistent with their constitutional responsibility to advise the king to submit to any arbitration, a matter so deeply connected with the honour and dignity of his crown, and with the most important public interests; but they are fully sensible of the advantages which may be derived from an unreserved personal discussion; and they are therefore prepared to advise his majesty to appoint two of his confidential servants, who, in concert with the like number of persons to be named by the queen, may frame an arrangement, to be submitted to his majesty, for settling, upon the basis of lord Liverpool's note of the 11th instant, the necessary particulars of her majesty's future situation.

13th June 1820.

No. VII.—Note from the earl of Liverpool to Mr. Brougham, accompanying his answer to the communication from the queen of the 12th June 1820.

Lord Liverpool presents his compliments to Mr. Brougham, and requests that he will inform the queen, that if the accompanying answer should not appear to require any reply, lord Liverpool is prepared to name the two persons whom his majesty will appoint for the purpose referred to in this note.

13th June 1820.

No. VIII.—Mr. Brougham to the earl of Liverpool, stating that he has received the queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two who may be named on the part of his majesty's government for settling any arrangement.

Mr. Brougham presents his

compliments to lord Liverpool, and begs leave to inform him, that he has received the queen's commands to name two persons to meet the two whom his lordship may name on the part of his majesty's government, for the purpose of settling an arrangement. Mr. Brougham hopes to be favoured with lord Liverpool's nomination this evening, in order that an early appointment for a meeting to-morrow may take place.

14th June 1820.

#### APPENDIX.

Memorandum for a proposed arrangement with the queen.

The act of the 54th George III. cap. 160, recognised the separation of the prince regent from the princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late majesty, and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her until it shall please his majesty to recommend to parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

The king is willing to recommend to parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of 50,000*l.* a year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice.

The

The annuity to cease upon the violation of those engagements, viz. upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her.

Upon her consent to an engagement on the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself; and, at the same time, a full authority to conclude with such person as his majesty may appoint, a formal engagement upon those principles.

April 15, 1820.

#### PROTOCOLS.

No. 1.—Protocol of the first conference, held in St. James's square, June 15, 1820.

In pursuance of the notes of the 13th and 14th June, the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh, on the part of the king, having met Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, her majesty's law officers, in order to facilitate the proposed personal discussions, it was suggested by the former:—

1st. That the persons named to frame an arrangement, although representing different interests, should consider themselves in discharge of this duty, not as opposed to each other, but as acting in concert with a view to frame an arrangement in compliance with the understood wish of parliament, which may avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses.

2d. The arrangement to be made must be of such a nature as to require from neither party any concession as to the result to which

such inquiry, if proceeded on, might lead. The queen must not be understood to admit, or the king to retract any thing.

3d. That in order the better to accomplish the above important object, it was proposed that whatever might pass in the first conference should pledge neither party to any opinion; that nothing should be recorded without previous communication, and, as far as possible, common consent; and that in order to facilitate explanation and to encourage unreserved discussion, the substance only of what passed should be reported.

These preliminary points being agreed to, the questions to be examined (as contained in lord Liverpool's memorandum of the 15th April 1820, delivered to Mr. Brougham previous to his proceeding to St. Omer's, and in lord Liverpool's note of the 11th of June, and Mr. Brougham's note of the 12th of June, written by the queen's commands) were:

1st. The future residence of the queen abroad.

2d. The title which her majesty might think fit to assume when travelling on the continent.

3d. The non-exercise of certain rights of patronage in England, which it might be desirable that her majesty might desist from exercising should she reside abroad; and,

4th. The suitable income to be assigned for life to the queen residing abroad.

Her majesty's law officers, on the part of the queen, desired in the first instance, that the fourth point should be altogether laid aside in these conferences; her majesty desired it might make no part of the conditions, nor be mixed with the present discussions.

They

They then proceeded to state that, under all the circumstances of her majesty's position, they would not say that her majesty had any insuperable objection to living abroad; on the contrary, if such foreign residence were deemed indispensable to the completion of an arrangement so much desired by parliament, her majesty might be prevailed upon to acquiesce; but then that certain steps must be taken to remove the possibility of any inference being drawn from such compliance, and from the inquiry not being proceeded in, unfavourable to her majesty's honour, and inconsistent with that recognition which is the basis of these negotiations; and her majesty's advisers suggested with this view the restoration of her name to the liturgy. To this it was replied, that the king's government would no doubt learn with great surprise that a question of this important nature had now been brought forward for the first time, without having been adverted to in any of the previous discussions, and without being included amongst the heads to be now treated of; that the liturgy had been already regulated by his majesty's formal declaration in council, and in the exercise of his majesty's legal authority; that the king, in yielding his own feelings and views to the wishes of parliament, could not be understood (in the absence of inquiry) to alter any of those impressions under which his majesty had hitherto deliberately and advisedly acted; and that, as it was at the outset stated, the king could not be expected to retract any thing, no hope could be held out that the king's government would feel

themselves justified in submitting such a proposition to his majesty:

To this it was answered, that although the point of the liturgy was certainly not included by name amongst the heads to be discussed, her majesty's law officers found themselves entitled to bring it forward in its connexion with the question of her majesty's residence abroad. It was further contended, that the alteration in the liturgy was contrary to the plain sense and even letter of the statute; and that it was highly objectionable on constitutional grounds, being contrary to the whole policy of the law respecting the security of the succession, and liable to be repeated in cases where the succession itself might be endangered by it; and therefore it was said that a step so taken might well be retracted, without implying any unworthy concession. It was also urged, that the omission having been plainly made in contemplation of legal or parliamentary proceedings against her majesty, it followed, when those proceedings were to be abandoned, that the omission should be supplied; and it followed, for the same reason, that supplying it would imply no retraction. It was replied, that his majesty had decided that her majesty's name should not be inserted in the liturgy, for several reasons not now necessary to discuss; that his majesty had acted under legal advice, and in conformity to the practice of his royal predecessors; and that the decision of his majesty had not been taken solely with a view to intended proceedings in parliament or at law.

Independent of the inquiry instituted before parliament, his majesty

majesty had felt himself long since called upon to adopt certain measures to which his majesty, as head of his family, and in the exercise of his prerogative, was clearly competent. These acts, together with that now under consideration, however reluctantly adopted, and however painful to his majesty's feelings, were taken up on grounds which the discontinuance of the inquiry before parliament could not affect, and which his majesty could not therefore be expected to rescind. The principle fairly applied would go, in truth, no further than to replace the parties in the relative position in which they stood immediately before her majesty's arrival, and before the king's message was sent down to both houses of parliament.

After further discussion upon this point, it was agreed that the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh should report to the cabinet what had passed, and come prepared with their determination to the next conference.

Her majesty's law officers then asked, whether, in the event of the above proposition not being adopted, any other proceeding could be suggested on the part of his majesty's government, which might render her majesty's residence abroad consistent with a recognition of her rights, and the vindication of her character? and they specially pointed at the official introduction of her majesty to foreign courts by the king's ministers abroad. Upon this it was observed, that this proposition appeared open to the same difficulty in point of principle: it was calling upon the king to retract the decision formally taken and avow-

ed on the part of his majesty, a decision already notified to foreign courts; and to render the position of his majesty's representatives abroad, in relation to her majesty, inconsistent with that of their sovereign at home; that the purpose for which this was sought by the queen's law officers was inconsistent with the principle admitted at the commencement of the conference, and was one that could not be reasonably required to be accomplished by the act of his majesty—namely, to give to her majesty's conduct that countenance which the state of the case, as at present before his majesty, altogether precluded.

At the same time it was stated, that while his majesty, consistently with the steps already adopted, could not authorize the public reception of the queen, or the introduction of her majesty at foreign courts by his ministers abroad, there was, nevertheless, every disposition to see that branch of the orders already given faithfully and liberally executed, which enjoined the British ministers on the continent to facilitate, within their respective missions, her majesty's accommodation, and to contribute to her personal comfort and convenience.

Her majesty's law officers gave, the king's servants no reason whatever to think that the queen could be induced to depart from the positions above stated, unless some others, founded on the same principles, were acceded to on the part of his majesty's government.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
M. BRUGHAM,  
T. DENHAM.

No. II.—Protocol of the second conference

conference held at the Foreign-office, June 10, 1890.

The king's servants began the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report with fidelity to the king's government the proposition brought forward by her majesty's law officers, that the queen's name should be expressly included in the liturgy, in order to protect her majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her majesty might consent to reside abroad; that they were not deceived, for reasons already sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question, for the first time, on the part of her majesty, more especially in the present advanced state of the proceedings: that they were authorized distinctly to state, that the king's servants could on no account advise his majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance; and that, to prevent misconception, the king's government had charged the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh to explain that they must equally decline to advise the king to depart from the principle already laid down by his majesty for the direction of his representatives abroad, with regard to the public reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction of her majesty at foreign courts; but that they were not only ready, but desirous to guard in future, by renewed orders, against any possible want of attention to her majesty's comfort or convenience by his majesty's ministers abroad; and that, wherever her majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her majesty

1890.

from that state the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the king actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the ministers abroad now acted were communicated to the queen's law officers, and their attention was directed as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that branch of the instructions which was studiously framed to provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the queen when princess of Wales.

The queen's law officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her majesty to establish her court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English minister, because reasons of state might render it inexpedient that, under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made; but they wished that her majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English minister where no such reasons of state interfered, and they inquired whether the same objection would exist to the public introduction of her majesty at some one court where she might fix her residence, if she waved the claim of introduction at foreign courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was, in fact, the same, whether at one or more courts; and that if the king could be consistently advised to meet the queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for

(P)

his



his majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding.

The queen's law officers, referring to the decision of the judges in George the first's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the royal prerogative, were the king even to prescribe where her majesty should reside, but to order her there to be treated as queen by his minister.

The king's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the queen had arrived in England, and the pain her majesty must experience were she exposed to leave England in the like manner. They acquainted her majesty's law officers that they could venture to assure them that this difficulty would not occur. The queen arrived in England contrary to the king's wishes and representations; but were her majesty now to desire to pass to the continent, whether to a port in the channel, or, if it should more accord with her majesty's views to proceed at once to the Mediterranean, a king's yacht in the one instance, or a ship of war in the other, might be ordered to convey her majesty. After receiving these explanations, the queen's law officers recurred to the points before touched upon, viz. the inserting the queen's name in the liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent, and intimated their conviction that her majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of those objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency. They then asked whether a residence in one of the royal palaces would be

secured to her majesty while in this country? and observed, that her majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington palace until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late duke of Kent. It was replied, that the king's servants had no instructions on this point. They, however, observed, that they believed the apartments which her majesty formerly occupied when princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the duchess of Kent; and that they considered that this point had been already disposed of by supplying to her majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish to her majesty a suitable residence.

Her majesty's law officers then inquired, whether, supposing an arrangement made, the mode of winding up the transaction, and withdrawing the information referred to parliament, had been considered, and whether the king's servants saw any objection, in the present instance, to the houses of parliament expressing, by suitable addresses both to the king and queen, their grateful thanks for their majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement, by which parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding?

The king's servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereupon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed that, upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday, to which day it should be proposed that the proceedings on the king's message to the house of commons should

should be adjourned, on a distinct explanation to this effect; and that a conference should take place tomorrow, in order to bring the business to a conclusion, and to arrange, by mutual consent, the protocols of conference.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

No. III.—Protocol of the third conference.

Foreign office, June 17, 1820.

The conference was opened by her majesty's law officers intimating, that, adverting to what had passed in the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose, but to proceed to the adjustment of the protocol.

The king's servants stated, that before they entered into this business of arranging the protocol, they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them on the part of his majesty's government; they then declared, that they were authorized to inform the queen's law officers, that, in the event of her majesty going to the continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her majesty, either to a port in the channel or to a port in the Mediterranean, as her majesty might prefer.

That every personal attention and respect would be paid by the king's servants abroad to her majesty, and every endeavour made by them to protect her majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether in her travels or residing on the continent—with the understanding reserve, however, of public

reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign courts.

It was further stated by the king's servants, that having weighed the suggestion communicated by the queen's law officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms in which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded) to a proposition being made to both houses, for expressing by address to the queen, as well as to the king, their grateful acknowledgements for the facilities which their majesties might have respectively afforded towards the accomplishment of an arrangement by which parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her majesty's law officers of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the protocols. Before, however, the protocol was discussed, the king's servants desired distinctly to know from her majesty's law officers whether the introduction of the queen's name in the liturgy, and her majesty's introduction at foreign courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her majesty's name in the liturgy, or an equivalent, which would have the effect of protecting her majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her majesty might be liable in leaving the country under the circumstances in which her majesty was placed, was a *sine qua*

*non.* The queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any arrangement which was not satisfactory to her majesty's own feelings: however, her majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

No. IV.—Protocol of the fourth conference.

St. James's square, June 18.

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the protocols, it was suggested on the part of the king's servants, if possible, to meet her majesty's wishes: and in order the better to secure to her majesty every suitable respect and attention within the particular state in which she might think fit to establish her residence, (the Milanese, or the Roman states, having been previously suggested by her majesty's law officers as the alternative within her majesty's contemplation,) that the king would cause official notification to be made of her majesty's legal character as queen, to the government of such state. That consistently, however, with the reasons already stated, it must rest with the sovereign of such state what reception should be given to her majesty in that character.

The king's servants were particularly anxious to impress upon the queen's law officers the public grounds upon which this principle rested. The general rule of foreign

courts is, to receive only those who are received at home. The king could not with propriety require any point of foreign governments the refusal of which would not afford his majesty just grounds of resentment or remonstrance. It would be neither for the king's dignity, nor for the queen's comfort, that she should be made the subject of such a question.

To this it was replied for the queen, that with respect to this new proposition on the part of the king's servants, it should be taken into immediate consideration; but her majesty's law officers observed, that her majesty was not in the situation referred to in the above reasoning, having been habitually received at court in this country for many years, and having only ceased to go there in 1814, out of regard to the peculiar delicate situation in which the unfortunate differences in the royal family placed the late queen.

The latter observation was met, on the part of the king's servants, by a re-assertion of his majesty's undoubted authority on this point, whether asking or as prince regent, in the exercise of the royal authority; that the court held by her late majesty was, in fact, the court of the prince regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late majesty, and that the present queen, then princess of Wales, was excluded from such court.

(Signed) WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

No. V.—Protocol of the fifth conference.

Foreign-office, June 2, 1820.

The protocols of the preceding conference

conference were read and agreed upon.

Her majesty's law officers stated, that the proposition of yesterday had been submitted to her majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expression used on mentioning their belief that her majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, viz. "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her majesty holding a court, and the understood sense of parliament, that her majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her majesty's name, against being understood to propose or to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the king, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

#### Memorandum.

The second and third points, as enumerated for discussion in the protocol of the first conference, were not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place upon the points brought forward by her majesty's law officers.

The five protocols were then respectively signed.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

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THE QUEEN'S LETTER TO THE  
KING.

Sir,—After the unparalleled and

unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your majesty—and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting—it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your majesty. But, bearing in mind that royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your majesty, in the hope that the justice which your majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means,

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means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

The "tranquil and comfortable society" tendered to me by your majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your majesty's inclinations; more especially when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your majesty's mansion the mo-

ther of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life of her whom your majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind. What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place, and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses? and what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector?

Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal—conduct which has since undergone, even in parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in minutes of the privy council—notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal—notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against me before it—notwithstanding that there was

no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence—notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies—even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered, that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it not legally criminal! And thus, at the suggestion and request of your majesty, had been created, to take cognisance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-lamented father was held over me, I was safe. But the me-

lancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous king, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings, and ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences, worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprung the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would

(P 4) have

have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors, had not abounded. Your court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those places which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure—all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the regency to that of my departure for the continent—would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be inflicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, brother, and father-in-law, and my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled, I had one consolation left—the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms; to mingle my tears with hers; to receive her cheering caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love;—thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed

me. Even on the slave mart the cries of “Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!” have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than slave-dealers, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of embittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on a temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas! were never to come. To mothers—and those mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters—it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear in sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgment on the constituting of a commission,

mission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her : let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise.—But on the measures which have been adopted to give final effect to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak ; it is for me to remonstrate with your majesty ; it is for me to protest ; it is for me to apprise you of my determination.

I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the parliament, passed in the shape of a law. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds :—

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the alleged acts have been committed ; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting ; but it is against the constitution of the court itself that I particularly object, and that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to bills of pains and penalties, none of them, except those relating to the queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here ; for here your majesty is the plaintiff. Here it is intended by the bill to do you what you deem good, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

You have made your complaint

to the house of lords. You have conveyed to this house written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the house have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding : and then the house, merely upon that report, have brought forward a bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations, is too manifest not to have shocked the nation ; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong, had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the house of lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your majesty's ministers have advised this prosecution ; they are responsible for the advice they give ; they are liable to punishment if they fail to make good their charges ; and not only are they part of my judges, but it is they who have brought in the bill, and it is too notorious that they have always a majority in the house ; so that, without any other, here is ample proof that the house will decide in favour of the bill, and, of course, against me.

But further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your majesty is the plaintiff : to you it belongs to appoint and to  
elevate



elevate peers. Many of the present peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater part of the peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your majesty; and these, of course, your majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than four-fifths of the peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a court of justice would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the house of commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your majesty's ministers is the same in both houses; and your majesty is well

acquainted with the fact, that a majority of this house is composed of persons placed in it by the peers and by your majesty's treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your majesty; and, if it gives your majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused, if the judges and jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

On these grounds I protest against this species of trial. I demand a trial in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the houses of parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a court of justice.

I have now frankly laid before your majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is liable. Instead of loving, honouring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction.

You

You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than perjured witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child: but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed) CAROLINE, R.  
Brandenburgh-house, Aug. 7, 1820.

that a derangement has been felt in some of our monied institutions, which has proportionably affected their credit. I am happy, however, to have it in my power to assure you that the health of our cities is now completely restored; that the produce of the year, though less abundant than usual, will not only be amply sufficient for home consumption, but afford a large surplus for the supply of the wants of other nations; and that the derangement in the circulating paper medium, by being left to those remedies which its obvious causes suggested, and the good sense and virtue of our fellow citizens supported, has diminished.

Having informed congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits, had been concluded in this city, between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would have been ratified by his catholic majesty, with equal promptitude, and a like earnest desire to terminate, on the conditions of that treaty, the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view which the subject admitted of was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States, from Spanish cruizers, more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by treaty, as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the government of Spain, nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty,—a more satis-

*Washington, Dec. 7, 1819:*

This day, at twelve o'clock, the president of the United States transmitted to both houses of congress, by Mr. J. Monroe, the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

The public buildings being advanced to a stage to afford accommodation for congress, I offer you my sincere congratulations on the recommencement of your duties in the capitol.

In bringing to view the incidents most deserving attention which have occurred since your last session, I regret to have to state that several of our principal cities have suffered by sickness; that an unusual drought has prevailed in the middle and western states; and

satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for by this last treaty. The treaty itself was formed on great consideration, and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject matter of every article having been for years under discussion, and repeated references having been made by the minister of Spain to his government, on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his government in the United States, had been employed in this long protracted negotiation several years, and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged, under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification. On the part of the United States this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and concession.—The indemnity for injuries and losses so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them, without becoming a charge on the treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain, other territory, of greater value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was nevertheless received, as the means of indemnifying our citizens in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations of great weight urged

the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the territories of the United States on every side except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and, falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our Union, in many of its most essential interests. By this cession, then, Spain ceded a territory in reality of no value to her, and obtained concessions of the highest importance, by the settlement of long standing differences with the United States, affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a treaty relating to it, which she had failed to fulfil, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights where she could not support her authority.

It being known that the treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that his catholic majesty would have ratified it without delay. I regret to have to state that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated, and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood, I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances in my possession, relating to it.

Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain, by giving the most prompt effect to the treaty, which had been thus concluded, and particularly by the establishment of a government in Florida,

Florida, which should preserve order there, the minister of the United States, who had been recently appointed to his catholic majesty, and to whom the ratification by his government had been committed to be exchanged for that of Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the department of state as soon as obtained, by a public ship subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratification by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause. It was stated, in reply, that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points, which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an envoy would be dispatched to the United States, to obtain such explanations of this government. The ministers of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point on which it might be desired; which proposal was declined. Having communicated his result to the department of state, in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the government of Spain, that, if the treaty should be ratified, and transmitted here at any time before the meeting of congress, it would be received, and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed: the authorized communication was made to the government of Spain, and by its answer, which has just been received, we are officially made acquainted, for the first time, with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the treaty by his catholic majesty. It is alleged by the minister of Spain,

that this government had attempted to alter one of the principal articles of the treaty, by a declaration which the minister of the United States had been ordered to present, when he should deliver the ratification by his government in exchange for that of Spain; and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged, that this government had recently tolerated or protected an expedition from the United States against the province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced his catholic majesty to withhold his ratification from the treaty, to obtain explanations respecting which, it is repeated that an envoy would be forthwith dispatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the government of Spain, will appear on a view of the following facts, and the evidence which supports them.

It will be seen, by the documents transmitted herewith, that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the eighth article, concerning certain grants of land recently made by his catholic majesty in Florida, which it was understood had conveyed all the lands which till then had been ungranted. It was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose, but for none other. The date of those grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article; indeed it must be obvious to all, that, if that provision in the treaty had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be altogether nugatory.

gatory. Immediately after the treaty was concluded and ratified by this government, an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the treaty, and that they would not of course be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case, so inconsistent with the intention of the parties, and the meaning of the article, induced this government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted, and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alleged, that this government had tolerated or protected an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to every such attempt within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the government, and the proceedings of the courts. There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind, that the government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the treaty. A treaty concluded in conformity with instructions is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set aside, without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such trans-

actions between nations. By this proceeding, the government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated, that a minister would be sent to ask certain explanations of this government. But, if such were desired, why were they not asked within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the treaty? If that were done, to what consequences might it not lead? At what time, and in what manner, would a new negotiation terminate? By this proceeding, Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States, which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation may dictate. In the course to be pursued, these objects should be constantly held in view, and have their due weight. Our national honour must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded of that regard for justice and moderation which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all, that if the United States had been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have no inducement to form this treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is open before them. But such a career is not consistent with the principles of their government, or the interests of the nation.

From a full view of all circumstances,

stances, it is submitted to the consideration of congress, whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain, claiming on their part all its advantages, and yielding to Spain those secured to her: By pursuing this course, we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned in the most solemn manner by Spain herself, by a treaty which she was bound to ratify; for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her; while, by confining ourselves within that limit, we cannot fail to obtain their well-merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed; our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects, we obtain all that is desirable.

But his catholic majesty has twice declared his determination to send a minister to the United States to ask explanations on certain points, and to give them, respecting his delay to ratify the treaty. Shall we act, by taking the ceded territory, and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the treaty before this minister arrives and is heard? This is a case which forms a strong appeal to the candour, the magnanimity, and honour of this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing; for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we cannot be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed

that the explanations which may be given to the minister of Spain will be satisfactory, and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate, in the most friendly manner, all differences with Spain, cannot fail to be duly appreciated by his catholic majesty, as well as by other powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law proposed for carrying the conditions of the treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation upon the responsibility of the executive, in such manner as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations as may be desired, during the present session of congress.

I communicate to congress a copy of the treaty and of the instructions to the minister of the United States in Madrid, respecting it; of his correspondence with the minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

In the course which the Spanish government have, on this occasion, thought proper to pursue, it is satisfactory to know that they have not been countenanced by any other European power. On the contrary, the opinion and wishes both of France and Great Britain have not been withheld, either from the United States or from Spain, and have been unequivocal in favour of the ratification. There is also reason to believe that the sentiments of the imperial government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the cabinet of Madrid.

In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere, the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, and on the same conditions, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favour of either to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favour of the colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains, unshaken, the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili and the provinces north of the La Plata, bordering on it; and likewise Venezuela.

This contest has, from its commencement, been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limits of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbours, without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this government to prevent that feeling leading to excess; and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state, that so strong has been the sense throughout the whole community, of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation, that few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

The distance of the colonies from the parent country, and the great extent of their population and resources, gave them advantages which, it was anticipated at

a very early period, it would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, consistency, and success, with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the favourable consideration of other nations. These sentiments on the part of the United States have not been withheld from other powers; with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world that the efforts of Spain to subdue those provinces will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination, it cannot be doubted that the opinion of friendly powers, who have taken no part in the controversy, will have their merited influence.

It is of the highest importance to our national character, and indispensable to the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented. No door should be left open for the evasion of our laws; no opportunity afforded to any who may be disposed to take advantage of it to compromise the interest or honour of the nation. It is submitted, therefore, to the consideration of congress, whether it may not be advisable to revise the laws, with a view to this desirable result.

It is submitted, also, whether it may not be advisable to designate, by law, the several ports or places along the coast, at which only foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The difficulty of sustaining the regulations of our commerce,

commerce, and of other important interests, from abuse, without such designation, furnishes a strong motive for this measure.

At the time of the negotiation for the renewal of the commercial convention between the United States and Great Britain, a hope had been entertained that an article might have been agreed upon, mutually satisfactory to both countries, regulating, upon principles of justice and reciprocity, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British possessions, as well in the West Indies as upon the continent of North America. The plenipotentiaries of the two governments, not having been able to come to an agreement on this important interest, those of the United States reserved for the consideration of this government the proposals which had been presented to them as the ultimate offer on the part of the British government, and which they were not authorized to accept. On their transmission here, they were examined with due deliberation, the result of which was, a new effort to meet the views of the British government. The minister of the United States was instructed to make a further proposal, which has not been accepted. It was, however, declined in an amicable manner. I recommend to the consideration of congress, whether further prohibitory provisions in the laws relating to this intercourse may not be expedient. It is seen with interest, that although it has not been practicable, as yet, to agree in any arrangement of this important branch of their commerce, such is the disposition of the parties, that each will view any regulations which the

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other may make respecting it, in the most friendly light.

By the 5th article of the convention concluded on the 20th of October 1818, it was stipulated that the difference which had arisen between the two governments, with regard to the true intent and meaning of the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, in relation to the carrying away, by British officers, of slaves from the United States, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace, should be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or state, to be named for that purpose. The minister of the United States has been instructed to name to the British government a foreign sovereign, the common friend to both parties, for the decision of this question. The answer of that government to the proposal, when received, will indicate the further measures to be pursued on the part of the United States.

Although the pecuniary embarrassments which affected various parts of the union during the latter part of the preceding year, have, during the present, been considerably augmented, and still continue to exist, the receipts into the treasury, to the 30th of September last, have amounted to 19,000,000 dollars. After defraying the current expenses of the government, including the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, payable to that period, amounting to 18,200,000 dollars, there remained in the treasury on that day more than 2,500,000 dollars, which, with the sums receivable during the remainder of the year, will exceed the current demands upon the treasury for the same period.

The causes which have tended

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to



to diminish the public receipts could not fail to have a corresponding effect upon the revenue which has accrued from imposts and tonnage, during the first three quarters of the present year. It is, however, ascertained that the duties which have been secured during that period exceed 18,000,000 dollars, and those of the whole year will probably amount to 23,000,000 dollars.

For the probable receipts of the next year, I refer you to the statements which will be transmitted from the treasury, which will enable you to judge whether further provision be necessary.

The great reduction in the price of the principal articles of domestic growth which has occurred during the present year, and the consequent fall in the price of labour, apparently so favourable to the success of domestic manufactures, have not shielded them against other causes adverse to their prosperity. The pecuniary embarrassments which have so deeply affected the commercial interests of the nation have been no less adverse to our manufacturing establishments, in several sections of the union.

The great reduction of the currency which the banks have been constrained to make, in order to continue specie payments, and the vitiated character of it where such reductions have not been attempted, instead of placing within the reach of these establishments the pecuniary aid necessary to avail themselves of the advantages resulting from the reductions of the prices of the raw materials and of labour, have compelled the banks to withdraw from them a portion of the capital heretofore advanced to

them. That aid which has been refused by the banks has not been obtained from other sources, owing to the loss of individual confidence, from the failures which have recently occurred in some of our principal commercial cities.

An additional cause of the depression of these establishments may probably be found in the pecuniary embarrassments which have recently affected those countries with which our commerce has been principally prosecuted.

Their manufactures, for the want of a ready or profitable market at home, have been shipped by the manufacturers to the United States, and, in many instances, sold at a price below their current value at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects. Uniformity in the demand and price of an article is highly desirable to the domestic manufacturer.

It is deemed of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufacturers. In what manner the evils adverted to may be remedied, and how far it may be practicable, in other respects, to afford to them further encouragement, paying due regard to all the other great interests of the nation, is submitted to the wisdom of congress.

The survey of the coast for the establishment of fortifications is now nearly completed, and considerable progress has been made in the collection of materials for the construction of fortifications in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Chesapeake Bay. The works on the eastern bank of the Potomac, below Alexandria, and on the Pea-

pach, in the Delaware, are much advanced; and it is expected that the fortification at the narrows, in the harbour of New York, will be completed in the present year. To derive all the advantages contemplated from these fortifications, it was necessary that they should be judiciously posted and constructed with a view to permanence. The progress hitherto has, therefore, been slow; but as the difficulties, in parts heretofore the least explored and known, are surmounted, it will in future be more rapid. As soon as the survey of the coast is completed, which, it is expected, will be done early in the next spring, the engineers employed in it will proceed to examine, for like purposes, the northern and north-western frontiers.

The troops intended to occupy a station at the mouth of the St. Peters, on the Mississippi, have established themselves there; and those which were ordered to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri, have ascended that river to the Council Bluffs, where they will remain until next spring, when they will proceed to the place of their destination. I have the satisfaction to state, that this measure has been executed in amity with the Indian tribes, and that it promises to produce, in regard to them, all the advantages which were contemplated by it.

Much progress has likewise been made in the construction of ships of war, and in the collection of timber and other materials for ship building. It is not doubted that our navy will soon be augmented to the number, and placed, in all respects, on the footing provided for by law.

The board, consisting of engi-

neers and naval officers, have not yet made their final report of sites for two naval depôts, as instructed according to the resolutions of March 18 and April 20, 1818; but they have examined the coast therein designated, and their report is expected in the next month.

For the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean, along the southern Atlantic coast, in the Pacific and Indian oceans, it has been found necessary to maintain a strong naval force, which it seems proper for the present to continue. There is much reason to believe, that if any portion of the squadron heretofore stationed in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, our intercourse with the powers bordering on that sea would be much interrupted, if not altogether destroyed. Such, too, has been the growth of a spirit of piracy in the other quarters mentioned, by adventurers from every country, in abuse of the friendly flags which they have assumed, that not to protect our commerce there, would be to abandon it as a prey to their rapacity. Due attention has likewise been paid to the suppression of the slave trade, in compliance with a law of the last session. Orders have been given to the commanders of all our public ships to seize all vessels navigated under our flag, engaged in that trade, and to bring them in, to be proceeded against in the manner prescribed by that law. It is hoped that these vigorous measures, supported by like acts by other nations, will soon terminate a commerce so disgraceful to the civilized world.

In the execution of the duty imposed by these acts, and of a high trust connected with it, it is with  
(Q 2) deep

deep regret I have to state the loss which has been sustained by the death of commodore Perry. His gallantry in a brilliant exploit in the late war added to the renown of his country. His death is deplored as a national misfortune.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington, 7th Dec. 1819.

#### SPAIN.

22.—The Spanish government on the 1st May inst. sent the following note to M. L. Montmorency, the French ambassador at Madrid :

The recent law, which re-establishes in France a previous censorship over all periodical works, evidently places them entirely at the disposal of government : yet, for all that, several of them have not ceased to display a spirit no less hostile to Spain than inconsistent with the sentiments of the age in which we live.

The Spanish government, equally strong in the glorious adhesion of a people worthy of the liberty for which they are indebted to their king, and in its conscious rectitude of the principles which direct it, despises, as they deserved to be despised, those productions, at once short-lived and violent, of a faction, which, affecting not to understand the advantages of the political system established in their own country, continues to feed itself with chimeras, and, breathing out impotent desires, incessantly prays for the resurrection of superannuated institutions incompatible with the intelligence of the age. At the same time the Spanish government cannot omit to call the attention of the enlightened cabinet of his most christian majesty to the melancholy results of such culpable conduct, because it

sees clearly that the object is to spread every where disquietude, fear, and distrust, by inventing stories of insurrection and dissension, and by thus alarming Europe with the impious echo of their mischievous predictions. No one is better able than your excellency, by the rank which you so worthily occupy, to appreciate how much bad faith and imposture such writers combine with the erroneous maxims of their politics. Your excellency, who sees Spain present a great spectacle of peace and concord, without any other alterations or difficulties than such as must necessarily be felt in a slight degree in a numerous family which changes its plan of managing its domestic affairs ;—your excellency, who is a witness of the sublime uniformity with which the Spanish people declared for the constitutional system, which promises them numberless days of tranquillity and of happiness ;—your excellency, who doubtless observes with a penetrating eye the salutary tendency of our fundamental laws, which, far from being the product of vain theories, are derived for the most part from our ancient laws of Castile, consecrated by time and experience, and which are equally separated from humiliating despotism and from the fury of a mad democracy ;—your excellency, in short, who doubtless admires the greatness of soul and the rare virtues displayed by a magnanimous king, cordially united with his faithful people and rejoicing in not possessing any other power than such as is necessary to govern in peace, and to labour effectually for their glory and happiness ;—your excellency yourself will be surprised at

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at reading in certain public papers, and certain despicable journals of France, that Spain is the prey of a handful of factious men, that she is now oppressed under the yoke of phrensied demagogues, that rivers of blood must yet flow, and that Europe is menaced with the sudden contagion of these frightful evils: such things would surprise your excellency, if any thing could excite surprise on the part of men who have the direction of such writings, and if indignation were not the only sentiment which they ought to excite.

But the Spanish government, unacquainted with the obscure methods of tortuous diplomacy, sure of the noble and unanimous wish for a fraternal union pronounced by the nation, is very far from wishing to demand from any government, laws of exception, laws of restraint, the extinction of intelligence, or, in short, any thing not conformable to the principles which it glories in professing. It will content itself with pointing out to the French cabinet that which its own good sense cannot fail to suggest—the ill effects which might result among two nations formed to reciprocally esteem each other, to see that, under the rules of a censorship dependent on ministerial authority, such gross calumnies are committed against a neighbour and a friend, whilst articles intended to counteract them, to elucidate concealed truth, and to support the cause of reason and justice, are rejected.

His catholic majesty, who has received from his august uncle so many proofs of tender affection, and who in return has answered

his most christian majesty with sentiments not less elevated—convinced that it cannot escape the high wisdom of that monarch, how important it is that the most cordial esteem and friendship should reign between two nations which paternal sceptres govern under analogous institutions, and which possess a multitude of common interests, has no doubt but that the French government will adopt the most efficacious means of preventing the breaking of those ties, and of tearing up those pernicious seeds which imprudent or culpable hands are sowing, in order to reap their bitter fruits. In presenting these observations by order of the king, I take this opportunity of renewing to your excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

#### COPY OF A MEMORIAL

Addressed to all the ministers of Russia, on the subject of the affairs of Spain.

The Chevalier de Zea Bermudez has presented to the imperial cabinet the annexed note, relative to the events which have just taken place in the peninsula, and of which we were already informed by the dispatches that were forwarded to us by our agents at foreign courts.

M. de Zea, in this document, confines himself to informing us, that the constitution promulgated by the Cortes in the year 1812 has been accepted by the king, and expresses a desire to know how the emperor has viewed this change of the government. If the distance which separates us from Spain and from the states which are best enabled to weigh maturely the nature of the disasters with

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which she is menaced be considered, it will be readily acknowledged that the position of the imperial ministry, with regard to the representative of the Spanish nation, was difficult and delicate.

The revolution of the peninsula fixes the attention of the two hemispheres; the interests which it is about to decide are the interests of the universe; and if ever the emperor wished that the opinions of his allies might conduce to regulate his own, it certainly was at the moment when the note of the chevalier de Zea imposed upon his imperial majesty the obligation of pronouncing upon an event which involves, perhaps, the future destinies of all civilized nations. This obligation, however, existed; for, in these days, every subject of doubt becomes an instrument of malevolence.

The necessity of replying to M. de Zea was, therefore, evident; but in this important conjuncture it appeared natural, that, previous to pronouncing an opinion, the emperor should consider the object which the allied powers proposed to themselves in their relations with Spain; that he should consult the views which they had expressed to that same power; and that he should take as a guide for his own, the principles of European policy. This is what his imperial majesty was bound to do; this is what he has done.

Since the year 1812, more than one diplomatic document attests the generous solicitude which the several courts of Europe have constantly manifested in behalf of Spain. They applauded the noble perseverance with which her intrepid people resisted a foreign

yoke. They rendered homage to their wisdom, when they rallied round a constitutional throne the dearest interests of their country—the interests of her independence. Finally, from the period when providence restored Ferdinand VII. to his people, they never failed to acknowledge that solid institutions could alone secure on its basis the ancient Spanish monarchy.

The allied sovereigns did more. In the course of long conferences, relative to the differences with Rio de la Plata, and to the pacification of the colonies, they let it be sufficiently understood, that these institutions would cease to be a means of peace and happiness, if, instead of being granted by kindness as a voluntary concession, they should be adopted by weakness as a last resource of salvation.

Let us investigate, on the other hand, the great transactions which established the European alliance.

What is the object of the engagements that were renewed on the (3d) 15th of November, 1813?

The allied monarchs had just then obliterated the last traces of the revolution in France; but that revolution seemed ready to produce new calamities.

The obligation of the monarchs was, therefore, and their design was, to prevent the same storm bursting from the same horizon a third time to desolate Europe.

Nevertheless, as if the alarms which were then excited by the state of France, and which it still excites, were not sufficient—as if governments and nations entertained but slight doubts with respect to its future condition—it was necessary that the genius of evil

evil should select a new theatre, and that Spain, in her turn, should be offered up as a fearful sacrifice. Revolution has therefore changed its ground, but the duties of monarchs cannot have changed their nature, and the power of the insurrection is neither less formidable, nor less dangerous, than it would have been in France.

In unison, therefore, with his allies, his majesty cannot but desire to see granted to the peninsula, as to its trans-marine provinces, a government which he considers as the only one that can yet justify some hope in this age of calamities. But in virtue of his engagements of the (3d) 15th of November, 1818, his majesty is bound to mark with the most forcible reprobation, the revolutionary measures set in action to give new institutions to Spain. Such is the twofold idea which is found developed in the answer which the cabinet of Russia has made to the chevalier de Zea, by order of his imperial majesty. The emperor does not doubt that his august allies will approve its contents, and perhaps they have already addressed similar sentiments to the court of Madrid. The same wishes may, in fact, have inspired the same language; and convinced, like his majesty, that crime must always yield pernicious fruit, they have, doubtless, deplored, as he has, the outrage which has recently tarnished the annals of Spain. We repeat it, this outrage is deplorable. It is deplorable for the peninsula—it is deplorable for Europe; and the Spanish nation now owes the example of an expiatory deed to the people of the

two hemispheres. Till this be done, the unhappy object of their disquietude can only make them fear the contagion of her calamities. Nevertheless, amidst all these elements of disaster, and when so many motives combine to afflict the real friends of the welfare of nations, may a better future still be looked for! Is there any wise and redeeming measure whose effect may be to reconcile Spain with herself, as well as with the other powers of Europe?

We dare not affirm it; for experience has taught us to consider almost always as an illusion, the hope of a happy event. But, if we might trust the calculations which personal interest would seem to indicate; if it were permitted to presume that the Cortes would consult the interest of their own preservation, it might be believed that they would hasten to extirpate, by a solemn measure, all that is culpable in the circumstances which accompanied the change of the administration in Spain. The interests of the Cortes are here identified with the interests of Europe. The misled soldiery who protected, may tomorrow assail them: and their first duty towards their monarch, towards their country, and themselves, seems to be, to prove that they will never consent to legalize insurrection. These are hopes which would not appear to be without some foundation. The emperor, however, is far from cherishing them; and if he admitted the possibility of a result so useful, he would make it depend upon the unanimity which might manifest itself in the opinion of the principal powers of Europe,

as to the act by which the representatives of the Spanish people ought to signalize the opening of their deliberations. This unanimity, always so powerful when it takes the character of an irrevocable deed, will perhaps carry conviction to the minds of the most eminent members of his catholic majesty; and the allied courts would seem to have an easy means of impressing upon their language such an imposing uniformity.

Their ministers in France have hitherto treated, in their name, with a plenipotentiary of the court of Madrid. Can they not now present to him, in common, observations, the summary of which follows, and which would recall to the Spanish government the conduct, as well as the political principles, of the allied monarchs?

"The monarchs," would say the five ministers, "have never ceased to entertain wishes for the prosperity of Spain. They will always entertain them. They have desired, that in Europe, as in America, institutions conformable to the progress of civilization, and to the wants of the age, might procure to all Spaniards long years of peace and happiness. They desire the same at this moment. They have wished that all these institutions should become a real blessing, by the legal manner in which they should be introduced. They now wish the same.

"This last consideration will convey to the ministers of his catholic majesty with what sentiments of affliction and grief they have learned the events of the 8th of March, and those which preceded it. According to their opi-

nion, the salvation of Spain, as well as the welfare of Europe, will require that this crime should be disavowed, this stain effaced, this bad example exterminated. The honour of such a reparation appears to depend upon the Cortes. Let them deplore, and forcibly reprobate, the means employed to establish a new mode of government in their country; and, in consolidating an administration wisely constitutional, let them adopt the most rigorous laws against sedition and revolt.

"Then, and only then, the allied cabinets will be able to maintain friendly and amicable relations with Spain."

These observations, urged in common by the representatives of the five courts, would, from thenceforth, demonstrate to the Spanish ministry the conduct which the allied governments would observe in case the consequences of the 8th of March should perpetuate in Spain trouble and anarchy. If these salutary counsels be listened to; if the Cortes offer to their king, in the name of the nation, a pledge of obedience; if they succeed in establishing, upon durable bases, the tranquillity of Spain, and the peace of Southern America, the revolution will have been defeated at the very moment when it thought to obtain a triumph.

If, on the contrary, alarms, perhaps too reasonable, be realized, at least the five courts will have discharged a sacred duty; at least a new occurrence will have developed the principles, indicated the object, and displayed the scope of the European alliance.

The emperor awaits the answer of the courts of Vienna, London, Berlin,

Berlin, and Paris, to the communications which his ministers have addressed to him on the subject. He informs them that the present memorial is the instruction which he has caused to be dispatched to all his ministers on the subject of the affairs of Spain.

#### PORTUGAL.

Proclamation from the provisional junta of supreme government of the kingdom, to the Portuguese.

If the agitation which pervaded the several nations of Europe shook their thrones, your army saved the country; immortalizing its name, it is not less meritorious that it should have removed it from the abyss into which it was precipitated, by the almost total loss of the national representation.

An inconsiderate administration, full of error and vice, had overwhelmed the nation with every species of evil, violating our rights and immunities, breaking down our privileges and liberties, and profaning those laudable customs which have characterised us since the establishment of the monarchy, and which were perhaps the most sure pledges of our social virtues.

Love of one's country sacrificed to egotism, was no more than a vain name in the mouths of those persons who filled the highest offices in the nation, whose only object was the attainment of wealth and power, as the reward of their crimes, their ignorance, and want of experience in conducting the affairs of the state. It is by these means that we are deprived of our commerce, industry has ceased to exist, agriculture has decayed, and

our ships have become rotten; a few days only were wanting ere we should have lost the last trading vessel, and the ruin of our navigation, for which we were so famous in the time of our former glory, would have followed:—then we ploughed the ocean, inspecting the coasts, frequenting ports without opposition, and spreading over astonished and envying Europe the precious commodities of the east, and the riches of both worlds.

The source of national prosperity being thus dried up, the necessary consequence was the loss of our dearest interests; and to crown our evils, our adorable sovereign determined to leave us. Portuguese! from that fatal day we calculate our misfortunes. We have lost every thing; and we should even be deprived of our name, so famous in the annals of history, if we did not show that we still possess the same constancy with which we have suffered so many calamities, by the heroic resolution we have this day taken.

Our ancestors were happy, because they lived in fortunate ages, when Portugal boasted of a representative government and a cortes of the nation, when prodigies of valour were performed, while the people obeyed the laws which were wisely enacted, laws which were advantageous to all, because they were obligatory on all. Then it was that the nation made Africa tremble, that it conquered India, and astonished the known world, to which it added another, extending still further the renown of its prowess. Never did religion, the throne, and the country in general, obtain such important acquisitions; never did it pos-



ness greater glory or more solid greatness; all those honours continually flowing in from the constitution of the state, because it maintained the rights of the sovereign and of the subject in perfect equilibrium, making the nation and its chief one family, in which all were united for general happiness.

Let us then have that constitution, and we shall be again happy. Our lord John VI., our adored monarch, has omitted to give it to us, because he is ignorant of our desires; there is now not time to ask him for it, for the evils which we have suffered, and have still to endure, require a prompt remedy.

Let us convoke the cortes in imitation of our ancestors, and let us expect, from their wisdom and firmness, those measures which can alone save us from perdition, and secure our political existence. The desire of the nation and the army requires the adoption of this measure, which has been already too long retarded. In the glorious plains of Orique the army raises its voice, and the monarchy appears; this day the forces express their determination to save from destruction those precious depositories confided to their protection, and maintained by their valour, invincible for ages past.

Portuguese!—The step which you have just taken for your future happiness was necessary, was even indispensable, and your miserable condition fully justified your proceedings. Do not therefore be intimidated, for you certainly do not betray the sentiments of your natural fidelity. The world knows well that our determination was not the effect of personal hatred,

or of any disaffection to the august house of Braganza. United with the whole nation, we are taking measures to strengthen the bonds of love, of respect, and of allegiance, for we are most closely connected to the dynasty of the immortal John IV., and the virtues which adorn the heart of the most dearly beloved of his descendants, assure us that he will unite his endeavours with ours, making happy a nation which has performed so many acts of heroism in order to adorn his forehead with the crown of the Lusitanian empire.

The change which we have brought about does not attack the essential parts of the monarchy. Our holy religion will gain strength by the improvement of morals, until this day unfortunately abandoned, and will ensure the felicity of this and future ages.

The laws of the kingdom religiously observed, will secure private property, and the nation will preserve for every one the peaceful enjoyment of his rights, because it does not wish to destroy but to increase them.

No one shall be molested for his political opinions or past conduct; and the wisest measures will be taken to avoid disturbance, which might be occasioned by dislike, or the accomplishment of private revenge.

Portuguese!—Be assured of the good intentions which animate us. Chosen to watch over your destinies until the arrival of that day, when, completely represented, you will establish another form of government, we shall use our best endeavours to merit the confidence placed in us; and if the result shall be as we expect, the  
adop-

adoption of a constitution, it will no narch and yours, and will be the most  
doubt secure the rights of the mo- glorious recompense for our labours.  
Palace of government, August 24, 1820.

(Signed)

President..... Antonio da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca.

Vice President..... Sebastiao Drago Velente de Brito Cabreiro.

For the Clergy..... Luis Pedro de Andrada e Brederode-Dean.

For the Nobility..... Pedro Leiste Pereira da Mello.

For the Magistrates.... Manuel Fernandes Thomaz.

For Commerce..... Francisco Jose de Barros Lima.

For the province of } Jose Maria Xavier de Araeijo.

Minho..... } Joao da Cunha Sollo-Mayor.

Jose Ferriera Borges,

Jose da Silva Carvalho,

Francisco Gomez da Silva,

} Secretaries.

#### PROCLAMATION.

The governor-general of the arse-  
nals of the division of Oporto,  
to the people of the same divi-  
sion, and the troops stationed in  
it, and the nation.

Portuguese!—The day of glory  
and national independence has at  
last dawned. A government cho-  
sen by the people is appointed;  
and speedily the same cortes, which  
existed at the time of the glorious  
restoration of the Portuguese name,  
(but of which a feeble administra-  
tion has bereft us) secured our in-  
dependence, and the throne of the  
most serene house of Braganza.  
We are now about to confer equal  
benefits; securing, in the most  
solid manner, a constitution ana-  
logous to our customs, and which  
will protect us from the vices  
which despotism is sure to intro-  
duce into the most useful institu-  
tions of the state. Wait quietly,  
I entreat you, the glorious desti-  
nies which are preparing for you.  
Confide in the government which  
the nation has chosen, and let every  
one perform willingly that to  
which he may be invited by his  
country. Exclaim with me, “Long  
live our good king John VI.”—  
“Long live our sacred religion!”—

“Long live the cortes!” and by its  
means the Portuguese constitu-  
tion.

(Signed)

PHILIPPE DE SOUZA CANAVARRO,  
Lieutenant-general, &c.

Head-quarters, Oporto, Aug. 25.

#### PROCLAMATION.

The governors of the kingdom  
of Portugal and Algarves to  
the corps of the army who have  
erred from their duty.

Valiant soldiers, who have suf-  
fered yourselves to be deluded!  
After having maintained, with  
your blood, the rights of religion,  
of the throne, and of the country  
—after having, in the midst of  
dangers and privations, astonished  
the nations of Europe by the glo-  
rious deeds which you performed  
in a war without parallel—it is in  
the bosom of peace, in the centre  
of your families, and in your own  
homes, that insidious seduction  
makes you lose the merit which it  
has cost you so much to acquire,  
by staining your hitherto unsul-  
lied fidelity.

The governors of the king-  
dom, if they employed force and  
the means which his majesty placed  
in their hands, and which are sup-  
ported by the loyalty and brave  
conduct

conduct of the troops and the provinces of Tra-los-Montes, Beira, Estremadura, and Alentejo, and of the kingdom of Algarva, when the applications made to them by the pretended supreme junta were received with the contempt which they merited, they would soon make you know into what a melancholy situation the authors of your error have led you; but, convinced of the paternal tone of our mild monarch, and how painful it would be to him to have Portuguese blood spilt, they grant you in his royal name an entire pardon.

Considering that the officers and soldiers of the corps which have erred, failed, rather out of obedience to their commanders than with the intention of withdrawing from their allegiance to the lawful government of their sovereign, they do not offer rewards to those who shall return to their duties, it being unworthy of a Portuguese that such a stimulus should make troops return to their duty who never were mercenary; but they offer the clemency of their monarch, and perfect oblivion of the inconsiderate steps of which they have been guilty, to all those who shall promptly abandon the unjust party to which they have unhappily suffered themselves to be attached, and shall join the faithful corps which are the nearest to them.

The officers of the misled corps, who shall promptly concur in causing the said corps to return to their proper obedience, shall not only be pardoned, but also especial consideration shall be had of the merit of their resolution.

Lisbon, in the palace of the government, Sept. 2, 1820.  
The cardinal PATRIARCH.

Marquis de BORBA.

Conde de PENICHE.

Conde de FERRIA.

ANTONIO GOMEZ RIBEIRO.

PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of the city of Oporto, and other Portuguese, who by their example have suffered yourselves to be led astray! —The governors of the kingdom, the sole depositories of the royal authority in the absence of our beloved sovereign, have just given the nation the most evident proof of the paternal sentiments of his majesty, by adopting in his royal name the resolution to convoke the Cortes, in the persuasion that this means will fill with satisfaction all the provinces of the kingdom, and, above all, those which founded on this desire the error into which they have been led. They hope that this resolution will be the signal of general union and concord—persuaded that it is only from sinister intentions or manifest infatuation, that every one can refuse obedience to a government, the legitimate representative of the king our master, when it adopts the legal means to meet the complaints, the wishes of the nation, and is firmly and sincerely determined to carry its resolution into effect with all possible promptitude.

Portuguese! who were deluded—show to your countrymen, to all Europe, that your momentary error did not arise from want of loyalty or from ambitious projects; and do not give ear to the perfidious instigations which may be made you. Remember that the first duty—the first wish of every Portuguese—is to maintain the independence of the monarchy, and its unity, indissoluble.

The

The governors of the kingdom solemnly promise, in his majesty's name, entire amnesty to those who return promptly to their duty, and submit to the lawful government; declaring, besides, that in every case, secure of the loyal sentiments of the great majority of the Portuguese, they are resolved to cause the authority of his majesty to be recognised in the whole kingdom.

(Signed by the governors of the kingdom.)

Lisbon, Sept. 7.

PROCLAMATION.

The governors of the kingdom to the loyal and valorous Portuguese army.

Commanders, officers, and soldiers, of the heroic Portuguese army! who were the admiration of Europe, the terror of the enemy, and the firm support of the independence of our country—listen now to the voice of that same country which calls to you, that after having saved it by your valour in the obstinate struggles of war, you may save it by your unchangeable loyalty from the horrors of civil war and from anarchy.

Yes, generous Portuguese soldiers, it is in the name of our country, in the name of our king, that the governors of the kingdom now address you. They entrust to the great majority of the Portuguese army the preservation of the public tranquillity, of the unity of the monarchy, and of obedience to the legitimate government; and deploring the momentary blindness of a part of the same army, which has unfortunately suffered itself to be misled, they offer an entire amnesty, persuaded that your noble example will open their

eyes and re-unite them to the only legitimate centre, from which the happiness and liberty of the Portuguese nation can emanate.

Soldiers! The governors of the kingdom, as organs of the sentiments of our august sovereign, have just convoked the Cortes, and are labouring with the greatest activity to accelerate their meeting.

You will shortly see united the three estates of the kingdom, conformably to the fundamental laws of our monarchy. This is the only legal means of consulting the wishes of the nation, of listening to its complaints, and of adopting the permanent measures necessary to re-establish the ancient edifice of our constitution, decayed by the lapse of time. The king and three estates of the kingdom—clergy, nobles, and people—are the majestic columns which are to support it. Let us not be deluded by the ambition which disguises itself under specious pretences. We all desire the amelioration necessary for the prosperity of the monarchy, but we desire a reform and not a revolution; the effects of which would be the subversion of this same monarchy, the dissolution of the various parts which compose it, and, in the end, its subjection to a foreign yoke—frustrating the efforts which you made for its independence in the field of battle.

Soldiers! Do not give ear to the suggestions of the evil-minded, who endeavour by every means to inspire you with unjust distrust in the government, and to excite the army to which it belongs to defend the king and the nation violently—to dictate laws which, to be prudent and permanent, ought only to emanate from the deputies

ties of the nation and from the throne.

The governors of the kingdom assure you, and time will shortly prove, that they are firmly resolved to fulfil the solemn promise which they made. Do not credit those who insidiously suggest to you that the government seeks to gain time by announcing the convocation of the Cortes, and that it calls in the aid of foreign troops to silence the voice of the Portuguese. The governors of the kingdom assure you that they neither expect, nor have asked, nor are inclined to receive such aid; they abhor the idea of seeing the blood of their countrymen shed in a civil war, and only trust you will assist in fulfilling the most sacred duty of maintaining unimpaired the unity of government which is lawfully intrusted to them—continue to be by your loyalty, as well as by your valour, the example and the envy of foreign nations; the greatest glory, the greatest happiness await you; the sovereign and the nation will owe to you their safety, and our posterity will bless your names. God save the king.

Lisbon, in the palace of the government, Sept. 6, 1820.

The cardinal PATRIARCH.

Marquis de BORBA.

Conde de PENICHE.

Conde de FERRIA.

ANTONIO GOMEZ REBEIRO.

#### NAPLES.

#### PROCLAMATION OF THE KING, JULY 6.

The general wish of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies for a constitutional government having manifested itself, we consent to this of our full and entire will, and

promise to publish the basis in the space of eight days.

Till the publication of the constitution the existing laws shall continue to be in vigour.

Having thus satisfied the public wish, we order the troops to return to their corps, and every individual to his ordinary occupation.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

The secretary of state, minister, chancellor,

(Signed) Marquis TOMMASI.

Naples, July 6, 1820.

#### DECREE OF THE NOMINATION OF THE NEW MINISTERS.

Ferdinand, &c.

We have resolved to decree, and do decree as follows:—

Art. 1. We name secretary of state, minister of foreign affairs, the duke di Campo Chiaro.

2. We name secretary of state, minister of grace and justice, and of ecclesiastical affairs, the count di Carmadoli, don Francisco Ricciardi, and during his temporary absence the counsellor of chancery, baron don Francisco Maghano, shall be charged with the portfolio.

3. We name secretary of state, minister of finances, the marquis don Felice Amati.

4. We name secretary of state, minister chancellor the marquis don Guacchino Ferreri, and, in his absence, his functions will be discharged by the oldest regent of the supreme council of the chancery.

5. We name in place of the captain-general Nugent, lieutenant-general baron don Michale Carascosa.

6. Till the secretary of state, minister of the interior, shall be named, the duke di Champo Chiaro shall discharge its functions.

7. All the ministers, secretary of

of state, are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

The secretary of state, minister chancellor,

(Signed) Marq. TOMMASI.

ACTS OF CESSION OF THE KING TO  
THE DUKE OF CALABRIA.

Ferdinand, &c.

My very dear and well-beloved son, Francis, duke of Calabria,

In consequence of indisposition, and the advice of my ministers, being obliged to abstain from all serious application, I should think myself wanting in my duty, and guilty before God, if under these circumstances I did not provide for the government of the kingdom in such a manner that the most important affairs may take their course, and that my indisposition may not be injurious to the public cause. Having determined from these motives to transfer the burden of government until the moment when it shall please God to restore me to a state of health necessary to support it, I cannot do better than confide it to you, my very dear and well-beloved son, as well because you are my legitimate successor, as on account of the knowledge I have acquired of your mind and capacity.

I make you in consequence, and I constitute you, of my full and entire will, in my kingdom of the Two Sicilies, my lieutenant-general, as you have heretofore been in the territory of Naples, and in that beyond the Pharos; and I transmit and grant to you, with the unlimited clause of *Alter Ego*, the exercise of every right, prerogative, pre-eminence, and faculty, in the same manner as they would be exercised by myself in person.

And in order that my will may be universally known and executed, I order that this paper, signed with my own hand, and sealed with my royal seal, shall be kept and registered by our secretary of state, minister, chancellor, and that you cause to be transmitted a copy of it to all the counsellors and secretaries of state, in order that they may make it known to whom it concerns.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

Naples, 6th July, 1820.

NEW PROCLAMATION OF THE  
KING, OF THE 7TH JULY.  
Ferdinand, &c.

We having given to our well-beloved son all the faculties necessary to provide for the government of our kingdom, by declaring him our lieutenant-general, with the *Alter Ego*; he has already arranged the bases of the constitution which he promised, taking for a model that adopted by the kingdom of Spain in 1812, which was sanctioned by his catholic majesty in the month of March last, saving the modifications which the national representatives, constitutionally convoked, may think it expedient to propose, in order to adapt it to the particular circumstances of our states. We confirm this act of our well-beloved son, and we promise to observe the constitution on our faith and royal word, reserving to ourselves to swear to it in a solemn manner, in the presence of the provisional junta, which, conformably to that established in Spain, shall be appointed by our well-beloved son and lieutenant-general, and afterwards in the presence of the general parliament, as soon as it shall be lawfully assembled.

We ratify, also, by these present,

sents, all the subsequent acts which shall be done by our well-beloved son, for the execution of the constitution, and afterwards of the faculties and full powers which we have confided to him. We declare that all that shall be thus done shall be regarded by us as if done by ourself and of our own proper motion.

(Signed) FERDINAND.  
Naples, 7th July, 1820.

PROCLAMATION OF THE DUKE OF CALABRIA, OF THE 7TH JULY.

Ferdinand, &c.

We, Francis, duke of Calabria, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with the *Alter Ego*.

By virtue of the act dated yesterday, by which his majesty, our august father, has transmitted to us, with the unlimited clause of the *Alter Ego*, the exercise of all rights, prerogatives, pre-eminences and faculties, in the same manner as they can be exercised by his majesty.

In consequence of the decision of his majesty to give a constitution to the state,

Wishing to manifest our sentiments to all his subjects, and to second at the same time their unanimous wish,

We have resolved to decree, and do decree, as follows :

Art. 1. The constitution of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies shall be the same that was adopted for the kingdom of Spain in 1812, and sanctioned by his catholic majesty in March 1820, saving the modifications which the national representation, constitutionally convoked, shall consider it suitable to propose, in order to adapt it to the particular circumstances of the states of his majesty.

2. We reserve to ourselves to adopt and make known all the arrangements which may be necessary to facilitate and accelerate the execution of the present decree.

3. All our ministers secretaries of state are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) FRANCIS, lieut-gen.  
Naples, 7th July 1820.

DECREE FOR THE FORMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL JUNTAS.

Ferdinand, &c.

We Francis, hereditary prince and lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in virtue of the authority which has been given to us by our august father and sovereign :

Having in our act of the 6th instant proclaimed for our states, and promised to swear to the constitution formed in 1812 for Spain :  
Wishing solemnly to fulfil our promise, and to convoke, with the shortest possible delay, the national parliament of our kingdom, according to the forms of the above cited constitution :

Wishing that all the acts which should precede the convocation of the parliament may emanate from persons honoured with the public confidence—

We have resolved to decree, and do decree, as follows :

“Art. 1. There shall be a provisional junta, composed of fifteen members, and before whom we, and all the princes of our family, shall take the oath to the new constitution of the monarchy—an oath which shall be repeated before the national parliament after its legitimate convocation.

2. Until the installation of the national parliament we will consult the provisional junta respecting all the affairs of government,  
and

and we will publish all the acts agreed upon with that junta.

3. In order that the choice of those who are to compose that junta may fall upon persons the most eligible by their merit, and the most capable of fulfilling our wishes and those of the nation, we appoint the lieutenant-general D. Giuseppe Parisi, the chevalier D. Melchios Delfico, the lieutenant-general D. Floristano Pepe, the baron D. Davide Winspeare, and the chevalier D. Giacinti Martucci, who, assembled in committee, shall present to us a list of twenty other persons, from amongst whom we shall choose ten, who, joined to those above named, shall form the junta charged with the functions above indicated.

4. Our minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present decree.

Naples, July 9, 1820."

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COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

*Troppau, Nov. 20, 1820.*

Sir, my brother, and very dear father-in-law,

Unhappy circumstances have prevented my receiving the letters addressed to me by your majesty during a period of four months. The events, however, to which these letters have probably related, have not ceased to occupy my most serious meditations, as well as those of the allied powers assembled at Troppau to deliberate in unison on the consequences with which these events menace the rest of the Italian peninsula, and perhaps the whole of Europe.

In determining on this common consultation, we have only

acted in conformity with the transactions of 1814, 1815, and 1818—transactions of which your majesty, as well as Europe at large, knows the character and object, and upon which that tutelary alliance is founded, solely designed to guaranty from all attain the political independence and territorial integrity of all its states, and to ensure the repose and prosperity of Europe at large, by the repose and prosperity of each of the countries of which it is composed. Your majesty then cannot doubt that the object of the cabinets assembled here is, to reconcile their interest and well-being (the enjoyment of which the paternal solicitude of your majesty would lead you to desire for your people,) with the duties of the allied monarchs to their own states. But my allies and myself should feel happy to fulfil their solemn engagements, with the co-operation of your majesty; and we now, faithful to the principles we have proclaimed, demand this co-operation. It is solely with this view that we propose to your majesty, to assemble with us in the city of Laybach. Your presence, sir, we are sure, will hasten a reconciliation almost indispensable; and it is in the name of the dearest interests of your kingdom, and with that watchful solicitude of which we believe that we have given more than one testimony to your majesty, that we now write you, to receive new proofs of the true friendship which we bear you, and of that frankness which forms the basis of our policy.

Receive the assurance of the distinguished consideration, and unalterable attachment with which I am,

(R)

Your



Your majesty's true brother, son-in-law and ally,

(Signed) FRANCIS.

Letters were also addressed to the king of Naples by the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, but precisely in the same terms.

ADDRESS BY FERDINAND I. BY THE GRACE OF GOD, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MONARCHY, KING OF THE TWO SICILIES, &c. TO HIS FAITHFUL DEPUTIES OF THE PARLIAMENT.

The sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, united in congress at Troppau, have sent me three letters, in which they invite me to repair in person to Laybach, to form part of a new congress to be held in that place.

You will collect from the letters themselves, copies of which will be laid before you by my ministers for foreign affairs, the importance of the object of such an invitation, which is that of interposing myself as mediator between the above-named sovereigns and the nation. Deeply penetrated with the circumstances under which we are placed, and desirous to make any sacrifice to establish the happiness of the nation on a solid basis, I turn with avidity to every expedient that presents to me the hope of effecting that object. Consequently, I am resolved to overcome all the obstacles offered by my advanced age and the rigour of the season, and to comply promptly with the invitation, since the above-named sovereigns have caused it to be declared to me, that there can be no other medium for treating, even were it one of the princes of my royal family. I set out with the confidence that divine providence will afford me the means of giving the last proof of my

love for you, in saving the nation from the scourge of war. Far be the thought from me and from you, that the adoption of this project can make me compromise the good of my people; and in parting from you I owe it to myself to give you a new and solemn guarantee. I declare then to you, and to the nation that has resolved to make every exertion for the enjoyment of a liberal and wise constitution, that, whatever measures circumstances may exact relatively to our actual political state, all my efforts will be directed, that it may remain for ever fixed upon the following basis:

1. That the individual and real liberty of my beloved subjects may be secured by a fundamental law of the state.

2. That birth shall confer no privileges in the composition of the legislative body of the state.

3. That no taxes shall be imposed without the consent of the nation in its legislative representation.

4. That the accounts of public expenditure shall be referred to the nation itself, and to its representatives.

5. That laws shall be made in accord with the national representatives.

6. That the judicial power shall be independent.

7. That the press shall remain free, except from the operations of laws enacted against the abuses of its liberty.

8. That the ministers be responsible.

9. That the civil list shall be fixed.

I further declare that none of my subjects shall ever receive molestation on account of past political events. My faithful deputies, in taking on me this care to convince

vince you of my love and solicitude for the nation, I desire that a deputation of four members, selected from the parliament, may accompany me, and be witnesses of the dangers that threaten, and the endeavours that may be made to enslave us. It is necessary, however, that until the termination of these negotiations, parliament do not propose any new measure in the different branches, but that affairs may remain in the state in which they are at present, limit its care to the part it is already called on to take in the organization of the army, and that all the arrangements dictated by time and circumstances, may continue in the new year, as they were fixed in that which is about to expire. It is my decided wish that the greatest economy in expenditure may

be adopted in all the departments, as soon as the situation of affairs will permit. I leave with you in parting all that I hold most dear. You will continue to feel those sentiments of attachment which you have ever professed for my royal family. I confirm my beloved son, the duke of Calabria, in his functions of my vicar-general, as expressed in my acts of the 6th July and 11th October of this year. I am convinced that you will receive this communication as a proof of my sentiments for you, and of that necessity which obliges us to prefer the salvation of our country to every other secondary interest.

FERDINAND.

Naples, Dec. 7. 1820.

The duke of Campochiaro, secretary of state, and minister for foreign affairs.

#### NEAPOLITAN BUDGET.

The following budget of the income and expenditure of the kingdom of Naples has been submitted to the Neapolitan parliament :

INCOME.				Ducats.
Direct contribution	..	..	..	7,430,835
Indirect taxes	..	..	..	6,745,800
Communal twentieths	..	..	..	142,000
Lottery	..	..	..	1,000,000
Registration and stamps	..	..	..	450,000
Post-office	..	..	..	120,000
Extraordinary receipts	..	..	..	130,000
Waters and woods	..	..	..	56,000
Discount fund	..	..	..	90,000
Two and a half per cent.	..	..	..	150,000
Bank of Apulia	..	..	..	740,000
Forfeitures	..	..	..	25,150
Revenue of Sicily	..	..	..	2,190,000
Arrears from Sicily	..	..	..	83,948
Other items amounting to	..	..	..	27,200
Total				19,380,734
This amount may be augmented				4,817,200
by ameliorations in the financial system, by which the				
indirect taxes alone may be raised to ten millions.				24,197,934
In which the expenses of collection are not included				156,805

EXPENDITURE.

EXPENDITURE.				Ducats.
Department of foreign affairs	..	..	..	390,000
justice and worship	..	..	..	792,195
finance	..	..	..	6,993,886
interior	..	..	..	2,467,960
war	..	..	..	7,642,000
marine	..	..	..	1,800,000
police	..	..	..	194,212
Chancery	..	..	..	74,613
Stamp-office and posts	..	..	..	660,000
Sum total				21,014,866
This expenditure may, by a saving of				4,211,049
be reduced to				16,803,817
Let this sum be deducted from the income, and there				
will remain a surplus of				7,394,117
To which may be added various incidental items of re-				
venue, amounting to				1,105,882
Thus the extent of revenue over expenditure may				
amount to				8,500,000

**LITERARY RETROSPECT**

**AND**

**SELECTIONS.**



# RETROSPECT AND SELECTIONS

RELATIVE TO

LITERATURE, ARTS, AND SCIENCES, THE  
FINE ARTS, AND THE DRAMA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

NO kind of reading is more delightful and instructive than Biography, even when it is written with very moderate talent, provided it be sufficiently minute in its details, and those details either exhibit individual character, or show in what manner it was formed. With respect to the mere execution of this species of literature; the French are much more perfect than the English; those among them who write biography take great pains in the composition of their works; but, though thus we rise from the perusal with a higher opinion of the writer, we do not get so well acquainted with the person whose life is written, as we generally do in reading English biography.

The year 1820 has been richer in biography than many preceding years;—for it is not at present a very usual species of composition. We shall enumerate and shortly criticise the most celebrated works of this kind which have been pub-

lished during that period, and give extracts from some of them.

1. "Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, esq., begun by himself, and concluded by his Daughter Maria Edgeworth," 2 vols. The popularity, and, what is much higher praise, the practical good sense and utility of miss Edgeworth's works, have thrown a celebrity not only over her, but over all her family; and though Mr. Edgeworth was himself an author, we feel more interest about him as the father of miss Edgeworth, than on his own account.

The first volume of this work is written by Mr. Edgeworth; and exhibits a striking and, we believe, an accurate likeness of his manners, temper, opinions and habits, none of which, we must confess, impress us with a very high opinion of him; and did we form that opinion exclusively by the picture he has drawn of himself, we should class him among the vain, unsteady, and not very re-

A 2      spectable,

#### [4] L I T E R A R Y R E T R O S P E C T

spectable, useful or amiable members of society. In the second volume, however, his character rises; and as an Irish landlord, beloved and respected by his Irish tenantry and improving their character and condition, by his precepts, advice, example and exertions, we must say that he almost deserves the very high praises accumulated on him by his affectionate daughter. With respect to the literary merit of this work—the first volume is light, lively and amusing; the second volume, though it contains some very acute and judicious remarks, is rather heavy and tiresome. We subjoin an extract from the first volume.

“In one of my journeys from Hare Hatch to Birmingham, I accidentally met with a person, whom I, as a mechanic, had a curiosity to see. This was a sailor, who had amused London with a singular exhibition of dexterity. He was called Jack the Darter. He threw his darts, which consisted of thin rods of deal, of about half an inch in diameter, and of a yard long, to an amazing height and distance; for instance, he threw them over what was then called the New Church in the Strand. Of this feat I had heard, but I entertained some doubts upon the subject; I had inquired from my friends where this man could be found, but had not been able to discover him. As I was driving towards Birmingham in an open carriage of a singular construction, I overtook a man, who walked remarkably fast, but who stopped as I passed him, and eyed my equipage with uncommon curiosity. There was something in his manner, that made me speak to him; and, from the sort of questions he asked about

my carriage, I found that he was a clever fellow. I soon learned, that he had walked over the greatest part of England, and that he was perfectly acquainted with London. It came into my head to inquire, whether he had ever seen the exhibition, about which I was so desirous to be informed. ‘Lord, sir!’ said he, ‘I am myself Jack the Darter.’ He had a roll of brown paper in his hand, which he unfolded, and soon produced a bundle of the light deal sticks, which he had the power of darting to such a distance. He readily consented to gratify my curiosity; and after he had thrown some of them to a prodigious height, I asked him to throw some of them horizontally. At the first trial he threw one of them eighty yards with great ease. I observed, that he coiled a small string round the stick, by which he gave it a rotary motion, that preserved it from altering its course; and at the same time it allowed the arm, which threw it, time to exercise its whole force.

“If any thing be simply thrown from the hand, it is clear, that it can acquire no greater velocity than that of the hand which throws it; but if the body that is thrown passes through a greater space than the hand, whilst the hand continues to communicate motion to the body to be impelled, the body will acquire a velocity nearly double to that of the hand which throws it. The ancients were aware of this, and they wrapped a thong of leather round their javelins, by which they could throw them with additional violence. This invention did not, I believe, belong to the Greeks; nor do I remember its being mentioned by Homer

Homer or Xenophon. It was in use among the Romans; but at what time it was introduced or laid aside, I know not. Whoever is acquainted with the science of projectiles will perceive, that this invention is well worthy of their attention."

2. "The Life of John Wesley: by Robert Southey." 2 vols. All who have read Southey's Life of Nelson will take up this work with no common degree of interest and expectation; but if they look forward to a biography equally excellent, they will, we think, be disappointed. It may be that the subject and materials do not possess an equal degree of interest; and yet we cannot help thinking that the life of such a man as Wesley, and the history of the rise and progress of such a sect as that of the methodists, must be fertile in all those minute details which give a charm to biography, as well as in those incidents from which philosophy derives some of her most valuable and important principles and lessons.

It appears to us that Mr. Southey has extended his work beyond its proper limits, by admitting long and tedious illustrations of some of the peculiar tenets of the methodists: but even where the work is confined to the life of Wesley, and the history of methodism, Mr. Southey does not succeed in carrying the reader along with him so completely as he does in his life of Nelson. The style has not that old fashioned simplicity and sterlingness, or that raciness, which, springing from an intellect and feeling purely British, is so delectable to those who are sick with modern style,—that distinguish and recommend most

of this authors prose compositions.

The following extract is very striking: "The first sermon which Wesley preached was upon these strong words: 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;' and though he himself had not yet reached the same stage in his progress as his more ardent coadjutor, the discourse was so high strained, that he was informed that he was not to preach again in that pulpit.

"This was on the second day after his arrival in London. On the next Sunday he preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and there also was informed that he was to preach no more. In the course of the week he went to Oxford, whither Peter Boehler accompanied him, and where he found only one of the little society which he had formed there; the rest having been called to their several stations in the world. During these days he conversed much with the Moravian, but says, that he understood him not; and least of all when he said, *Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua Philosophia*. Ere long, being with his mother at Salisbury, and preparing for a journey to his brother Samuel at Tiverton, he was recalled to Oxford by a message that Charles was dying there of a pleurisy: setting off immediately upon this mournful summons, he found him recovering, and Peter Boehler with him. Boehler possessed one kind of philosophy in a higher degree than his friend: the singularity of their appearance and manner excited some mockery from the under graduates, and the German, who perceived that Wesley was annoyed by it chiefly on his account, said, with a smile, *Mi*



*frater, non adheret vestibus,*—‘it does not even stick to our clothes.’ This man, a person of no ordinary powers of mind, became Wesley’s teacher : it is no slight proof of his commanding intellect, that he was listened to as such ; and by him, ‘in the hands of the great God,’ says Wesley, ‘I was clearly convinced of unbelief,—of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.’ A scruple immediately occurred to him, whether he ought not to leave off preaching,—for how could he preach to others who had not faith himself ? Boehler was consulted whether he should leave it off, and answered, ‘By no means.’ ‘But what can I preach ?’ said Wesley. The Moravian replied, ‘Preach faith till you have it ; and then, because you have it, you will preach faith.’ Accordingly he began to preach this doctrine, though, he says, his soul started back from the work.”

3. “Memoirs of Granville Sharp, esq. : by Prince Hoare.” If Mr. Wesley’s life is interesting as essentially connected with the rise and progress of methodism, the life of Mr. Sharp is also interesting, though not to an equal degree, as connected with the abolition of the slave trade. The interest, however, of this work would have been greatly heightened, if a more judicious use had been made of the materials, which were supplied to the author from Mr. Sharp’s own manuscripts and other authentic documents. The selection ought to have been more strict and careful ; this would have diminished the bulk of the volume, without in the least diminishing its value or interest : and when a more strict and careful selection of

the materials had been made, the arrangement ought to have been more attended to, and greater care ought to have been taken in the composition. We select a curious extract, relative to a conversation he had with Omai, a native of one of the Sandwich Islands brought over to this country by captain Cook.

“Of one of his conversations with Omai he has left the following singular relation, of which it may be doubted whether the sense, simplicity, or virtue be most to be admired. It is extracted from an address to the Maroons in the new English settlement at Sierra Leone, delivered to Mr. Dawes, the governor, at the court of directors, November 13, 1800, on the subject of their polygamy.

“..... ‘With respect to the particular point upon which I now address you, it was this ‘perfect law of liberty, which enabled me many years ago (in March 1776) to convince a pagan native of the very distant island of Ulaietea, Mr. Omai, a black man, who by custom and education entertained as inveterate prejudices in favour of keeping several wives, as any Maroon or African whatsoever. But though he was entirely ignorant of our religion, yet he had a good share of that natural knowledge of good and evil which is inherited by all mankind since the fall of our first common parents ; a knowledge which they wilfully took upon themselves, contrary to God’s command, and which, of course, has rendered every man guilty before God, because we do not always act consistently with that assumed knowledge ; which, however, may direct us to regain what we have lost, if we persevere  
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in making a right use of it, by choosing the good and rejecting the evil ; but more especially by choosing and preferring, before all other considerations, the supreme good, which includes a perfect love of God, and a grateful acceptance of the means he has freely given us to partake of the divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), and become sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ (Rom. viii. 14—19 ; 1 John iii. 2).

“ ‘ This is the first branch of the perfect law of liberty ; and we cannot possibly attain it, if we neglect to measure our conduct towards our neighbours by the second branch of the same royal law\*, which enabled Mr. Omai (when it was fairly stated to him upon the case in question) to condemn, with full conviction of the truth, the injustice of his former opinions against the rights of women.

“ ‘ When sitting with him at table one day after dinner, I thought it a good opportunity to explain to him the ten commandments. I proceeded with tolerable success in reciting the first six commandments. He had nothing to object against any of them, though many explications were required before he understood all the terms ; and he freely nodded his assent. But when I recited the seventh commandment, ‘ Thou shalt not commit adultery,’ he said, ‘ Adultery ! what that ? what that ?’

“ ‘ Not to commit adultery,’ I said, ‘ is, that, if a man has got one wife, he must not take another wife, or any other woman.’— ‘ Oh !’ says he, ‘ two wives—

very good ; three wives—very, very good.’—‘ No, Mr. Omai,’ I said, ‘ not so : that would be contrary to the first principle of the law of nature.’—‘ First principle of the law of nature,’ said he ; ‘ what that ?’—‘ The first principle of the law of nature,’ I said, ‘ is, that no man must do to another person any thing that he would not like to be done to himself. And for example, Mr. Omai,’ said I, ‘ suppose you have got a wife that you love very much ; you would not like that another man should come to love your wife.’ This raised his indignation : he put on a furious countenance, and a threatening posture, signifying that he would kill any man that should meddle with his wife. ‘ Well, Mr. Omai,’ said I, ‘ suppose, then, that your wife loves you very much ; she would not like that you should love another woman ; for the women have the same passions, and feelings, and love toward the men, that we have toward the women ; and we ought, therefore, to regulate our behaviour toward them by our own feelings of what we should like and expect of faithful love and duty from them toward ourselves.’

“ ‘ This new state of the case produced a deep consideration and silence, for some time, on the part of Mr. Omai. But he soon afterwards gave me ample proof that he thoroughly comprehended the due influence of the law of liberty, when it is applied to regulate, by our own feelings, the proper conduct and behaviour which we owe to other persons. There was an inkstand on the table, with several

“ ‘ The royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’ ” James ii. 8.

pens in it. He took one pen, and laid it on the table, saying, 'There lies lord S——' (a nobleman with whom he was well acquainted, and in whose family he had spent some time); and then he took another pen and laid it close by the side of the former pen, saying, 'and there lies Miss W——' (who was an accomplished young woman in many respects, but, unhappily for herself, she lived in a state of adultery with that nobleman): and he then took a third pen, and placing it on the table at a considerable distance from the other two pens, as far as his right arm could extend, and at the same time leaning his head upon his left hand, supported by his elbow on the table in a pensive posture, he said, 'there lie lady S——, and cry!'

"Thus it is plain that he thoroughly understood the force of the argument from the law of liberty, respecting the gross injury done to the married lady by her husband in taking another woman to his bed.

"There was no need to explain the rights of women any further to Mr. Omai on that occasion."

4. "Memoirs of the Life, Writings, &c. of John Owen, D.D.: by William Orme." There is more sterlingness of intellect and of moral and political character, in the literary and public men who lived between the age of queen Elizabeth, and the restoration of Charles II., than among those of any other period of our history. In the earliest parts of this period, vigour of intellect and grandeur and luxuriance of imagination were conspicuous; afterwards to those were united wonderful learning, acquired by

long continued and laborious study, of which the present age can hardly believe the possibility. During the civil wars, there was another feature in public men, which honourably distinguished them from the violent reformers of the 19th century; they were exemplary and even rigid in their private life; and though mistaken in what they conceived to be for the national good, and in the means by which it might be attained, we have no doubt that they were sincere, and aimed singly at this object, unmixed with any notions or hopes of private aggrandizement.

Dr. Owen is most honourably distinguished among the celebrated men, who lived during the civil wars, for more political and religious tolerance than most of his contemporaries displayed. On this account, as well as on account of his connexion with Cromwell, who, from admiration of his pulpit abilities, took him over to Ireland as his chaplain; and as a writer, all whose works show most extensive and solid reading, though they are principally on subjects of controversial divinity,—we are glad to receive this biography of him. It is executed with great care, and is written with that feeling of respect for his character, which naturally infuses life and interest into biography.

5. "Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, &c.: by Oliver Cromwell, esq. a descendant of the family." We do not recollect ever to have perused a work compiled in a more injudicious manner than this life of Cromwell. In the first place, though it is said to be illustrated

trated by original letters and other family papers, these amount to a very few pages, in a quarto volume extending to 733 pages. In the second place, every thing relating to Cromwell, supplied by Hume, Noble, Harris, &c. is extracted, and huddled together (if the expression may be used) with scarcely a connecting link of observation or fact supplied by the author; and lastly, even these borrowed materials are not arranged in chronological or any other order that we can discover. Hence the reader is bewildered, and perplexed, and wearied, and at length shuts the book in utter despair. The only use of this work therefore will be to save any future biographer of Cromwell the labour of consulting the works from which it is made:—it is a huge quarry, from which, with labour and judgement, may be extracted useful and valuable materials. Even the few original letters and documents which are given, are of comparatively little interest.

6. "Memoirs of the private Life, the Return and the Reign of Napoleon: by M. Fleury de Chaboulon, ex-secretary to the emperor." Every thing published respecting Bonaparte by those who had access to him in private and familiar life, proves that he was a most singular character; and that though as a military man, a conqueror and a despot, he may be paralleled; yet, if we unite his private with his public character, we do not think any near or strong resemblance to him can be found in ancient or modern times.

If any doubt respecting the truth of this remark existed, we think it will be completely done away by the work before us, which

is one of the most interesting regarding Bonaparte's character and habits we ever read, independently of its merit as an historical document. The narrative of a colonel Z.'s visit to Bonaparte in Elba possesses extraordinary interest.

7. "Memoirs of the Life of Andrew Hofer, containing an Account of the Transactions in the Tyrol during the Year 1809: taken from the German, by Charles Henry Hall." The translator of this work finds fault with his original, because, though professing to be a life of Hofer, Hofer is so little noticed in it; and likewise on account of its want of lucid arrangement, and its involved style. And we certainly agree with him in thinking that the work is not worthy of Hofer: too little is said of him; and in what is said, justice is not done him. We extract a character of him, and an account of his death.

"Hofer was in his forty-seventh year when the insurrection first broke out in the Tyrol; he was of Herculean make, with black eyes and brown hair—he stooped considerably, having been accustomed from his youth to carry heavy burthens over the mountains: in his ordinary walk his knees were bent, but his step though slow was firm—his voice was soft and pleasing—his countenance, though not generally animated, was expressive of great good-humour, particularly when he smiled; when he prayed, his eyes were raised to heaven with the humility and resignation of a christian.

"His education was superior to that of the generality of people in his station of life; and from his frequent

frequent intercourse with travellers, as well as from the traffic which he carried on in wine and horses, he had acquired a competent knowledge of the Italian language, which he spoke fluently, but in the Venetian dialect; he was popular through the whole country for his integrity, his unaffected religion, his attachment to ancient customs, and his dislike of all innovation.

"He wore the dress of his country, with some trifling variation,—a large black hat with a broad brim, adorned with black ribbons, and a black curling feather—a short green coat, red waist-coat, over which were green braces, a broad black girdle with a border—short black breeches with red or black stockings, and occasionally boots; he wore a small crucifix with a large silver medal of St. George—to which were afterwards added a large gold medal and chain sent him by the emperor; it is not true that he ever received the cross of Maria Theresa, or obtained any rank in the Austrian army.

"But that which was most remarkable in the appearance of Hofer was his long black beard which reached to his girdle, and which, particularly when he rode on horseback, had an extraordinary effect. It had been an ancient custom for the innkeepers in these valleys to allow their beards to grow; but Hofer had been principally induced to cherish his in consequence of a wager of two oxen which he had made with some of his friends.

"In his disposition he was phlegmatic, fond of ease and tranquillity, averse from every new and rash proceeding, and only to be

roused to action by his respect for the ancient customs of his native country. He was cheerful and good tempered, slow in decision, confined in his information, confused in his projects, superstitious like the rest of his countrymen, and accessible to the grossest flattery; his head, indeed, was turned by his unexpected good fortune in being raised to a rank for which his own talents had not qualified him. He was easily urged to strong measures, the performance of which, however, was usually prevented by the natural mildness of his disposition; and when his national pride or patriotism was roused, the unaffected manner in which he expressed himself appealed most powerfully to the feelings of his hearers. He was wholly destitute of dissimulation; and generally convinced by the last speaker, especially when he had found the way to his heart. The mention of a victory gained by Austria, or in the cause of his native country—an allusion to the old times of the Tyrol—an enthusiastic word in favour of the sacred person of the emperor, or of the archduke John, so dear to every Tyrolean—were appeals which had too powerful an effect on the feelings of Hofer; and he, who, according to the testimony of those who attended him, conducted himself in his last moments '*come un eroe cristiano e martire intrepido*,' was for some time bathed in tears and unable to utter a word.

"In personal courage Hofer was certainly not deficient; he has sufficiently proved it by the manner in which he exposed himself for the sake of his country; but though it may appear incredible, it is a well known fact, that he never

never was in action but once during the whole of 1809, but was usually to be found (even during the two decisive battles near Innspruck, on the 29th of May, and the 12th of August) carousing in a public house. He was incapable of directing a march, attack, or indeed any disposition of his troops, although much might naturally have been expected from the complete knowledge which he possessed of the country: and, in allusion to the superstitious weakness of his character, he has been described leading his troops with a rosary in one hand, and a bottle in the other.

“He had a great antipathy to night watching, and was particularly annoyed when business interrupted his conviviality. With Hormayr (who was always actively employed, who devoted even his nights to business, and was never at rest until he had possessed himself of the most advantageous posts,) Hofer was constantly at variance. Once, indeed, he had nearly paid dear for his devotion to the bottle. In the beginning of August, general Rouyer advanced with the Saxon contingent to Sterzing, and had already possessed himself of Gossensass, where Hofer had dined and was still sitting at table, before he could be prevailed on to move; till at last, when part of the town was blown up, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat from the back of the house without his hat, and with the greatest difficulty escaped by the Gasteig to Passeyr.”

“On the 22d of December several of the Tyrolese chiefs were shot, for having borne arms after

the publication of a proclamation. By Baraguay d'Hilliers.

“The sudden disappearance of Hofer in the mean time had given rise to innumerable contradictory rumours and conjectures. Many believed that he had followed the example of Speckbacher and his companions, and escaped over the mountains into Austria, and they expected to hear intelligence of him soon from that quarter; others were persuaded that he had actually been seen at Vienna; and some few rightly conjectured that he was concealed in the Tyrol. The place of his concealment, in which he remained from the end of November to the end of January following, was a solitary alpine hut, four long leagues distant from his own home, at times inaccessible from the snow which surrounded it; a few faithful adherents supplied him from time to time with the food that was necessary for himself and his family, and more than once he was visited by confidential messengers from the emperor of Austria, who used every entreaty to make him quit his abode and follow them to Austria, assuring him at the same time a safe conduct through the enemy's army. But Hofer steadily refused all their offers, and expressed his determination never to abandon either his country or his family. He adhered tenaciously to all his old attachments and habits, and even resisted the urgent entreaties of his friends, who endeavoured to persuade him to cut off his beard, from an apprehension that it would lead to a discovery of his person. At length, the traitor Donay, once his intimate friend, allured by the flattering promises

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of the French, basely persuaded a man who had been intrusted with the secret, to betray him to Baraguay d'Hilliers, and captain Renouard of the 44th regiment was appointed to the command of 1600 men to take him prisoner. Besides this force, which appears enormous when we consider that it was intended merely for the capture of one unfortunate man, who, situated as he was, could not hope to defend himself, 2000 more were ordered to be in readiness to assist them, so fearful were they of some attempt being made to rescue him.

"The column began their march at midnight over ice and snow, and at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 20th of January Hofer and his family were made prisoners. It was dark when the French approached the hut; but as soon as he heard the officer inquire for him, he came intrepidly forward and submitted to be bound.

"He was then marched, together with his wife, his daughter, and his son, who was 12 years old, through Meran to Botzen, amidst the shouts of the French soldiery, and the tears of his countrymen. At Botzen he met with kinder treatment; Baraguay d'Hilliers gave orders that he should be removed to a more commodious prison, and that less rigour should be used against him. The French officers also did all in their power to alleviate the pain of his confinement by such attentions as it was in their power to bestow, in return for the kindness with which he had always treated his prisoners. While at Botzen he requested forgiveness of several persons whom he feared he had offended, but was answered

only by their tears; and having parted with his family, whom he was fated never to see again, he was hurried off under a strong escort to Mantua.

"From his long confinement, in his miserable retreat, and his coarse food, his appearance was much altered, and his hair had become more grey; but his spirit was as untamed as ever, and his countenance in the midst of the gloom which surrounded him preserved to the last the same expression of cheerfulness and serenity. He did not however expect the sentence which was passed upon him, but continued to hope that his innocence and the justice of his cause would protect him.

"On his arrival at Mantua, a court-martial was immediately holden for the purpose of trying him, of which general Bisson, then governor, was appointed president; on comparing the votes, a great difference of opinion was found to prevail as to the nature of his sentence; the majority were for confinement; two had the courage to vote for his entire deliverance; but a telegraph from Milan decided the question, by decreeing death within twenty-four hours, thus putting it out of the power of Austria to render him any assistance.

"Berthier, who was then at Vienna, excited universal indignation by the hypocritical manner in which he affected to pity him; he ventured even to affirm that it would cause great pain to Napoleon, who would never have permitted such a proceeding had he been aware of it. Hofer received his sentence of death with the same unshaken firmness that had marked

marked his character throughout, and requested that a priest might be allowed to attend him ; which was immediately complied with. To this priest (Manifesti), who never quitted him till the moment of his death, he delivered his last adieu to his family, conversed with him of the Tyrolese war, with great eagerness, and constantly expressed his confidence that the Tyrol would sooner or later return to the government of Austria.

"The fatal morning of his execution now arrived. As the clock struck eleven the generale sounded, a battalion of grenadiers was drawn out, and the officers who were to attend the execution entered his prison. As he came from thence he passed by the barracks on the Porta Molina, in which the Tyrolese were confined ; all who were there fell on their knees, put up their prayers and wept aloud. Those who were at large in the citadel assembled on the road by which he passed, and, approaching as near as the escort permitted them, threw themselves on the ground and implored his blessing. This Hofer gave them, and then begged their forgiveness for having been the cause of their present misfortunes, assuring them at the same time that he felt confident they would once again return under the dominion of the emperor Francis, to whom he cried out the last "vivat" with a clear and steady voice. He delivered to Manifesti, the priest, every thing he possessed, to be distributed amongst his countrymen ; this consisted of 500 florins in Austrian bank notes, his silver snuff-box, and his beautiful rosary ; a few moments before his death he also delivered to this faithful atten-

dant his small silver rosary, which he constantly carried about him.

"On the broad bastion, at a little distance from the Porta Ceresa, the commanding officer halted his men. The grenadiers formed a square open in the rear ; twelve men and a corporal stepped forward, while Hofer remained standing in the centre. The drummer then offered him a white handkerchief to bind his eyes, and told him that it was necessary to kneel down ; but Hofer declined the handkerchief, and peremptorily refused to kneel, observing, "that he was used to stand upright before his Creator, and in that posture he would deliver up his spirit to him." He cautioned the corporal to perform his duty well, at the same time presenting him with a piece of twenty kreutzers ; and having uttered a few words by way of farewell, expressive of his unshaken attachment to his native country, he pronounced the word "Fire" with a firm voice. His death, like that of Palm, was not instantaneous, for on the first fire he sunk only on his knees ; a merciful shot, however, at last dispatched him. The spot on which he fell is still considered sacred by his countrymen and companions in arms.

"His body, instead of being allowed to remain for some time on the place of execution, as was usual on such occasions, was borne by the grenadiers on a black bier to the church of St. Michael, where it lay in state, and a guard of honour appointed to watch it, that the people might see that the much dreaded Barbone (or general Sanvird as the French used to call him) was really no more. The funeral then took place ; and  
by



by the solemnity with which it was conducted, it appeared as if the French were anxious to compensate for the injury they had done him when alive, by the honours they paid to him now dead. His family were permitted to depart for Austria, and the emperor immediately gave them a pension of 2000 florins, and a sum of money to enable them to settle; but his widow could not prevail upon herself to abandon her native country, and, in spite of the offers made to her by the court of Austria, preferred returning to her old habitation in the valley of Passeyr. His son was also handsomely provided for.

"Thus perished Hofer in the prime of life. Amidst the numerous crimes that stain the name of Napoleon, there is not one of a deeper dye than the murder of Hofer. With all his faults, all his irresolution, and contradictory conduct, when we reflect that Hofer was a simple, uneducated village inn-keeper, who opposed for some time with success the enormous power of France and Bavaria, with an army of undisciplined peasants, we cannot contemplate his conduct without astonishment and admiration. It is true that his name will not occupy a conspicuous place in the page of general history; but in his own country, by those who knew and could estimate his merits, as well as by those who had experienced his power or his kindness, it will never be forgotten.

"By his companions and countrymen, he was regarded as the hero, the saviour of his country. His faults were forgotten in his victories; and his name is never mentioned in the Tyrol at this day

without tears of grateful affection and admiration.

"A simple tomb has been erected to his memory on the Brenner, at a short distance from his own habitation; it contains no other inscription than his name, and the dates of his birth and death. The record of his actions is left to be transmitted, as it doubtless will be to the latest posterity, in the popular stories and rude ballads of the mountaineers, who love and revere his name as a model of disinterested loyalty and devoted attachment to his native land."

8. "Recollections and Reflections, personal and political, as connected with public Affairs during the Reign of George III.: by John Nichols." The father of Mr. Nichols was a physician at the court of George II. Mr. Nichols himself, after having been in three parliaments, retired to Thoulouse, where he wrote this work at the age of 77. It abounds in curious anecdotes, some of which display the imperfect memory of age, and others strong private partialities and antipathies; though in politics it is extremely impartial. The remarks that are interspersed are judicious, but many of them occur more than once. We select short anecdotes of Burke, whom Mr. Nichols does not seem to have liked—of sir P. Francis, and of George II.

"Soon after Mr. Edmund Burke became a political character, he, and his cousin William Burke, embarked in a speculation in India stock. They prevailed on many of their friends to join them; among others, on earl Verney, who fell a victim to this connexion. They used much solicitation with sir Joshua Reynolds

to

to join them, but he was dissuaded from it by Anthony Chamier, for which Anthony Chamier, as he told me himself, was never forgiven by the Burkes. This speculation was at first extremely successful, but at last it failed. William Burke, and lord Verney, were announced as the defaulters; and Edmund Burke's name was concealed. William Burke was sent to India, and a situation at the court of the rajah of Tanjore obtained for him. Other advantages in India were also obtained for this gentleman.

"When the coalition came into power, Mr. Burke saw that much strength might be acquired for his party, by the seizure of India patronage. With this view Charles Fox was employed to bring in the India bill, generally known by the name of Fox's India bill. But I am firmly persuaded that Mr. Fox had nothing to do with the formation of this bill. It was prepared by Mr. Edmund Burke, whose only assistant in it was Mr. Pigot, afterwards sir Arthur Pigot. Mr. Lee, at that time attorney general, and sir James Mansfield, at that time solicitor general, both assured me, that they never saw the bill, until it was printed for the use of the house of commons. They doubted whether Charles Fox himself had seen the bill before the essential parts of it had been completely arranged by Mr. Burke. Lord North certainly did not see it until the bill was completed; and when it was shown him, he said with his usual pleasantry and sagacity, 'that he thought it a good receipt to knock up an administration.'"

"Mr. Francis was a man of considerable abilities. He was a very superior classical scholar; and he was capable of laborious application. Strong resentment was a leading feature in his character. I have heard him avow this sentiment more openly and more explicitly than I ever heard any other man avow it in the whole course of my life. I have heard him say publicly in the house of commons, 'Sir Elijah Impey is not fit to sit in judgement on any matter where I am interested, nor am I fit to sit in judgement on him.' A relation of the ground of this ill will may be amusing. Mrs. LeGrand, the wife of a gentleman in the civil service in Bengal, was admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Francis. This gentleman, by means of a rope-ladder, got into her apartment in the night. After he had remained there about three-quarters of an hour, there was an alarm; and Mr. Francis came down from the lady's apartment by the rope-ladder, at the foot of which he was seized by Mr. LeGrand's servants. An action was brought by Mr. LeGrand against Mr. Francis, in the supreme court of justice in Calcutta. The judges in that court assess the damages in civil actions, without the intervention of a jury. The gentlemen who at that time filled this situation, were sir Elijah Impey chief justice, sir Robert Chambers, and Mr. justice Hyde. I was intimate with the first and the third from early life; having lived with them on the western circuit. On the

the trial of this cause, sir Robert Chambers thought, that as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But he afterwards proposed to give thirty thousand rupees, which are worth about three thousand pounds sterling. Mr. justice Hyde was for giving a hundred thousand rupees. I believe that Mr. justice Hyde was as upright a judge as ever sat on any bench ; but he had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the crime imputed to Mr. Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was of opinion, that although no criminal intercourse had been proved, yet that the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. LeGrand in entering his wife's apartment in the night, and thereby destroying her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal damages. He thought the sum of thirty thousand rupees, proposed by sir Robert Chambers, too small ; and that proposed by Mr. Hyde, of a hundred thousand, too large. He therefore suggested a middle course, of fifty thousand rupees. This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues. When sir Elijah Impey was delivering the judgement of the court, my late friend, Mr. justice Hyde, could not conceal his eager zeal on the subject ; and when sir Elijah named the sum of fifty thousand rupees, Mr. justice Hyde, to the amusement of the bystanders, called out, 'Siccus, brother Impey ;' which are worth eleven per cent, more than the current rupees. Perhaps this story may not be thought worthy of relation ; but it gave occasion to that animosity which Mr. Francis publicly avowed against sir Elijah Impey ; and the criminal charge

afterwards brought against him in the house of commons, was the offspring of that animosity. I will follow up this anecdote by mentioning the consequences of the action brought by Mr. LeGrand. The lady was divorced : she was obliged to throw herself under the protection of Mr. Francis for subsistence. After a short time she left him, and went to England. In London she fell into the company of M. Talleyrand Perigord. Captivated by her charms, he prevailed on her to accompany him to Paris, where he married her ; and thus the insult, which this lady received from Mr. Francis, and the loss of reputation, which was, perhaps unjustly, the consequence of that insult, eventually elevated her to the rank of princess of Benevento."

"George II., while electoral prince of Hanover, had served in the duke of Marlborough's army, and had given distinguished proofs of personal courage : but I believe that this was the only military qualification which he possessed. He had neither literature nor taste, but a strong sense of decorum. I will mention a little anecdote as a proof of this. The duke of Richmond of that day was one of the king's chief companions. A doctor of divinity of the duke's acquaintance, eminently learned, had acquired a knack of imitating the caterwalings of a cat. The duke had no taste for his friend's learning ; but he took great pleasure in hearing him imitate the cat. He had often talked to the king of this uncommon talent which his friend possessed, and had pressed his majesty to allow him to place this gentleman behind

behind his chair, one day at dinner, that he might himself judge of his extraordinary power of imitation. The king at last consented; and this learned man was one day placed behind the king's chair, while he was at dinner. The king was for some time amused with his various imitations; he at last turned round to see the gentleman, when he received a bow from a gentleman full dressed in canonicals. The king was so shocked at the sight, that he could not refrain from saying to the duke of Richmond, 'Do take him away: I cannot bear buffoonery from a man in such a dress.' If this may not be mentioned as a proof of the king's good taste, it may at least serve to show that he had a strong sense of decorum."

9. "Private Correspondence of David Hume." We have often been surprised that no competent life of Hume has been published. Materials for his private life are still numerous, though we imagine many have perished with his contemporaries, and some of those materials are extremely interesting: but independently of them, the author of the History of England,—the man who gave a stronger and bolder impulse to

the human mind on subjects of political economy, taste, and metaphysics, than most men have done,—surely deserves that his life should be written in a competent manner.

Nearly the whole of the letters which appear in this volume have been published before; it possesses therefore little novelty; but, independently of this consideration, it cannot fail to interest all who love to read the private correspondence of celebrated men.

10. "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Luis de Camoens: by John Adamson." So little is known in this country of Portuguese literature, that any publication which throws light upon it must be acceptable; and this volume, which gives the life of the greatest ornament of that literature, must be peculiarly acceptable. Mr. Adamson writes with good taste, though rather in a feeble and prolix manner. His translations of some of the smaller pieces of the Portuguese poet will convey to the English reader a more fair and just idea of his manner, and thoughts, than they could derive from the too highly polished and luxuriant translations published by lord Strangford some years ago.

## CHAPTER II.

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

**P**UBLICATIONS of this description continue to abound more than any others; they generally appear in handsome quarto volumes, adorned with *taking*, if not well executed, or interesting engravings. In consideration of these circumstances, and because they are written with little elaboration of learning or research, as compared with the Travels that appeared a century ago, they are among the most popular publications of the day. The journal of the traveller, just as he kept it; his personal adventures, and notices of antiquities, scenery and manners, abound in these volumes much more than elucidations of natural history, or comprehensive views of the various branches of statistics.

In noticing more particularly the Travels which appeared in the year 1820, we shall class them according to the countries to which they relate.

## 1. AFRICA.

1. "Travels in Nubia, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt." These travels possess a deep and melancholy interest, from the indications they afford, how extremely well qualified the author of them was to have penetrated into the interior of Africa, if his life had been spared. But just as he had, by severe labour, and after

undergoing many hardships, prepared himself for this arduous undertaking, he died. The present volume, therefore, is confined to what may be called his preliminary researches and travels: it comprises the life and travels of Burckhardt; next follows a journey along the banks of the Nile, from Assouan to Mahass, on the frontiers of Dongola; then a description of a journey from Upper Egypt through the deserts of Nubia to Berber and Souakin, and from thence to Djidda in Arabia; and the whole concludes with an appendix, containing an Itinerary from the frontiers of Bornou, by Bahr el Ghazal, and Darfour, to Shendy—some notices of Soudan—vocabularies of the Borgho and Bornou languages—and a translation of the notices on Nubia in Makrizi's history of Egypt: the whole illustrated with maps and other elucidations.

2. "Narrative of the Operations and recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia; and of a Journey to the Coast of the Red Sea, in search of the ancient Berenice, and another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon: by G. Belzoni." The discoveries made by Mr. Belzoni in his journeys resemble many of the pictures of palaces, &c. in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments more than any details

tails of sober reality ; and had he not particularized by name well known individuals who witnessed these discoveries, and were we not moreover promised models of the most interesting and important of them, we should, we confess, almost be disposed to suspect his accounts were highly coloured. We abstain from laying before our readers extracts relating to the discovery of the Egyptian temple, and the tomb of one of the ancient Egyptian kings, because they have appeared in most of our popular and extensively read periodical publications, and therefore cannot be presumed to be unknown to them. In the work itself we cannot promise them any thing equally surprising and curious ; but the whole we can safely recommend as fuller of novel matter respecting Egypt than any book we know,—as written in a manner and style which interest us for its author, independently of the interest derived from his discoveries ; and, in short, as exhibiting a most gratifying and decided proof of what may be done and overcome by zeal, perseverance, presence of mind, and good sense, united.

3. " Travels to the Sources of the Senegal and Gambia : by M. Mollien." M. Mollien was sent by the French government to discover the sources of the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger ; to ascertain if any communication existed between the two former ; to descend the Niger, to traverse Bambouch, and visit its gold mines ; and to return by way of Galam. The more novel and difficult parts of this expedition he was not able to execute ; he has however added considerably to our knowledge of

the geography of this part of Africa—having ascertained the sources of the Gambia and the Rio Grande to be distinct, though very near each other, and having explored the source of the Senegal. The information he received respecting the Niger agrees with that which all the natives of this part of Africa, and the travellers to Timbuctoo, give—viz. that it falls into the Nile. Except in a geographical point of view, M. Mollien's work is not entitled to much praise : many of his adventures and accounts are tinctured with egotism or the marvellous.

4. " An Account of a Journey from Fas to Timbuctoo, performed in or about the Year 1787 : by El Hage Abd Shabeeny." Shabeeny is a mussulman, a native of Tetuan, who at the age of 14 accompanied his father to Timbuctoo : here they resided three years, and then proceeded to Housa : their residence in this place was for two years, when they returned to Timbuctoo, resided seven years there, and then came to Tetuan. From this account it is evident that this person, if in the least intelligent, and to be depended upon, is extremely well calculated to give information respecting a part of Africa scarcely known to Europeans. Mr. Lucas, the British consul at Tetuan, was well acquainted with him, and the information this work contains was obtained through Mr. Lucas, in answer to questions put by Mr. Beaufoy. It is a very important work, clear in its details, and, as far as internal evidence goes, entirely worthy of credit. We annex a few extracts relative to Timbuctoo and Housa.

" On the east side of the city of

Timbuctoo there is a large forest, in which are a great many elephants. The timber here is very large. The trees on the outside of the forest are remarkable for having two different colours; that side which is exposed to the morning sun is black, and the opposite side is yellow. The body of the tree has neither branches nor leaves, but the leaves, which are remarkably large, grow upon the top only: so that one of these trees appears, at a distance, like the mast and round top of a ship. Shabeeny has seen trees in England much taller than these: within the forest the trees are smaller than on its skirts. There are no trees resembling these in the emperor of Marocco's dominions. They are of such a size that the largest cannot be girded by two men. They bear a kind of berry about the size of a walnut, in clusters consisting of from 10 to 20 berries. Shabeeny cannot say what is the extent of this forest, but it is very large. Close to the town of Timbuctoo, on the south, is a small rivulet in which the inhabitants wash their clothes, and which is about two feet deep. It runs in the great forest on the east, and does not communicate with the Nile, but is lost in the sands west of the town. Its water is brackish; that of the Nile is good and pleasant. The town of Timbuctoo is surrounded by a mud wall: the walls are built tabia-wise as in Barbary, viz. they make large wooden cases, which they fill with mud, and when that dries they remove the cases higher up till they have finished the wall. They never use stone or brick; they do not know how to make bricks. The wall is about 12 feet high, and

sufficiently strong to defend the town against the wild Arabs who come frequently to demand money from them. It has three gates; one called Bab Sahara, or the gate of the desert, on the north: opposite to this, on the other side of the town, a second, called Bab Neel, or the gate of the Nile: the third gate leads to the forest on the east, and is called Bab el Kibla. The gates are hung on very large hinges, and when shut at night, are locked, as in Barbary; and are further secured by a large prop of wood placed in the inside slopingly against them. There is a dry ditch, or excavation, which circumscribes the town, (except at those places which are opposite the gates,) about 12 feet deep, and too wide for any man to leap it. The three gates of the town are shut every evening soon after sunset: they are made of folding doors, of which there is only one pair. The doors are lined on the outside with untanned hides of camels, and are so full of nails that no hatchet can penetrate them; the front appears like one piece of iron.

"The town is once and a half the size of Tetuan, and contains, besides natives, about 10,000 of the people of Fas and Marocco. The native inhabitants of the town of Timbuctoo may be computed at 40,000, exclusive of slaves and foreigners. Many of the merchants who visit Timbuctoo are so much attached to the place that they cannot leave it, but continue there for life. The natives are all blacks: almost every stranger marries a female of the town, who are so beautiful that travellers often fall in love with them at first sight."

"Timbuctoo is governed by a native

native black, who has the title of sultan. He is tributary to the sultan of Housa, and is chosen by the inhabitants of Timbuctoo, who write to the king of Housa for his approbation. Upon the death of a sultan, his eldest son is most commonly chosen. The son of a concubine cannot inherit the throne ; if the king has no lawful son (son of his wife) at his decease, the people choose his successor from among his relations. The sultan has only one lawful wife, but keeps many concubines : the wife has a separate house for herself, children, and slaves. He has no particular establishment for his concubines, but takes any girl he likes from among his slaves. His wife has the principal management of his house. The sultan's palace is built in a corner of the city, on the east ; it occupies a large extent of ground within an inclosure, which has a gate. Within this square are many buildings ; some for the officers of state. The king often sits in the gate to administer justice, and to converse with his friends. There is a small garden within it, furnishing a few flowers and vegetables for his table ; there is also a well, from which the water is drawn by a wheel. Many female slaves are musicians. The king has several sons, who are appointed to administer justice to the natives. Except the king's relations, there are no nobles nor any privileged class of men as in Barbary : those of the blood-royal are much respected. The officers of state are distinguished by titles like those of Morocco ; one that answers to an alkaid, *i. e.* a captain of 700, of 500, or of 100 men ; another like that of bashaw. The king, if he does not choose to marry one of

his own relations, takes a wife from the family of the chiefs of his council ; his daughters marry among the great men. The queen-dowager has generally an independent provision, but cannot marry. The concubines of a deceased king cannot marry, but are handsomely provided for by his successor."

" Timbuctoo is the great emporium for all the country of the blacks, and even for Morocco and Alexandria.

" The principal articles of merchandize are tobacco, kameemas, beads of all colours for necklaces, and cowries, which are bought at Fas by the pound. Small Dutch looking-glasses, some of which are convex, set in gilt paper frames. They carry neither swords, muskets, nor knives, except such as are wanted in the caravan. At the entrance of the desert they buy rock-salt of the Arabs, who bring it to them in loads ready packed, which they carry as an article of trade. In their caravan there were about 500 camels, of which about 150 or 200 were laden with salt."

" The returns are made in gold-dust, slaves, ivory, and pepper ; gold-dust is preferred, and is brought to Timbuctoo from Housa in small leather bags. Cowries and gold-dust are the medium of traffic. The shereefs and other merchants generally sell their goods to some of the principal native merchants, and immediately send off the slaves, taking their gold-dust with them, into other countries. The merchants residing at Timbuctoo have agents or correspondents in other countries ; and are themselves agents in return, Timbuctoo is visited by merchants from all the neighbour-



ing black countries. Some of its inhabitants are amazingly rich. The dress of common women has been often worth 1000 dollars. A principal source of their wealth is lending gold-dust and slaves at high interest to foreign merchants, which is repaid by goods from Marocco and other countries, to which the gold-dust and slaves are carried. They commonly trade in the public market, but often send to the merchant or go to his house. Cowries in the least damaged are bad coin, and go for less than those that are perfect. There are no particular market days; the public market for provisions is an open place fifty feet square, and is surrounded by shops. The Arabs sit down on their goods in the middle, till they have sold them.

"The black natives are smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and masons, but not weavers. The Arabs in the neighbourhood are weavers, and make carpets resembling those of Fas and of Mesurata, where they are called telisse; they are of wool, from their own sheep, and camels' hair. The bags for goods, and the tents, are of goats' and camels' hair; there are no palmetto trees in that country."

"Housa.—They did not see the town till they came within an hour from it, or an hour and a half; it stands in a plain. Housa is south-east of Timbuctoo, a much larger city, and nearly as large as London. He lived there two years, but never saw the whole of it. It has no walls; the houses are like those of Timbuctoo, and form irregular lanes or streets like those of Fas or Marocco, wide enough for camels to pass with their loads. The palace is much larger than that of

Timbuctoo; it is seven or eight miles in circumference, and surrounded by a wall; he remembers but four gates, but there may be more; he thinks the number of guards at each gate is about 50: it is in that part of the town most distant from the Nile. The houses are dark coloured and flat roofed. He thinks Cairo is about one third larger than Housa; the streets are much wider than those of Timbuctoo; the houses are covered with a kind of clay of different colours, but never white. They have no chalk or lime in the country."

"He saw no camels at Housa, but heard they use them to fetch gold, and cover their legs with leather, to guard them from snakes. They have dogs and cats, but no scorpions or snakes in their houses. Lice, bugs, and fleas abound. He saw no wild animals or fowl in the neighbourhood of Housa."

"In person the natives are of various sizes, but the tallest man he ever saw was at Housa. The city being very large, he seldom had an opportunity of seeing the king, as at Timbuctoo. He saw him but twice in two years, and only in the courts of justice; he was remarkable for the width of his nostrils, the redness of his eyes, the smoothness of his skin, and the fine tint of his perfectly black complexion."

"The ground where gold is found is about sixteen miles from Housa. They go in the night with camels, whose legs and feet are covered to protect them against snakes; they take a bag of sand, and mark with it the places that glitter with gold; in the morning they collect where marked, and carry it to refiners, who, for a small

small sum, separate the gold. There are no mountains or rivers near the spot ; it is a plain without sand, of a dark brown earth. Any person may go to seek gold ; they sell it to the merchants, who pay a small duty to the king. The produce is uncertain ; he has heard that a bushel of earth has produced the value of twelve ducats, three pounds sterling, of pure gold. They set out from Housa about two o'clock in the afternoon, arrive about sun-set, and return the next day, seeking for gold during the whole night."

"The limits of the empire beyond Timboo, on the north side of the Nile, are very extensive. Afnoo is subject to the king of Housa ; no slaves can be made from thence. Darfneel is near Afnoo ; the latter is on the north side of the river, nearer to its source, and a great way from Timbuctoo. No Arabs are found on the banks of the Nile. He supposes the circumference of the empire to be about twenty-five days' journey ; has heard that many other large towns are dependent upon it, but does not remember their names.

"The neighbouring countries are Bambarra, Timboo, Mooshee, and Jinnie ; all negroes. He has heard of Bernoo as a great empire."

"The iron mines are in the desert ; the iron is brought in small pieces by the Arabs, who melt and purify it. They cannot cast iron. They use charcoal fire, and form guns and swords with the hammer and anvil. The points of their arrows are barbed with iron ; the cross bows have a groove for the arrow. No man can draw the bow by his arm alone, they have

a kind of lever ; the bow part is of steel brought from Barbary, and is manufactured at Timbuctoo. They do not make steel themselves."

## 2. ASIA.

1. "Journal of a Tour through Part of the Snowy Range of the Himala Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges : by James Baillie Frazer, esq." The students and lovers of natural history will, we are persuaded, grieve exceedingly that Mr. Frazer was not imbued with their zeal for knowledge. A district hitherto unexplored, the locality and peculiarities of which were sure to afford a most abundant harvest in every part of natural history,—botany, zoology, and mineralogy,—is visited by a traveller, who, however well qualified in other respects for the undertaking, is deficient in this most essential branch of science.

Intermixed with what may be properly called his travels, Mr. Frazer gives us details of the Nepaul war : the interest of these however is gone by, whereas the interest derived from laying open the magnificence of nature, in this the most magnificent of all her abodes, can never weary or grow stale. Mr. Frazer is often very happy in his descriptions ; indeed we think few persons could have passed through such a country without having every spark of eloquence and genius within him kindled. Our extracts will justify the character we have given.

"It was ludicrous to see those who had laughed at others yielding, some to lassitude, and others, to sickness, yet endeavouring to conceal it from the rest. I believe I

held out longer than any one ; yet after passing this gorge, every few paces of ascent seemed an insuperable labour, and even in passing along the most level places my knees trembled under me, and at times even sickness of stomach was experienced. The symptoms it produced were various ; some were affected with violent headache ; others had severe pains in the chest, with oppression ; others sickness at the stomach and vomiting ; many were overcome with heaviness, and fell asleep even while walking along. But what proved the fact that all this was the effect of our great elevation, was, that as we lowered our situation, and reached the region of vegetation and wood, all these violent symptoms and pains gradually lessened and vanished. The appearance of the higher cliffs, however, both snowy and rocky, and the sensations of this day, proved most satisfactorily that it would be a very arduous undertaking, if not an impracticable one, to ascend even nearly to the tops of these loftiest hills. We could not have been within several thousand feet of even those peaks of snow which were tolerably near us.

“ The vegetable productions of this day’s march are very various, and many of them new, and differing from those formerly met with. Two flowers particularly attracted attention. One was called *goo-gool*, and grew somewhat like the common flat thistle, with leaves radiating from a centre like a sun, in which centre grew a flower, on a level with the flat leaves, and much resembling the blossom of a pine-apple. This plant is held in much religious veneration. The other was a very curious one ; a

stalk covered with large and long leaves, somewhat like those of a primrose, ended in a cup like that of a tulip, but which appeared merely the continuation of these leaves closing, and forming the petals of a very noble flower, in the centre of which the stamina and pistil were seen. The leaves which compose this flower have a green tinge at their insertion like those on the stalk ; but the middle and higher parts are black and yellow, as is the centre of the cup, but more vivid. It is called by the hill people *birimah counla*, because, as the guide informed us, it was like the rajah among the other flowers ; the “ *sequitur* ” of which I in vain searched for, particularly as I could get no translation of the component parts of this name. It has since been suggested to me that the name is *brimah counla*, the latter part of which (*counla*) means the flower of the lotus plant, from which *Brimah* was produced at the commencement of creation, according to Hindoo mythology, and therefore of course a flower held in high esteem, which caused its being likened to a rajah among the flowers.

“ Various, rich, and lovely were the myriads of large and smaller blossoms which decked these wild scenes, and I much regret my inability to give their names and botanical descriptions. Many varieties of the primrose and polyanthus, many orchides, and others resembling our common meadow flowers, grew in profusion. The only other plant, however, that I shall notice, is one which was found on the very extreme verge of vegetation alone : like the *goo-gool* it was low, but not quite flat, perhaps about four inches high, some-

somewhat resembling a thistle just blooming ; but the leaves did not lie on the ground ; they shrouded the blossom, which was enveloped in a thick covering like the web of a spider, which, spangled with dew, had a most singular appearance. The root was small, but firmly fixed in the ground : It displayed no colour but a brownish green. I could not obtain any name for this very curious mountain production. It seems to delight only in the close vicinity to the snow. During this day's march no living thing was seen except the monals, which flocked together, and which I suspected to be of a species somewhat different from that which is met with lower down. They sat on the gray stones like ptarmigans on the loftiest hills at home, and in the short brown moss and grass looked exactly like grouse. I shot only one young one, which was a little larger, but precisely like a young moorfowl or blackgame, but could not succeed in killing any of the older birds.

" It is not easy to describe the change of scene effected by this change of situation ; not only is luxuriant foliage more rare, all rich and lively greens giving way to the dark brown of the fir, which spots the face of the rock, but even that rock is evidently more continually acted on by the severity of the storms. Instead of being covered with rich and varied hues, the effect of lichens and the smaller herbage, that usually clothe and variegate even a precipice, the rocks here are white, gray, red, or brown, the colour of their fracture, as if a constant violence was crumbling them to pieces. Their sharp and splintered pinnacles spire up

above the general mass : their middle region and feet are scantily sprinkled with the sombre unvarying fir-tree ; while the higher parts, retiring from the view, present little more than brown rock, except where a lofty mass of snow overtops them, and calls to our recollection how nearly and completely we are surrounded by it. No green smiling valleys yield their waters to the river : the white and foul torrents which swell its stream pour their troubled tribute through chasms cleft in the solid rock, or are seen tumbling down its face, from the snow that gives them birth.

" The whole scene casts a damp on the mind : an indefinite idea of desert solitude and helplessness steals over it : we are, as it were, shut out from the world, and feel our nothingness. Like the scenes they are placed among, the inhabitants of this village are wild in their appearance, and uncouth in their manners ; but there is no essential difference between them and those with whom we have heretofore met. I met, indeed, with one or two who were peculiarly intelligent ; but their language forms a considerable obstacle to taking advantage of their acuteness : it was still Hindostanee, but so disguised by accent and dialect, and altered by new terminations and expletives, that it was difficult to understand the simplest sentences without an interpreter, or frequent repetitions. The purdit was not only an intelligent man, but gave his information in the most intelligible language. Their dress is the same as that of the peasantry at Cursalee, black and gray blankets of coarse wool.

" Just at the entrance to this village

lage I found a true gooseberry-bush, a plant I had long looked for without success : it was to all appearance wild and neglected ; but there was fruit nearly ripe on it, small and sour ; and there could not be a shadow of doubt concerning the plant. Thus almost all the European garden fruits had now been recognised in these hills. \* \* \*

"It is related that, about thirty-five years ago, a band of four or five hundred men from Bhurassoo, and the remote parts of Gurwhal, made an incursion through the hills into the Chinese country, with a view to plunder the cattle. I could obtain but few particulars, either relating to their route, or to the length of time they were absent ; but they did effect their purpose, and brought back a good many sheep. This, if true, itself proves that there are passes, besides those which are well known and frequented, through these hills, which lead into the Chinese territories, and that, though difficult, it is yet practicable to bring even small animals by these routes.

"There is an acknowledged, though small portion of that territory which approaches very near to this place, not more distant, it is said, than one day's journey ; but it is a mere desert, an uninhabitable mass of rock, no village being within many days' march."

"Deer are numerous, and of various kinds. The most curious and worthy of attention is, perhaps, the musk-deer. It is an animal by no means common in any situation, but keeps entirely to the most inaccessible and remote heights, among rocks and forests that defy the foot of man. They cannot endure heat, and several young ones

which were presented to us invariably perished, after being exposed for a few days to the warmth of a lower region. The figure of the musk-deer is somewhat singular. It attains the size of a fallow doe, or small buck, and its body and legs are completely those of a deer. The head, however, bears some resemblance to that of a hog ; the eye is black and full, but not so large as that of a deer usually is ; and the sharp snout and wrinkled countenance give it a considerable resemblance to a pig's head, which is rendered more remarkable by the two tusks that project from the upper jaw, and hang, pointing downward, considerably over the lower ; and their colour is dark brown. It is commonly known that the musk is contained in a liquid state in a small bag near the navel of the animal. When it is caught, this bag is taken just as it is found, and cut from the beast while yet alive. A small hollow reed is inserted into it, that the musk may not suffer, as it would be apt to do, from want of air ; and the whole is tied around with a sinew of the animal. In this state, when it has dried, which it does in the shape of small brown grains, it is sold together with the skin for about twice its weight in silver. It is said that the animal must be caught alive in order to obtain its musk. Should it be shot, the drag (it is affirmed) is absorbed into the body, and consequently not only lost, but the animal is rendered uneatable. The great value of the article makes the animal an object of great request. Whenever, therefore, it is understood that a musk-deer has been seen on any particular hill, the whole country is turned out, to hunt him down. This alone

alone would tend to create a scarcity of the animal ; and if it is as rare in the hills to the south-eastward, and on the opposite side of the Himala range, as it is in that portion between the Sutlej and Alacnunda, there is little danger that the market will ever be overstocked by the genuine musk.

“ This scarcity, however, and the high price of musk, as may readily be supposed, give rise to many modes of adulterating it to increase the quantity. The common way is by injecting a portion of the blood of the animal into the bag of musk, while both are warm, and they then unite. Great caution is therefore necessary in making the purchases, and, indeed, none but very experienced persons can ever detect the fraud. Musk-pads are generally sent to the rajah, or chief man of a district, either as nuzzurs, or at a certain valuation, as a portion of tribute. Some fall into the hands of the Brinyas, from the low country, who take this article, as well as opium, iron, and other commodities, in payment for their goods, such as cloth, sugar, and other manufactured articles, and these persons sell it at a great profit in the plains. It is highly prized as a medicine as well as a perfume. It is also smoked by the luxurious debauchees in hookahs, in which way it acts as a strong stimulant ; but only men of great wealth can afford this fascinating drug. It also invariably forms a part of the offering presented from men of rank to their superiors, as a nuzzur, or to their equals, as a usual token of regard. The name by which the animal is known in the hills is *custorce*, and the drug also obtains that appellation. A common sort of deer, which we

frequently saw browsing among the heights, and bounding from rock to rock, is called by the natives *gurrul*. It attains the size of a roebuck ; the colour is dark brown, the belly much lighter ; the horns branch into several divisions, like that of the roebuck, are rough at the lower parts, and very sharp at the points, and they run from six inches to a foot in length. Its activity is very remarkable.

“ We frequently saw the horns of an animal, a mixed species of deer, that were singular in their form and appearance. They grew near each other at the base, curving very much backward, and receding from each other gradually. The exterior curved side is divided from the root to the point by raised articulations, two or three inches distant from each other ; and when they are of a middling size they are at least three feet long. The animal to which they belong is described by the natives as resembling the goat in appearance as well as the deer, but more particularly the former. That it is of considerable size may be inferred from its horns ; and the skins, several of which we afterwards procured, confirmed this inference. Its colour is a dark gray, approaching to brown ; the hair of its skin is very thick, soft, and elastic, but by no means fine : each hair has the appearance of a spongy hollow tube. They form very comfortable and warm beds to lie on, and are used for this purpose.”

2. “ History of the Indian Archipelago, &c. : by John Craufurd.” Mr. Craufurd, the author of this history, was formerly British resident at the court of the sultan of Java. Of the opportunity thus afforded him to gain information respecting

respecting that island, and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, he seems to have profited excellently: but he has not contented himself with the result of his personal observations and inquiries; he has incorporated with these, so far as he found them accurate, all the previous information afforded by the different authors who treat on the Indian Archipelago.

The work therefore may truly be characterized, and safely recommended, as combining much that is curious and interesting respecting the manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants of this part of the world, with the more dry, but not less important details respecting the statistics of those islands, their productions, trade, and especially the facilities and opportunities which they afford for the extension and improvement of British commerce. On this last subject Mr. Craufurd was deemed so competent a judge, that he was examined before the committee of the house of lords on trade, and great attention and deference were paid to his evidence. We subjoin an extract on the dramatic exhibitions of the Javanese.

"Among the Javanese there are no dramatic writings; there is no stage, and no attempt at scenic deception. The acting is of two kinds, in equal esteem among the people themselves, one consisting in the performance of living actors, and the other in that of puppets. The first sometimes exhibit without masks, but much more frequently with them. They are invariably men, for women never perform. The second are of two kinds: one consisting of ordinary puppets, much inferior, in inge-

nuit, to those among ourselves; and the other of certain scenic shadows, which are peculiar and national. These last are monstrous and grotesque figures, of about twenty inches long, cut out of a stiff untanned buffalo hide, and commonly very highly gilt and painted. In the representation they are moved by the prompter behind an oblong screen, of ordinary white cloth, rendered translucent by having a lamp suspended behind.

"All their acting may be considered as a kind of pantomime, for, even in the most perfect exhibitions, there is little dialogue. Each player does not study his part, or, at least, get it by heart; but the little he says he furnishes unpremeditated, as his recollection of the story, or his fancy, may assist him.

"The great mover in the drama, whether mock or real, is the prompter, or *dulang* as he is called in the native language. This person's office is very inadequately described by calling him the prompter; he is the soul of the whole drama, and his functions are better depicted by comparing him to our ancient bards or minstrels. He sits full in front of the audience, holding before him one of the common metrical romances, from which, in the chanting accents of *the East*, he repeats, before the interlocutors commence acting, the narrative of what they have to perform. This practice he perseveres in from the beginning to the end of the play. He does the same thing with the scenic shadows, seldom venturing, however, to furnish a dialogue for the puppets.

"From this account of the Javanese

vanese drama, it will be easily seen that a play or piece is not intended to be a skilful and interesting representation of the real business of the world, or of human passions, enjoyments, and sufferings, but the simple and artless relation of a common tale, some of the most prominent adventures of which are dramatized in the representation, while the principal stream of the narrative is conducted by the relation of the bard.

"The acting, consistent enough with the manners of the people, is heavy and monotonous. There is no life nor action in it, and nothing natural. The players dance instead of walking, and when they speak, it is in a counterfeit and fictitious tone of voice, hardly, in short, in the accents of human beings. Their dresses are characteristic and proper, generally in the ancient costume of the country, suitably to the parts they have to perform. A full band of Javanese music, in the manner of a chorus, constantly accompanies every kind of acting.

"The subjects of the Javanese drama are the Hindu legends of the Ramayana and Mahabarat, and those of the fabulous periods of their own history. The empire of custom, so arbitrary among all barbarians, renders it a rule not to be transgressed, that the performance by scenic shadows should be confined exclusively to the representations of Hindu story; the true acting to the most ancient portion of their own legendary history, and the ordinary puppet-show to the more modern.

"Besides the more regular dramatic entertainments now alluded to, there are two others occasionally introduced, in the manner

of interludes, between the scenes of the more regular performances, which afford more amusement to the stranger. One is an exhibition of buffoonery, which I have seen so well acted as to afford much merriment. The only personages who *can be facetious*, by the rules of the Javanese drama, are *Samar* and *Bagong*, the redoubted friends and servants of Arjuna and Rama. The acting of the persons who represent these characters is less constrained, more bustling, and more natural than that of any others. So much drollery is frequently displayed as to convince us that the Javanese have considerable comic powers; and that, if the sphere of their acting were enlarged, and their talent cultivated, they might make excellent comic actors.

"The second description of acting is a kind of pantomimic exhibition of wild beasts, where the players, dressed out in the figure of the various animals of the forest, personate their habits and exhibit their manners. The matter is so well managed as to make us almost believe that we are in the disagreeable company of the tiger, the leopard, or the wild boar."

### 3. AMERICA.

Respecting North America, there is no work published on this side of the Atlantic, which we think ourselves called upon particularly to notice. But we shall extract some curious facts relative to the Indians from an American work.

American literature, as might be expected, is advancing slowly: so far as regards works of taste, feeling, or imagination, it is very deficient; so far as regards works of fact, or dry intellect, it is much  
more



more respectable. Even in these, however, there is not exhibited that soundness of judgement in the matter, or that arrangement or compression of thought in the style, which distinguish British works on the same subject.

The American Philosophical Society publishes Transactions which rank among the best publications of the United States; there are now seven branches or classes of it; the first is confined to geography, mathematics, natural history, and astronomy; the second to medicine and anatomy; the third to natural history and chemistry; the fourth to trade and commerce; the fifth to mechanics and architecture; the sixth to husbandry and American improvements; and the seventh, which has been but lately added, to history and literature. Only one volume of the transactions of the seventh branch has been published, and from it we extract some curious particulars respecting the Indians.

#### AMERICAN INDIANS\*.

"The Indians judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the first (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the second, being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

"To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed,

asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said, 'As my gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out of your pouch!' In taking the gun down, it however, by some accident, went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides in the house: 'Oh! the accident!' for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

"A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. 'What!' replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, 'do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine by accident? No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.'

"An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him. Finding out by inquiry to whom

\* From a historical view of the Indian nations, containing an account of their manners, &c. read to the American Philosophical Society; by Mr. Heckewelder. the

the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was entitled to a share of what he had killed."

"Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises, or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined however, in his own mind, not to forsake her, if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

"When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-

keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his help-mate, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men conquies the whole year round.

"When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and, by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases; and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him."

"The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say, 'This man surely loves his wife.' Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which

which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal."

"In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman expressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddleback with him."

1. "Travels in Brazil, in the years 1815, 1816, 1817: by Prince Maximilian."

2. "Notes in Rio Janeiro, and the southern Parts of Brazil, taken during a residence of 10 years in that country, from 1808 to 1819, by John Luccock \*."

These works relate to one of the most interesting portions of the globe, so far as the bounty of nature, in climate, soil and productions, can make it so: on this account, and because, with the exception of the travels of Koster and Mawe, we have little information respecting this country, they must be acceptable and useful. So far as execution is concerned, the travels of the prince are superior to those of Mr. Luccock: if the latter had reduced his volume to one half of its bulk, by striking out a deal that is trifling, and telling more succinctly what is really new and important, and if his arrangement had been better, the value of his work would have been much enhanced. So

far as natural history is concerned, the travels of the prince are very much superior. As however we believe Mr. Luccock's book is in the hands of few, whereas the other, having been published in an abridged form, as well as in its original size, has probably been seen by most of our readers, we shall confine ourselves to the more ponderous volume, and from it extract a short account of South American agriculture.

"The reader has regarded with wonder, perhaps with incredulity, the account before given of the size of the farm of Pellotas; and, indeed, the reported extent of farms in this part of the American continent can scarcely be mentioned with boldness by one who has himself little doubt of the truth of the accounts. The smallest are stated at four square leagues, or more than twenty thousand acres; the largest are said to reach to a hundred square leagues, or near six hundred thousand acres. To each three square leagues are allotted four or five thousand head of cattle, six men, and a hundred horses, though, according to circumstances, such as the distance from navigable waters, or from church, there must be a variety in the number of oxen kept for the business of a farm. The proportion of horses will appear a very large one; but it is to be remembered that they cost nothing in keeping, as they are turned out on the plains; that no one about the farm, not even a slave, ever goes the shortest distance on foot; and that each manager will change his horse two or three times in a day. About a hundred cows are allow-

\* We understand that an embellished work, by lieutenant Chamberlain, royal artillery, on this part of South America, will shortly appear, which will add much to our information.

ed for the supply of milk, butter, cheese, and veal, to a farm of the average size. Hogs are usually found near the houses, but little care is taken of them; they wander about, root up the ground, devour reptiles, and make a good part of their subsistence on the waste parts of the cattle slaughtered. There are few sheep, and they are remarkably light and ill made, with a short ordinary wool; which, however, might easily be improved. This wool is, at present, used partly unstripped from the skins, as saddle-covers and the like, partly for the stuffing of beds and mattresses. The country is so thinly peopled, its inhabitants have so little liking to mutton, and the wild dogs and other beasts and birds of prey are so numerous, that there can be little inducement to increase the flocks.

"In every farm there is at least one inclosed place, called the Rodeio, generally on the highest spot; here the cattle are occasionally collected, examined, marked, and treated as circumstances may require. So accustomed are they, particularly the horses, to this practice, that when the servants of the farm ride along, swinging their lassos or their bats, and loudly pronouncing the word Rodeio, they all walk slowly to the spot. In a country so little enlivened by variety, this assemblage forms one of its most rural and pleasant scenes."

#### 4. NEW SOUTH WALES.

This country from its size deserves to be regarded as a separate portion of the world; and still more so, when we consider how strikingly and essentially it is distinguished from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, in its na-

tural history. More new animals and more new plants have been discovered in it than, we believe, in all the rest of the world, since captain Cook first directed the attention of philosophers to it; and we are certain that the new animals and plants with which it has enriched natural history are more singular, differ more widely, and in a more extraordinary manner, from the animals and plants of the old world, than natural historians could previously have anticipated. On this account therefore, and because in no very remote age it will probably form a very important and populous country, colonized from Britain, every publication relative to it deserves notice; and we may safely add, that every new publication tells us something extraordinary regarding it.

For a long time, the settlers in New South Wales had not penetrated beyond the Blue Mountains, a comparatively short distance from the coast. At length they were crossed: and a fine and fertile country having been discovered, the governor resolved to prosecute the discovery still further to the west, or inland. This determination gave rise to the two expeditions which form the subject of the following work.

"Journals of two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales: by John Oxley, surveyor general of the Territory." The result of these expeditions was as singular as any thing previously discovered in this anomalous country. Two rivers were traced to a considerable distance, till they both terminated in extensive swamps or inland seas; and the country through which they were

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traced

traced (with few exceptions) was either a dry, barren sand, or a porous, swampy soil equally barren. Few natives, animals or plants were seen. In short, so far as can be judged from these expeditions, the interior of New South Wales is uninhabited and uninhabitable: the exceptions however, though few and by no means extensive, present interesting, beautiful, and fertile tracts. Mr. Oxley's work derives most of its interest and importance from the singular discovery to which we have alluded; and this of itself is utterly at variance with any thing interesting which we could extract for the perusal of our readers.

#### 5. EUROPE.

Italy as usual, is the great loadstone to those who confine their travels to Europe; and the antiquities of Italy almost exclusively occupy their notice and researches. There are however two works to which this latter remark does not apply: to one of them, certainly only in a very small degree, and, to the other not nearly so much as to travels in Italy in general. The first is a work of Mrs. Graham, well known as the author of an interesting and well written journal of a residence in India: her present work is entitled "Three Months passed in the Mountains east of Rome." We cannot bestow on this work the same praise which we have bestowed on her *Indian Journal*: it contains indeed a picture of the manners, mode of life, &c. of the peasantry near Rome; but we could have wished this picture had been rendered more minute and complete, and that it had occupied some of the pages devoted to a very long—we think too lengthened—account

of the banditti who infest the mountains.

The second work which we allude to, as forming an exception to the generality of travels in Italy, is entitled "*Italy and its Inhabitants: an Account of a Tour in that Country in 1816, 1817, &c.: by James Aug. Galiffe of Geneva.*" The prejudices of this author on many points are very strong; but as they are openly and candidly expressed, the reader is put on his guard against them; and as they operate most strongly in favour of his own country and Italy, and against the Austrians and French, principally on account of their tyranny over those beautiful parts of the globe, the reader is disposed fully to pardon him. With this exception, and the further one of occasionally trifling, especially in some very fanciful and absurd remarks on the resemblance between the Latin and Russian languages, we can safely recommend this work as throwing much light on the Italian character and manners.

"*Journal of a Tour in the Levant: by William Turner, esq.*" Mr. Turner, like many other travellers, and, we might add, like most modern authors of all descriptions, does not seem to be aware how much good sense there is in the saying of old Hesiod, that the half is often more than the whole. 'Prune and condense' ought to be constantly kept in view by those travellers especially who publish works respecting countries so often visited and described as the districts bordering on the Levant. Prune what is trifling, common place, or irrelevant; and condense even what is good and new. Had Mr. Turner followed this plan, and

and cut down his three expensive 8vo volumes to one volume at a moderate price, he would have done more credit to himself, and gained more readers; but to those who have not acquired the happy and often very necessary knack, of culling the best parts of a book at one glance, it is really tiresome to wade through voluminous works, in which the really valuable matter is as a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff. What a contrast between most modern travels, and those published by our ancestors! They travelled and wrote more laboriously and elaborately, and, though sometimes heavy, were never trifling. These remarks are not deserved by Mr. Turner's work more than by many others, which are almost weekly issuing from the press, respecting the same countries which he visited. The most valuable accessions to knowledge, which travellers in these countries can make, must be acquired by illustrations of their natural history, statistics, and the manners &c. of the inhabitants; and yet the two former of these topics are seldom touched upon, and the last only incidentally and superficially.

"The Diary of an Invalid; being the Journal of a Tour in pursuit of Health, in Portugal, Italy; Switzerland, and France, in 1817, 1818, 1819: by Henry Matthews." Mr. Matthews very modestly and justly characterizes his volume, as, from the desultory and careless character of the contents, having no higher pretensions than to furnish the pocket of a travelling chaise, or to occupy the settee of a parlour window. Even this character, humble as it is, we conceive to be preferable to that of a tedious

and protracted work, which, from its very length and from its trifling and uninteresting materials, will not be admitted to those places to which alone Mr. Matthews aspires. The Diary of an Invalid is almost always amusing, and not unfrequently instructive; and exhibits the author as a pleasant, happy-tempered man, of fair classical attainments, and correct taste, (except where he aims to be witty,) but of strong prejudices.

One of the most interesting parts of Europe is visited by comparatively few travellers who, from an intimate and familiar acquaintance with its difficult but admirable language, are capable of describing it and its inhabitants fairly and fully:—we allude to Germany, which,—whether we regard it as in fact the mother country of Englishmen, as exhibiting the human mind full of vigour, in works of imagination and genius, or in the very act of bursting the chains which have so long encircled and enthralled its civil and political rights,—cannot be regarded with indifference by any person alive to what is exalted in intellect, or connected with the freedom, and consequent dignity, usefulness, and good of the human race. Of this country, two travellers have treated pretty fully in works published during 1820: these works are, "A View of the Agriculture, Manufactures, Statistics, and State of Society of Germany and Parts of Holland and France, in 1819: by William Jacob:" and "Travels in the North of Germany, describing the present State of the social and political Institutions, the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Education, Arts, and Manners in that Country, particularly in

Hanover: by Thomas Hodgskins." These are both works of well informed and sensible men, but prejudiced, each in his own way. Mr. Hodgskins sees with a microscopic as well as a magnifying eye, all the evils that exist in the political state of Germany: and he carries his philosophy so far, as to ascribe them, not merely to essential faults in the government, but also in many instances to radical faults in the state of society. He would therefore change, not only the political constitutions of the German states, but he would change human nature; for such he must do, if he would prevent the influence of wealth, or induce men not to seek it, and, when obtained, not to use it for their own power and good. There may often be traced passing through his mind, the notions which were first promulgated in Godwin's Political Justice; and these he sometimes expresses and recommends openly and sanguinely as a cure for all human evils. We must however confess we would rather have a traveller to be too keen-sighted in detecting the evils of political institutions, than not able or not willing to expose them, or inclined to justify them. There is no doubt much to mend in all political institutions, especially in those on the continent: and we argue ill of a Briton who, after applauding his own constitution as the envy and admiration of the world, can defend or palliate the oppression and tyranny by which the greater part of Europe is kept in comparative ignorance and misery. We therefore prefer the prejudices of Mr. Hodgskins to those of Mr. Jacob;—who is too ready an advocate for things as they are; who, while not backward to blame

the people for endeavouring to obtain more liberty, is nearly blind to the oppressions of the rulers. If however these works are perused with a guard on the mind against the peculiar views and prejudices of the respective writers, they will afford much very valuable and new information on the subjects of which they profess to treat. Mr. Hodgskins, by infusing into his work more of personal adventure, has given it an interest, of which Mr. Jacobs is in a great measure destitute: we subjoin short extracts from each; and first from Mr. Hodgskins relating to Hanover, and a Friezland farm-house.

"At various places on the road, as I approached Hanover, I saw new buildings, and something like decent farm-houses, which are marks of prosperity very rarely seen in any part of the continent. The road from Hildesheim was good, and some hedgerows, and nice gardens, and, above all, the G. R.s which glittered on the toll-houses, and on the road-menders' caps, reminded me strongly of England. This was much augmented on entering the town. The soldiers were dressed like our own, and I heard the military music playing for the officers' dinner 'The roast beef of old England.'

"The town of Hanover is situated in a flat plain, at the very furthest extremity of the hills and fertile country I had just passed through, and at the very commencement of those sandy districts which extend, without interruption, from it to the Elbe, the Weser, and the sea. On the north-west side lies a hill called the Lindenberg, and in its neighbourhood the soil is fertile, and the country

country pleasant; on the other side the soil is generally sandy, and the country flat. A little river, called the Leine, divided into two streams, runs through it, but is in general so completely built over, that it is not seen till the bridge over it is reached. In the vicinity of *Marstall*, or royal stable, and by the palace, it is exposed to view, and there gives a little beauty to the whole. The town contains 20,000 inhabitants, and is increasing and improving. The Leine divides the old from the new town; and the former has as an appendage the Egidian new town, which is the best built and most agreeable part of the whole. There is not one good street, and but few good-looking houses; and on the whole, the capital of his majesty's German dominions may, in point of buildings, be compared to some old-fashioned third-rate provincial town of Great Britain.

"The only building which has the least claim to the character of elegance, is the palace of the duke of Cambridge. It was built by a nobleman in the year 1752, and afterwards purchased by the government. Even this, however, is nothing but a plain and elegant, though rather a large house. The royal palace, which has once been large, is partly in ruins. The chapel, the theatre, and some other of the old parts remain, and some new corners are built and building; the other parts have been burnt or pulled down, and present only a mixture of confusion and ruin. The house in which the ministerial business is conducted, *die regierung*; the parliament house, *das landshafliche hause*, at present repairing, the library, the *fürsten hof*; which is the residence

of the duke of Clarence, may be mentioned as decent-looking places. The manner in which the other houses are built, even when they are large, with a frame of oak, filled in with bricks, the timber being still seen, gives them a mean and old-fashioned appearance.

"The town-house is one of those old Gothic, or, according to Goethe, German buildings, which have so many different corners and shapes, that no one particular shape belongs to it. In lightness and ornament it is far inferior to many of the old houses, similar to those of Helmstädt, which abound in Hanover, as well as in all the towns of this part of Germany. The fronts of many of them are entirely composed of little towers, extending all the way to the top; and being sometimes smartly painted and ornamented with a variety of figures and weathercocks, they look like gay summer-houses, or small antique castles. A similar mode of building may be traced in all the old farm-houses, whose gable ends, and ornaments of wood, which, in that situation, look natural enough, often reminded me of small Gothic chapels. The general prevalence in this country of what is called Gothic architecture, together with its prevalence and excellence in Britain, to which country it was carried by the early invaders from this part of Germany, make it probable that it had its origin here, and leave no room to doubt that this fantastical style, with its multiplicity of ornaments, was once the common style of building the farm-houses of this part of Germany."

"The same extraordinary manner of building farm-houses, which



which I have mentioned; when speaking of Hadeln, also prevails in Friesland, and, from the wealth of the farmers, is very conspicuous in the vicinity of Embden. That a common German bauer, whose corn is thrashed so soon as it is housed, who has perhaps only a pair of horses and cows, should find it convenient to cover all his worldly possessions with one roof, is not surprising; nor did I observe that their houses were enormously large. But, when I saw the same mode practised in Friesland by the largest farmers, I was astonished at the strangeness and the magnitude of the buildings. The rich farmers of Friesland, who have some of them fifty cows and sixteen horses, and whose dwellings are spacious, cover the whole with one roof. I have counted fifty windows in the dwelling part of the house; and attached to this, and under the same roof, were the stalls for fifty cows and twelve horses. The dwelling is at one end, at the other end is the stable; on the sides between the two ends are the stalls for the cows; the middle is the thrashing-floor, the barn, and the place where the carts and the farming instruments are kept. At the outside of the end furthest from the dwelling is the dunghill. In short, the whole farm-yard, and the dwelling of the family, with the exception of the dunghill, are brought under the same covering. The inhabitants say this is a cheaper and better plan of building than any other, that all their conveniences are at hand; and that, when built of bricks, and covered with tiles, when the stalls are nicely paved, as they are in Friesland, it is a better mode than ours of

having separate buildings for stables, barns, and cow-houses. The danger, however, to which the property is exposed in case of fire, seems a strong reason against it. From the specimens I saw of farm-houses in Friesland and Hadeln, there is no objection to it on account of cleanliness. The dwelling is far removed from the animals, it has always a separate entrance, and no people are more conspicuous for cleanliness than the Friezlanders. I have since seen that the same plan is followed in some of the provinces of Holland, particularly in West Friesland, and there the houses are equally large."

Our extracts from Mr. Jacob relate to Prussian farming as exemplified by Von Thaer, a celebrated agriculturist, whom he visited; and to the condition of France, as contrasted with that of Germany.

"A plant for the food of sheep for one part of the year was quite new to me; and is so, I believe, to most of our English agriculturists. It is grown to a great extent on the stubble fields. I know not the English name, but it is the *Spergula arvensis* of Linnæus. The seed is sown in the stubbles immediately after harvest, and in six weeks it furnishes food for sheep which they prefer to every other, and which is found extremely nutritious. It is an oily plant, the seed small, about six or seven pounds is sowed [are sown] on an acre. What is raised for seed is sown in May, and is fit to be gathered in August. I afterwards saw the same plant growing on most of the lands, both in Prussia and in Saxony, where large flocks of sheep are kept. It is said to be very

very productive on all sandy soils; I think it worth trying the experiment, and have provided some of the seed for that purpose.

"The favourite article of cultivation with Von Thaer is potatoes, on which he sets a peculiarly high value. His mode is simple and easy. They are planted in rows after the plough, at the rate of sixteen bushels to the acre. When the plants are up, they are earthed with a double-breasted plough, first, parallel to the rows in which they are planted, and then with the same plough the furrows are crossed, thus leaving the potatoes in small square patches. When at maturity, the soil is turned up with a three-pronged fork, and all the roots carefully collected by women and children. The stalks are far more abundant than those of our potatoes, and yield, I should think, from what I saw, as four to one. This haulm is carefully turned, dried, and collected into stacks, and is used as litter for the horses and cows instead of straw, which is here converted into food by cutting it small.

"Like all his countrymen, Von Thaer prefers German small potatoes to our large ones; they are less mealy, and have a different flavour. His preference, if his facts are correct, of which I have no doubt, is certainly supported by better reasons than I have heard from any other person in this country. He contended, that the nutritive quality of the potatoe depends on the quantity of starch that it contains; that, upon analysis, the smaller kind of potatoes that are here cultivated, contain a far greater proportion of starch than any that grow to a larger size; that, beyond a certain size,

which, by giving the roots sufficient room, they will naturally attain, the increase is only water, and can scarcely be termed nutriment.

"This decisive judgment, founded on chemical analysis, extends itself to the comparison between turnips and potatoes." \* \* \*

"The average produce of his potatoes, in a series of years, has been three hundred bushels to the acre: this he compared with what I stated to be the average weight of an acre of turnips on good land, as well cultivated as his is, in England; and which I stated below the truth, at twenty tons, because I wished not to be suspected of exaggeration to support an hypothesis. He contended, that his average growth of three hundred bushels, or five tons of potatoes, contained more nutriment than twenty tons of turnips, because the proportion of starch in potatoes to that in turnips, was much more than four to one. I did not urge the quantity of mucilage in the turnip, because I wished to learn his views rather than to suggest my own." \* \* \*

"A brewery and distillery are the necessary accompaniments of every large farming establishment in Germany. The result of many experiments in the latter, proved that the same quantity of alcohol is produced from one hundred bushels of potatoes as from twenty-four bushels of wheat, or thirty-three of barley. As the products of grain, or of potatoes, are relatively greater, the distillery is regulated by that proportion. The different inventions for economy in the use of fuel, cheap as it is, both in the brewery and the distillery,

stillery, though highly useful to the pupils of the establishment, presented to me nothing of novelty in either their principle or their application.

"During the existence of the foolish continental system, the scarcity of sugar gave rise to many experiments here, which, though beneficial at the time, have ceased to be longer useful. Von Thaer found, after many trials, that the most profitable vegetable from which sugar could be made, was the common garden turnip, (of which species I did not ascertain,) and that whilst sugar was sold at a six-dollar the pound, it was very profitable to extract it from that root. The samples of sugar made during that period from different roots, the processes and their results, are carefully preserved in the museum, but would now be tedious to describe. They are certainly equal in strength of sweetness, and those refined, in colour and hardness, to any produced from the sugar-cane of the tropics.

"An important object of this establishment has been the improvement of the breed of sheep, which, as far as regards the fineness of the wool, has admirably succeeded. By various crosses from select Merinos, by sedulously excluding from the flock every ewe that had coarse wool, and, still more, by keeping them in a warm house during the winter, Von Thaer has brought the wool of his sheep to great fineness, far greater than any that is clipped in Spain: but the improvement of the carcase has been neglected; so that his, like all other German mutton, is very indifferent. In England, where the flesh is of

much more value than the fleece, the Merino breeding has not been attended with beneficial results. The fleeces of the Moegelin flock (the name of Von Thaer's farm) average about three pounds and a half each: they have been sold to English traders, who came to the spot at one period to purchase them, as high as eight shillings and six-pence per pound, whilst the whole flesh could not be sold for more than ten or twelve shillings. This statement will readily account for the fact, that though Merino sheep are very beneficial in Prussia and Saxony, they have been found unprofitable with us.

"Von Thaer, with the assistance of the professors of the institution over which he presides, has arranged the various kinds of wool on cards, and discriminated, with geometrical exactness, the fineness of that produced from different races of sheep. The finest are some specimens from Saxony, his own are the next. The fine Spanish wool from Leon is inferior to his, in the proportion of eleven to sixteen. The wool from Botany Bay, of which he had specimens, is inferior to the Spanish. He had arranged, by a similar mode, the relative fineness of the wools produced on the different parts of the body of the sheep, so as to bring under the eye, at one view, the comparative value of the different parts of the fleeces; and he had, also, ascertained the proportionate weight of those different parts. The application of optics and geometry, by which the scales that accompany the specimens are constructed, is such, as to leave no doubts on any mind, of the accuracy of the results. The scales, indeed,

indeed, show only the fineness, and not the length of the fibre ; which is, I believe, of considerable importance in the process of spinning. The celebrity of the Moegelin sheep is so widely diffused, that the ewes and rams are sold at enormous prices to the agriculturists in East Prussia, Poland, and as far as Russia."

"I was much impressed (says Mr. Jacob) during the whole journey from Mentz to Paris, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, with the great inferiority of the appearance of France, and of what had been incorporated with France, to any part of Germany that I had lately passed through. The land is certainly as good, perhaps generally better, but the cultivation of it was by no means superior. The towns and cities in France are, perhaps, on a par with those of Germany, or nearly so ; but, in Germany, none of them had been without recent improvements, and all showed some new buildings, and many old ones repaired and modernized. In France, every thing looked old ; no houses seem to have been built since the commencement of the revolution, and those dilapidated and needing repairs do not seem to have received them. It was not so much, however, in the towns, as in the villages, that the inferiority of France struck me most forcibly. In every village in Germany, a neat church, ornamented commonly with an elegant tower, is to be seen ; a decent house for the pastor, and one better for the bailiff, is universal in the villages where no nobleman resides ; and where there is one, the houses of the peasantry appear to have copied some portion of neatness from those of

their superiors. The houses of the peasants there, are superior to the cottages of our English labourers, and are very far better than those of the French farmers. The churches in those French villages which I passed through, are miserable hovels, and the dwellings of the inhabitants are all alike dilapidated and filthy.

"They have no superiors to improve them by their examples, and the tax-gatherers that collect for the government reside in the neighbouring towns. The want of a gentry is evident in France, and of course in the villages, much more than in the towns and cities. I remarked, too, the little intercourse which the roads in France exhibited. In three hundred miles, I met but three gentlemen's carriages, and either two or three diligences. Water-conveyance may diminish the number of waggons ; but I met a greater number of waggons loaded with goods, between Naumberg and Weimar, a distance of twenty-four miles, than I saw between Saarbrücke and Meaux, a distance of three hundred. The dress of the rural inhabitants is very miserable, and very much inferior to what I observed in any part of Germany. In every part of Germany, I remarked, on the poor soils, many plantations, very extensive, and recently formed. In some instances, these extended over thousands of acres ; but after entering France, I saw nothing recently planted. The woods appeared to be as ancient as the period when Julius Cæsar described them. At each town in France I inquired for the journals, but at Metz only could I procure the sight of one ; except indeed at Meaux, where

where by accident I got one three or four days old, which I was assured was the latest in the city, though it is only thirty-five miles from Paris. The ignorance of the country people, and the little interest felt by the inhabitants of the provincial cities in public affairs, are very different from the state of Germany, where, as all can read, and as journals are very plentiful and cheap, no one is so completely ignorant as most appeared to be in France.

"If I were to judge of the whole kingdom, by what I observed between Germany and the capital of France, within that city, and on my rapid journey from thence to Calais, I should conclude that Paris was every thing, and France nothing, in the estimation of the government that now rules, or in that of any that have ruled the country for the last thirty years; I should be disposed to think that France rears soldiers, provides food and pays taxes, and that Paris directs those resources to such objects as the prevailing factions in the capital deem most suitable to their purposes."

"An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia: by William Wilkinson, esq." Mr. Wilkinson from having been consul in these principalities possessed good opportunities for describing them; and as they are comparatively little known, we are grateful for the curious information this work contains, and it is not the less acceptable to us, because from its arrangement, style, &c., it evidently has not passed through the hands of a regular editor.

What is the reason that civilization, knowledge, and liberty, and consequently by far the greatest

sum of human happiness, are confined to the western parts of Europe? If we except Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, in what a barbarous state is most of the rest of Europe! Has this superiority arisen from the vicinity of most of these countries to the sea? Whatever be the cause, there are undoubtedly large portions of the east of Europe at present very little advanced in civilization and knowledge before the greater part of Africa and Asia. We subjoin an extract illustrative of Wallachian manners.

"About two hundred and ten days of the year are holidays, and they are strictly observed by the inhabitants, as far, at least, as relates to the exclusion of all kinds of work. The public offices, although they have so great a portion of the year to remain inactive, are allowed, besides, a fortnight's vacation at Easter, and during the hottest days of summer. In these useless and pernicious days of idleness, whilst the boyars' chief occupation consists in seeking the means of killing time out of their homes, the lowest classes spend it with their earnings at the brandy-shops, where prostitutes are kept for the purpose of attracting a greater number of customers, and of propagating with vice the most horrible of all the diseases with which human nature is afflicted.

"The number of this disgraceful class of females is so great at Bukorest, that the late aga, or police director, suggested to the prince the plan of levying a capitation tax on each, whereby he would create a new revenue of some hundred thousand piastres.

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This plan, contrary to expectation, was not put into effect, though it was not likely to meet with obstacles.

"The manners of society among the Wallachian boyars are not remarkable for refinement. The general topics of social conversation are of the most trivial nature, and subjects of an indecent kind frequently take the place of more becoming discourse; they are seldom discouraged by scruples of any ladies present.

"In the habitual state of inaction, brought on by a natural aversion to every serious occupation which does not immediately relate to personal interest, both sexes, enjoying the most extensive freedom of intercourse with each other, are easily led to clandestine connexion; the matrimonial faith has become merely nominal.

"Various other customs contribute to the domestic disorders prevailing in a great number of private families. Parents never marry their daughters, to whatever class they may belong, without allowing them dowries beyond the proportion of their own means, and to the great detriment of their male children, who, finding themselves unprovided for, look upon marriage as the means of securing a fortune, and consequently regard it as a mere matter of pecuniary speculation. Feelings of affection or sentiments of esteem are therefore out of the question in the pursuit of matrimonial engagements, and money remains the only object in view.

"When a girl has reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, her parents become anxious to procure a husband for her. They do not

wait for proposals, but make the first offers, sometimes to three or four men at a time, stating with them the amount and nature of the dowry they are disposed to give. They enter into a regular negotiation when a greater amount is required, and finally settle with him who remains satisfied with the most reasonable terms. The inclinations of their daughter are never consulted on the occasion, and too great a disparity of age, or other personal defects on the part of the future husband, never appear to them objectionable. The girl is sometimes perfectly unacquainted with the man of her parents' choice; and, at her tender age, unable to form any judgment on the state of matrimony, she submits to their will with indifference. Not long after the nuptials, she is left perfect mistress of her actions, her domestic affairs are entirely put into the hands of the servants, and she never interferes with them. Neglected by her husband, and at full liberty to dispose of her time as she thinks proper, she forms connexions of intimacy with women more experienced in the world than herself. The attractions of pleasure and society become too strong to be resisted, and the example of others, with the numerous temptations that surround her, prove, sooner or later, fatal to her virtue. To the harmony which may have subsisted between her and her husband, succeeds disgust; quarrels soon follow, and blows sometimes are not spared on her. Her condition becomes at last intolerable, she quits her husband's house, sues for a divorce, and generally obtains it, however frivolous the plea in the true sense of the law.

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"The church of Wallachia and Moldavia is the only one professing the Greek religion that authorizes divorce: or, more properly speaking, the only one that abuses the power of pronouncing it, the authority being granted to the patriarch of Constantinople on occasions of the most particular nature, and indeed never made use of.

"In the principalities, the sentence of divorce is pronounced so frequently, and the motives alleged are sometimes so frivolous, that it never affects the reputation of a woman so as to degrade her in her ordinary rank of society; nor does it in the least become a scruple to the delicacy of the men, whatever may have been the nature of its motive,

"There are but few families at Bukorest who have long continued in an uninterrupted state of domestic harmony, and fewer still who can point out some relation who has not gone through a divorce.

"Some time back, a Wallachian lady of quality, who had brought but a small fortune to her husband, became desirous of fixing her residence in one of the principal streets of the town, and she pressed him to lay aside his accustomed system of economy, to sell his estate, the revenue of which gave them the principal means of support, and to build a fine house in that street. The husband, more reasonable than herself, positively refused to listen to her extravagant proposal; and the lady, incensed at his upbraiding her for it, quitted his house, and shortly after sued for a divorce; which she obtained. This lady, who has since remained sin-

gle, professed great piety, and is still considered as a very pious woman.

"Not long after, a young boyar, contrary to custom, fell in love with a very beautiful young woman of the same rank and age. The parents of both agreed on their union, and the nuptials were celebrated by public festivities. This couple was looked upon as the only one in the country whom a strong and mutual attachment had united. At the end of the first year the husband was suddenly attacked by a pulmonary complaint, and induced by the physician's advice to separate himself for some time from his wife, and go to Vienna in order to consult the best medical men. After eighteen months' absence, finding himself perfectly recovered, he hastened back to Bukorest impatient to see his wife, to whom he had not ceased to write, but whose letters had latterly become much less frequent. On his arrival he found the most unexpected changes in his family affairs. His wife had gone to her parents, refused to see him, and had already consented to marry another! Her father, who was the chief instigator of her sudden resolution, had negotiated the second marriage, because it suited his own interests.

"The legitimate husband claimed his spouse through every possible channel; but he was not listened to, and government declined interfering,

"The sentence of divorce was pronounced by the metropolitan; and, although the husband's refusal to sign the act rendered it perfectly illegal, the second marriage took place; the ceremony was performed by the archbishop in person,

person, and public rejoicings were made on the occasion.

"The circumstances of this adventure were the more remarkable as the second husband had been married before, and divorced his wife after six weeks' cohabitation, when he saw the possibility of obtaining this lady's hand.

"Another lady of the first rank separated her daughter from her husband, with whom she had lived six years, and caused a sentence of divorce to be pronounced. She gave for reason, that her daughter's constitution suffered considerably by frequent pregnancy. The husband, who was by no means inclined to the separation, and who knew his wife to enjoy the best health, made remonstrances to no effect: and he was condemned by government to give back the dowry, and to pay damages to a considerable amount, for having spent a part of it, although he proved to have employed the deficient sum for the use of his wife and family.

"These three instances of the degraded state of morals in these countries are selected from numerous others that occur daily. They are such as to excite astonishment, and appear almost incredible; yet they created no other sensation at the time than other common news of the day, deserving but little notice."

Scarcely was the peace concluded, which removed Bonaparte from Europe, when travels in France poured from the press in almost overwhelming abundance: latterly they have become more rare. We have to notice, however, two works respecting a very interesting part of France: we allude to

"Letters written during a Tour through Normandy, Brittany, and other Parts of France, in 1818: by Mrs. Charles Stothard." And, "Account of a Tour in Normandy: by Dawson Turner." In many respects Brittany and Normandy are among the most interesting parts of France, especially to Englishmen: Brittany was colonized from England, at the period when the Britons were obliged to retire from the Saxons: the language of Brittany still resembles that of Wales: and many of the customs, superstitions, &c. of the latter country may be traced in the former. The old English romances derive their origin from those of Brittany. But independently of these considerations which render Brittany interesting to Englishmen, it presents other sources of interest: it is seldom visited by travellers: its inhabitants are very unlike those of the rest of France, not merely in their language, but in their manners, customs, opinions, and local institutions. Feudal rights and customs still linger there in nearly all their native rigidity, even though the law has abolished them; for the inhabitants are wedded to the institutions as well as the superstitions of their ancestors. The war of La Vendee, of which Brittany forms a part, displayed their devoted attachment to their noblesse, clergy and king in a very surprising manner. Travels in such a district, therefore, where so much is new, and where nearly all that is new is interesting, cannot fail to be acceptable.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the interest which travels in Normandy must excite, in Englishmen especially. If Brittany de-  
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rives much from England, England derives much from Normandy: the illustrations which English architecture alone derives from the architecture of Normandy, are most valuable and important. This part of France, however, claims our attention for its intrinsic merits: it is beautiful, and fertile to a degree scarcely equalled in any other part of that kingdom: and the character of its inhabitants is equally distinguished.

Mrs. Stothard's book will be very gratifying to the general reader; it is full of vivid pictures of manners and the state of society, written in the very best female style; and for the execution of such a work, a female is much better qualified than a male writer.

Mr. Dawson Turner's work is principally occupied with architectural antiquities, and the history of Normandy: we are sorry for this, for the sketches of manners interspersed are drawn in such a masterly manner, that we must regret they are so few and far between. We shall just add, that if all the rest of France were illustrated as Normandy and Brittany are in these two works, nearly all that could be told respecting its inhabitants and antiquities would be told, and told in a most interesting manner; and that, in other countries, we sincerely wish, we had travels as good as those of Mrs. Stothard and Mr. Dawson Turner: our first extract is from the former, descriptive of the manners, &c. of the Bretons in the very heart of the province.

"We are now in the very heart of Brittany. The poor inhabitants in the towns talk a kind of

French that I am sometimes puzzled to understand; but the country people speak nothing but the *Patois* or Breton tongue. They wear a singular costume, and, in their manners and appearance, much resemble the idea I have formed of human beings quite in an uncultivated state of society.

"We met a wedding to-day returning from church: the bride and bridegroom were peasants in the vicinity of Josselin. The nuptial train was preceded by a long-haired minstrel playing upon the bag-pipes: he advanced in a half-dancing step to the accompaniment of his own music, attired in the shaggy spoils of the goat: his grotesque air and rude gestures, his furry habit and minstrel trade, gave to his appearance the character of a wild satyr in some sylvan scene. The cavalcade followed, dressed in the fashion of their country, rendered still more gay by the many knots of various coloured ribbands that were placed about their garments.

"They have in this province a most strange custom of celebrating the publication of a contract of marriage, which is affixed to the church door about three weeks before the performance of the ceremony. Last night we were sitting in our inn, enjoying the comfortable warmth of a wood fire, when our ears were suddenly assailed by a strange combination of distant sounds: the noise continued so long, that curiosity at length induced Mr. S—— to ascertain whence it arose; he followed the sound, and perceived in the outskirts of the town thirty or forty men and women assembled together, who, hand in hand, were jumping and dancing like savages,  
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in a ring, to no other music than the accompaniment of a monotonous sing-song repetition of two words, which they all shouted in unison, without the least intermission. They continued this nocturnal rite for nearly three hours, in celebration of a contract that had been made public in the morning.

"If you will grant me the patience to follow me into a Breton cabin, I will present you to a group of these wild beings; such a scene will afford you a better idea of their manners and mode of living than any comments of my own. I yesterday went into the market, at the most busy time, in order to observe the people; when I remarked a girl attired so completely in the costume of the country, that I thought it would be desirable could I engage her to sit for her picture. She placed some sacks of corn upon her horse, and was about mounting to quit the market, when I spoke to her in French; she answered by shaking her head, and uttered a few words in Patois, of which I could only make out the word *gaelic*. A woman standing at the door of a wretched hatter's shop came forward and offered her services as my interpreter. The affair was soon settled, and the girl consented to sit for her picture. She was from Bignan, a neighbouring town; and as her costume is that of the country in general, I shall here describe it. She was dressed in a petticoat or skirt of white flannel, bordered with a scarlet band above the hem; this skirt is sewed to the body in large full plaits; the body or jacket was made of scarlet cloth, tight to the shape, and reached nearly up to

the throat; the sleeves were of the same colour, sitting close to the arm, and turned up at the wrist with a deep cuff; both the body and sleeves being trimmed with a braiding composed of black velvet ribband, embroidered with coloured worsteds; her apron was of a deep mulberry colour, fastened with an ornamented sash tied in a bow at the side; her cap of white linen set tight to the head, covered with another cap, that served the purpose of a bonnet; this was made of a coarse starched cloth, like brown Holland, the form conical, with two long flaps hanging down her back, or sometimes pinned up at the pleasure of the wearer; her necklace was of amber, and black beads; she wore also, suspended by a velvet string, a little ebony crucifix, with the image of our Saviour upon it, wrought in pure gold; from the appearance of this ornament, I should imagine it must have descended to her as a family relic, as it is certainly of ancient workmanship; her brooch, that fastened her shift in front, was formed of white bugles and green glass beads, put together in a very pretty manner. In her person, this damsel appeared of a thick-set shape, broad backed, and high shouldered; her face round and fat, with a complexion naturally red, and much tanned by the effects of the sun, and field-occupation; the expression of her countenance might justly be termed that of a stupid mere animal existence; although not more than eighteen years old, (for the Breton women are too unsophisticated to deny their age,) she looked much past thirty. Such was the charming creature I selected for

for the pencil of Mr. S——, and such are generally the female natives of Bretagne, to whom this picture may in common apply.

"The girl was in too great haste to go so far as our inn; the woman offered the use of her cabin, and the portrait was immediately commenced; but we were no sooner seated, than a number of Bretons pressed in to see so extraordinary a sight. They all spoke Patois, and were even vociferous in their loud exclamations of surprise; their wild and strange looks, their gestures and voices were like those of half-frantic beings. Many of them appeared so dirty, that I could scarcely see the colour of their skin. They seemed to have no idea of the distinctions of condition; for some of the girls, in order to examine my dress, turned me round, and with their dirty hands most unceremoniously handled my gown or pelisse. Several Bretons seated themselves upon the ground, to watch the motion of Mr. S——'s hand, others pressed around him, and even attempted to touch the pencil he was using, to ascertain, I imagine, what such a magical little implement could be.

"A party of these Bretons placed themselves at a table, in order to regale, and brought in a large jug of cider, that was handed about, and soon emptied and replenished. The girl, whose sitting to Mr. S. had attracted such a multitude, was plentifully supplied with cider by her companions; and a woman, who seemed to be a person of authority amongst them, ordered another jug of their favourite drink, at the same time pointing towards me. As soon as it appeared, she sud-

denly jumped up, and throwing herself across the table, seized me so roughly by the arm, that I staggered back a few paces: she violently shouted to me in Patois, as if she thought I could understand her the better by the exaltation of her voice, and thrusting the jug of cider in my face, wanted me to partake of the contents. I turned aside my head, and by signs made her comprehend I declined her offer; but the fierce look she gave me, and the loud and angry exclamation that accompanied it, convinced me she resented my refusal."

Our extract from Mr. Turner's work describes the celebrated Bayeux tapestry.

"Till the revolution the tapestry was always kept in the cathedral, in a chapel on the south side dedicated to Thomas à Becket, and was only exposed to public view once a year, during the octave of the feast of St. John, on which occasion it was hung up in the nave of the church, which it completely surrounded. From the time thus selected for the display of it, the tapestry acquired the name of *le toile de saint Jean*; and it is to the present day commonly so called in the city. During the most stormy part of the revolution, it was secreted; but it was brought to Paris when the fury of vandalism had subsided. And when the first consul was preparing for the invasion of England, this ancient trophy of the subjugation of the British nation was proudly exhibited to the gaze of the Parisians, who saw another conqueror in Napoleon Bonaparte; and many well-sounding effusions, in prose and verse, appeared, in which the laurels of duke William were

were transferred, by anticipation, to the brows of the child and champion of jacobinism. After this display, Bonaparte returned the tapestry to the municipality, accompanied by a letter, in which he thanked them for the care they had taken of so precious a relic. From that period to the present, it has remained in the residence appropriated to the mayor, the former episcopal palace; and here we saw it.

"It is a piece of brownish linen cloth, about two hundred and twelve feet long, and eighteen inches wide, French measure. The figures are worked with worsted of different colours, but principally light red, blue, and yellow. The historical series is included between borders composed of animals, &c. The colours are faded, but not so much as might have been expected. The figures exhibit a regular line of events, commencing with Edward the Confessor seated upon his throne, in the act of dispatching Harold to the court of the Norman duke, and continued through Harold's journey, his capture by the comte de Ponthieu, his interview with William, the death of Edward, the usurpation of the British throne by Harold, the Norman invasion, the battle of Hastings, and Harold's death. These various events are distributed into seventy-two compartments, each of them designated by an inscription in Latin. Ducarel justly compares the style of the execution to that of a girl's sampler. The figures are covered with work, except on their faces, which are merely in outline. In point of drawing, they are superior to the contemporary sculpture at St. George's and elsewhere.

where; and the performance is not deficient in energy. The colours are distributed rather fancifully: thus the fore and off legs of the horse are varied. It is hardly necessary to observe that perspective is wholly disregarded, and that no attempt is made to express light and shadow.

"Great attention, however, is paid to costume; and more individuality of character has been preserved than could have been expected, considering the rude style of the workmanship. The Saxons are represented with long mustachios: the Normans have their upper lip shaven, and retain little more hair upon their heads than a single lock in front.—Historians relate how the English spies reported the invading army to be wholly composed of ecclesiastics; and this tapestry affords a graphical illustration of the chroniclers' text. Not the least remarkable feature of the tapestry, in point of costume, lies in the armour, which, in some instances, is formed of interlaced rings; in others, of square compartments; and in others, of lozenges. Those who contend for the antiquity of duke William's equestrian statue at Caen, may find a confirmation of their opinions in the shape of the saddles assigned to the figures of the Bayeux tapestry; and equally so in their cloaks, and their pendent braided tresses.

"The tapestry is coiled round a cylinder, which is turned by a winch and wheel; and it is rolled and unrolled with so little attention, that if it continues under such management as the present, it will be wholly ruined in the course of half a century. It is injured at the beginning: towards the

the end it becomes very ragged, and several of the figures have completely disappeared. The worsted is unravelling, too, in many of the intermediate portions. As yet, however, it is still in good preservation, considering its great age, though, as I have just observed, it will not long continue so. The bishop and chapter have lately applied to government, requesting that the tapestry may be restored to the church. I hope their application will be successful."

In order to exhibit Mr. Turner as a painter of character, we subjoin another extract descriptive of Pollet, a suburb of Dieppe.

"Three-fourths of the natives of this part of the town are fishermen, and not less effectually distinguished from the citizens of Dieppe by their name of Poltese, taken from their place of residence, than by the difference in their dress and language, the simplicity of their manners, and the narrow extent of their acquirements. To the present hour they continue to preserve the same costume as in the XVIth century; wearing trowsers covered with wide short petticoats, which open in the middle to afford room for the legs to move, and woollen waistcoats laced in the front with ribbands, and tucked below into the waistband of their trowsers. Over these waistcoats is a close coat, without buttons or fastenings of any kind, which falls so low as to hide their petticoats and extend a foot or more beyond them. These articles of apparel are usu-

ally of cloth or serge of a uniform colour, and either red or blue; for they interdict every other variation, except that all the seams of their dress are faced with white silk galloon, full an inch in width. To complete the whole, instead of hats, they have on their heads caps of velvet or coloured cloth, forming a *tout-ensemble* of attire, which is evidently ancient, but far from unpicturesque or displeasing. Thus clad, the Poltese, though in the midst of the kingdom, have the appearance of a distinct and foreign colony; whilst, occupied incessantly in fishing, they have remained equally strangers to the civilization and politeness, which the progress of letters during the last two centuries has diffused over France. Nay, scarcely are they acquainted with four hundred words of the French language; and these they pronounce with an idiom exclusively their own, adding to each an oath, by way of epithet—a habit so inveterate with them, that even at confession, at the moment of seeking absolution for the practice, it is uncommon thing with them to *swear* they will be guilty of it no more. To balance, however, this defect, their morals are uncorrupted, their fidelity is exemplary, and they are laborious and charitable, and zealous for the honour of their country, in whose cause they often bleed, as well as for their priests, in defence of whom they once threatened to throw the archbishop of Rouen into the river; and were well nigh executing their threats."

## CHAPTER III.

## BELLES LETTRES, ANTIQUITIES, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

**U**NDER these heads, British literature during the year 1820 presents little deserving of very particular notice; for we do not profess to occupy our pages with accounts of, or extracts from, any works except such as characterize and distinguish the period to which this volume relates. We shall therefore confine ourselves to two works; viz.

1. "Miscellanies: by the Rev. Richard Warner, 2 vols." These are truly miscellaneous volumes: the first contains essays on the decay of intellect; the admiration of learning and talent; reason and insanity; the sceptic reclaimed; an account of Mr. Hamard, a French emigrant; and an historical sketch of the book of common prayer. The second volume contains the story-teller, with anecdotes: the jokes of Hierocles, and a biographical memoir of the rev. W. Gilpin. From the first volume we shall extract some particulars respecting the book of common prayer.

"Happily for the interests of true religion, Henry was at the time of his quarrel with the pope surrounded by wise and good men, who had long ardently wished for a reformation of the national faith. Of these, the venerable Cranmer and the active Cromwell were the leading characters; who wisely availed themselves of Henry's indignation, and of the influence they at that time possessed in his esteem and opinion, to confirm his

resolution of throwing off the papal yoke, and to render this freedom from superstitious thralldom the means of diffusing a purer religion over their own country. With the king's sanction, therefore, and (it should seem) assistance also, these able friends of the reformation compiled without delay, both in English and Latin, published and circulated, a small volume of devotional tracts, entitled *The King's Primer*; calculated to do away many of the erroneous notions, and to soften many of the superstitious prejudices, with which popery had filled the minds of the people; as well as to infuse into them a knowledge of the simple truths and spiritual doctrines of the gospel, and of the duties and obligations necessarily resulting therefrom. So ardent and general was the desire for religious information, that the first impression of *The King's Primer* was speedily disposed of; and in the year 1535 another edition, on a larger size, and enriched with many valuable additions, was put forth to gratify the public impatience for this popular manual. Of this second edition the contents are as follows:—A godly preface; an exposition of the commandments, and of the creed; a confession; directions concerning prayer; an exposition of the Lord's prayer; a prayer to our Creator; prayers for various states of men; an office for all states; a dissertation on good

D 2      works;

works; an exhortation to expect the cross, and to bear it patiently; matins or morning service; lauds, or acts of praise; evensong; the seven penitential psalms; the litanies; a contemplation on psalm li; a prayer to our Saviour; the history of Christ's passion; a practical discourse on the passion; instructions for children; a catechetical dialogue; prayers against blindness and hardness of heart; various prayers and thanksgivings; the *dirige*, or office for the souls of the dead; commendations; and the collects, epistles, and gospels, throughout the year, with expositions of them. This volume may be considered as the parent of our present book of common prayer; for although, during the times of popery in this country, the forms of the liturgy had always been in the hands of the laity, under the names of breviaries, missals, and rituals; yet these being written in Latin, (an unknown tongue to the bulk of the community,) and being full of idolatrous prayers, and superstitious services, were neither intelligible to the laity, nor could have furnished them with sound doctrine, nor led them to right practice, had they been generally understood. The royal authority enjoined either the public or private use of the volume of services called "The King's Primer." But this sanction was perhaps unnecessary for ensuring its free and general circulation, as the people themselves were sufficiently prepared for its favourable reception; a fact that was clearly evinced by its rapid sale; very many editions being called for in the course of a few years."

The year 1537 was marked by

fresh endeavours of the reformers to accomplish their great and salutary work. Cranmer, Latimer, and other prelates (nominated as a committee for that and other purposes, by the convocation held in 1536,) drew up and published a compendium of religious instruction, called 'The Institution of a Christen Man, conteynnyng the exposytion or interpretation of the commune crede, of the seven sacramentes, of the ten commandements, and of the pater noster, and the ave maria, justification, and purgatory.' This treatise, consisting of rules of faith and practice (having been revised and corrected by the king, and again reviewed by Cranmer, in 1540,) continued to be in general request and use till the year 1543; when it was superseded by an enlarged and improved edition of the same work, altered, however, in matter and arrangement, and bearing the new title of 'A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England, &c.' It was called 'The King's Book,' and designed for a standard of christian belief, and contained the following articles or treatises:— 'The declaration of faith. The articles of our belief, called the creed. The seven sacraments. The ten commandments of Almighty God. Our Lord's prayer, called the pater noster. The salutation of the angel, called the ave maria. An article of free-will. An article of justification. An article of good works. Of prayer for souls departed.'

In the year following the publication of this book, another step was made in the progress of reformation, as well as a small advance in the

the introduction of a national liturgy; namely, the printing and circulating of a form of procession, drawn up in the English tongue, entitled, 'An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his majesty and his clergy, to be read to the people; also a Litany with Suffrages, to be said or sung in time of the processions.'"

\* \* \*

"We have seen above, that some steps had already been taken for providing the people with intelligible religious services, by the publication of the King's Primer, the Form of Procession, and the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man; but these did not amount to the establishment of a general and uniform liturgy, nor were they attended with any compulsory injunction to ensure their exclusive use. Much had hitherto been left to the discretion of the officiating clergy, who, in the performance of public worship, seem either to have continued the use of the popish services, without making any alteration in them, or to have adopted only partially the new ones prepared by the reformers. A committee, therefore, was appointed to draw up in English a book of services for the general use of the church; which consisted of archbishop Cranmer; Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Henry Holbeach, alias Randes, bishop of Lincoln; George Day, bishop of Chichester; John Skip, bishop of Hereford; Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster; Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester; Dr. William May, dean of St. Paul's, London; Dr. John Taylor, dean (afterwards bishop) of Lincoln; Dr. Simon Heynes,

dean of Exeter; Dr. John Redmayne, master of Trinity College in Cambridge; Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Christchurch in Oxford; and Mr. Thomas Robertson, archdeacon of Leicester. These divines entered with such ardour upon this business, and continued it with such perseverance, that in a few months they had prepared for public use all the offices for morning and evening prayer, for Sundays and holidays; as well as the forms for baptism, confirmation, matrimony, burial of the dead, &c. &c. The book being completed, it was by Cranmer presented to the young king, [Edw. VI.] who received it with every mark of delight. Parliament immediately (viz. at the close of the year 1548) confirmed its authority, and enjoined its general use, under the title of 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; after the Use of the Church of England.'

"The alterations of most importance adopted in the new edition of 1552 were as follow. The appointment of the sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution, to be read at the beginning of the morning and evening services, which in the first common prayer book began with the lord's prayer; the rejection of prayers for souls departed, both in the communion office, and in that for the burial of the dead; of the invocation of the Holy Ghost, in the consecration of the Eucharist; of the prayer of oblation, that followed it; of the rubrick that ordered water to be mixed with the sacramental wine; of the use of oil in baptism; and of the unction of the



sick. Certain hymns also were introduced after the lessons; some occasional prayers at the end of the litany were added, and different rubrics were inserted. The ten commandments were appointed to be read after the collect, in the beginning of the communion service, and the short petition which follows each commandment was inserted. The habits of the officiating minister prescribed by the former book were, by the present one, ordered to be laid aside; and a rubric was added at the end of the communion service to explain the reason of kneeling at the sacrament."

On the accession of Elizabeth, "Mary's act of repeal was reversed; and measures were taken and commissioners appointed, for another review of Edward's book of common prayer. The commissioners were, Dr. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Guest, dean of Canterbury; Dr. Cox and Dr. May (commissioners for a similar purpose in Edward's time); Dr. Grindal, bishop of London; Dr. Sandys, afterwards bishop of Worcester; Dr. Whitehead; Dr. Bill; and Dr. Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham. These learned and pious men commenced their task in December 1558, and completed it in the ensuing April, when parliament ratified the review, with one amendment only, that of enjoining the communicants to kneel, instead of standing, when they received the elements of bread and wine. With this amendment the new book was commanded to be received into public use on the festival of St. John the Baptist, 1559. Amongst some other alterations of a trifling

or verbal nature, the following were suggested by the commissioners, and adopted in the book of common prayer now under consideration. The place in which the morning and evening service should be read (which hitherto had been the chancel) was left to the appointment of the ordinary. Proper first lessons were now appointed for Sundays; for hitherto those for the day of the month had been regularly used on the Lord's day. The very harsh and objectionable deprecation in the litany was omitted: 'From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us.' The intercessions for the queen were incorporated into the same service; and towards the conclusion of it, 'a prayer for the queen's majesty' was introduced; together with that for 'the clergy and people;' and the beautiful collect which commences with these words, 'O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and forgive.' The habits of the officiating ministers, enjoined by the first book of king Edward, and prohibited by the second, were ordered again to be adopted. The rubric, which was added at the conclusion of the communion service, in the second book of king Edward VI. denying Christ's corporal and real presence in the holy sacrament, was now left out; and in order still further to conciliate the Roman catholics, and unite the nation in one faith and mode of worship, the royal injunctions expressly commanded, that the sacramental bread, which the rubric only enjoined to be of the finest wheaten flour, should be made of a round form, similar in shape

shape to the wafer used in the Romish mass.

2 "The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. 2 vols."—We do not mean to quote from these volumes, because we have no doubt they are well known to most, if not all, our readers: but we notice them in order to praise them,—not so much on account of the talent they display (though that is not inconsiderable) as on account of the honourable and pleasing

specimen which they afford of American urbanity, intelligence, and, above all, good will towards this country. The author, Mr. Washington Irving, a citizen of the United States, even enters into the natural feelings and prejudices of John Bull; and sketches them, as well as many of our old and now almost worn-out customs and characters, with a bold, correct, and animated pencil.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ARTS, SCIENCES, NATURAL HISTORY.

**I**N a work designed for general readers, like *The New Annual Register*, it would be improper to introduce any other notice of the arts and sciences than such as would be understood by, or useful to, them for practical purposes. We shall therefore extract from various publications a few such notices.

## SINGULAR INSTRUMENT.

The discovery of the Eustachian tube or passage from the ear to the throat, took place at a very early period of anatomy ; yet no advantage was attempted to be taken of it in a pathological point of view till nearly a century ago, when the sieur Guiot, being deaf, and finding no relief by applications through the external ear, threw an injection into the passage. The success of this instrument, by effecting his cure, occasioned it to be presented to the Royal academy of Paris ; and it is now brought forward, greatly improved by Mr. Curtis, the lecturer on the diseases of the ear, at the Royal Dispensary : who, from his success with it there, and in his private practice, considers it a valuable acquisition in cases of obstinate deafness, as it entirely supersedes the operation of penetrating the tympanum.

## NEWLY-INVENTED GUN.

A gun of an entire novel construction was lately exhibited in the gardens of York house, before the duke of York, the adjutant-general to the forces, the quarter-master-general, marquis Camden, and general sir H. Taylor. It

weighs less than the ordinary musket, though composed of seven barrels ; one of the common length ; and in the same position, around it, at the breach, are the six others, of about three inches in length only. The whole being charged, and the priming for the whole being placed in the magazine hammer, which preserves it quite dry, and yields just sufficient and no more to each charge ; the simple act of cocking places each of the short barrels successively in complete connexion with the long one, and that of shutting the pan, primes it ; so that seven discharges may be effected in 30 seconds ; and if the long barrel be rifled, produces the effect of a rifle gun, without the labour or deformity of the ball, produced by the ordinary mode of loading. It is perfectly safe and accurate, every part being so guarded as to prevent the possibility of danger. This invention is equally applicable to great guns, pistols, or the arms used for the horse or coach-guards ; in the hands of game-keepers, it must be a most formidable weapon.

## NEW METHOD OF GRAFTING

## TREES.

A common method of grafting is by making a transverse section in the bark of the stock, and a perpendicular slit below it : the bud is then pushed down to give it the position which it is to have. This method is not always successful ; it is better to reverse it, by making the vertical slit above the transverse section, and pushing the bud upwards

upwards into its position—a method which rarely fails of success ; because as the sap descends by the bark, as has been ascertained, and does not ascend, the bud thus placed above the transverse section receives abundance, but when placed below, the sap cannot reach it.

#### MACHINE FOR CROSSING RIVERS.

The mechanist, Xavier Michel, residing at Offenbach, has invented a very simple and compact machine, by the aid of which rivers may be crossed, and even the sea attempted, without any danger of sinking. It is nearly five feet in diameter, when unfolded. An opening of about thirteen inches in the centre is destined to receive the traveller. When dismounted, this apparatus is easily transported from place to place, for its entire weight scarcely exceeds five pounds. The inventor has made a number of experiments on the Rhine, all of which have been crowned with entire success. He can make the machine move forward, or otherwise, at pleasure, and without any great exertion.

#### RECTIFICATION OF ALCOHOL.

A correspondent of the *Giornale de Fisica* reports an experiment which may be applied with advantage to this purpose. It is a well known fact, that water passes with facility through bladder, while alcohol is almost perfectly retained by it. If a bottle of wine be closed by a piece of bladder, instead of a cork, a portion of the water will be found to have evaporated and passed off through the membrane, and the wine left will be found proportionally stronger. If a bladder half filled with alcohol of the specific gravity of 867, and having its orifice closed, be exposed to the sun, the air, or the heat of a

stove, in a short time the alcohol will be found rectified to 817 spec. gr. and in this manner all the water may be evaporated. If the same bladder with its contents be then exposed to a humid atmosphere, (as in a damp cellar,) it will imbibe water, and return to 867 spec. grav. which water may again be separated by hanging it in a dry place. In one word, the bladder is a filter, which suffers water to pass through it, but not alcohol.

#### PRINTED MAPS.

Mr. Firmin Didot is at present devoting his attention to the engraving of dies for moveable types for printing maps, which will, it is affirmed, equal those engraved on copper, and which invention seems to be exclusively his own. Many attempts have already been made to print maps with moveable types, among which the specimens from the presses of messrs. Haas of Basil, and Periaux of Rouen (who exhibited in the exhibition of arts, this year, a beautiful map of the department of the lower Seine) are particularly distinguished ; but they do not satisfy the expectations of connoisseurs : it is therefore hoped, that Mr. Firmin Didot, by his talents and zeal, will succeed in conquering the difficulties which have hitherto opposed the complete success of this important branch of typography.—The art of printing maps with moveable types, is originally a German invention. It is well known that one of the earliest printers, Conrad Sweynheym, or Schweinheim, introduced this art into Rome, in company with Arnold Pannarz, on the occasion of printing the twenty-seven maps for the cosmography of Ptolemy. He died

died before the work was quite finished, and it was therefore executed by another German, Arnold Buckinck (Bucking) at Rome, in October 1478. The practice was continued for some time in the 16th century, but afterwards abandoned, probably because it was too difficult and tedious, till the second half of the 18th century, when two Germans, almost at the same time, and without knowing any thing of each other, renewed the attempt. The first who published a specimen was Augustus Gottlieb, a Prussian, deacon at Carlsruhe, and who corresponded with the celebrated printer William Haas, of Basil, that he might cut types for him on a certain plan, to be used in map-printing. His first attempt was made in 1776. It anticipated Bretkopff in the publication and execution of his ideas, and was called typometry. In the same year, however, appeared the *Environons of Leipsig*, by Bretkopff, as a specimen; and his second attempt, in 1777, in which, and also in succeeding essays which were not made public, he constantly endeavoured to improve his invention.—Mr. Didot will now probably find some method to facilitate the very troublesome process.

#### SUBSTITUTE FOR COFFEE.

Dr. Maer, a German physician of some eminence, ascribes great medical virtues to an infusion of acorns used in the same manner as coffee. In 1793 he published some experiments on this subject, and gave the following directions for preparing and using the acorns:—Take sound and ripe acorns, peel off the shell or husk, divide the kernels, dry them gradually, and then roast them in a close vessel or roaster, keeping them constantly

stirring; in doing which especial care must be taken that they be not burnt or over-roasted, either of which would be hurtful. The doctor recommends half an ounce of these roasted acorns, ground and prepared like coffee, to be taken morning and evening, either alone or mixed with coffee and sweetened with sugar, either with or without milk. The author says that acorns have always been esteemed a wholesome nutriment for men, and that by their medical qualities they have been found to cure slimy obstructions in the *viscera*, and to remove nervous complaints.

#### SIDEROGRAPHY.

The chief merit of this invention consists in its power to multiply engravings of the most exquisite, as well as those of inferior kinds, and substituting steel in place of copper plates, in certain cases. This process of stereotyping the fine arts, is simple, and easily understood, and is effected in the following manner: Steel blocks or plates are prepared in a peculiar way, of sufficient softness to receive the tool of the engraver, who is able to produce upon them even better and sharper work than upon copper. This block or plate is then hardened by a new process, without injury to the most delicate lines. A cylinder of steel, of proper diameter and width, is then prepared to receive the impression on its periphery in relief; this is effected by being applied to a singularly constructed press, invented expressly for the purpose. The cylinder is then hardened, and fac-similes may be produced upon steel or copper plates *ad infinitum*; and in this way, bank note plates may have the talents of the most eminent

eminent artists in England transferred to them. The great advantage of this invention, as applied to secure bank notes from forgery, is, that it produces perfect identity in all the notes, and admits of a test, whereby each note may be identified, as all the notes may be perfectly alike except the denomination; and every individual who will take the trouble to furnish himself with an original impression from any one of the test dies, may, by comparison, determine whether the note is genuine or not.

A French artist, M. Guillot, ex-director of assignats, has claimed for his countrymen the invention of Messrs. Perkins, Fairman, and Heath, evidently without having ascertained the nature of their process. M. Guillot lays "claim to the priority of the invention of engraving in relief on copper, by the pressure of a plate engraved by incision (*en creux*) on steel." The inventors of this valuable art do not claim the discovery of engraving in relief on copper; it constitutes no part of their process of multiplying copper or steel engravings. The method adopted by the French artists to multiply engravings is not practicable, and is acknowledged by M. Guillot to have been abandoned long since. What practical man could suppose that copper, having been pressed into a steel engraving, although made harder by the operation, could indent, by its relief, another copper plate, without enlarging each, and thereby distorting and injuring the engraving? M. Guillot, after claiming for his countrymen this invention, says it is worth nothing, and points out the reason why. He says (and we perfectly

agree with him), "copper when strongly pressed, experiences in all its parts an extension proportioned to its degree of annealing, and to its thickness. The difference between two impressions in copper has been found to amount, in the eagle and in the figure of liberty, to two centimeters 25-100ths (a line): hence the identity is destroyed." M. Guillot has, we think, fairly proved, that although the French artists long ago conceived the idea that engravings might be multiplied, yet they could not put their ideas into practice, and, after many experiments, it was given up.

#### MUSIC.

An invention has recently been perfected for turning the leaves of music by the foot, instead of the hand. The machine consists of five distinct movements. The first turns the leaf, the second turns it back when a *da capo* is required; the third secures the second leaf while the first is turning; the fourth shifts the second lever into the place of the first; and the fifth action is its return of itself to take the second leaf over. It is fixed inside the piano-forte, and is not seen unless used.

#### HYDRAULICS.

Mr. Perkins, the ingenious inventor of the siderographic process of engraving, has ascertained that water is compressible in a much greater degree than it appeared to be from the experiments of Canton and Zimmerman. "Having filled a cylinder, three feet long and four inches diameter, with water, into which a rod or piston was passed through a stuffing-box, and having a sliding ring upon the rod, the whole was lowered 300 fathoms into the sea, when

when it appeared, by the situation of the sliding ring, that the column of water which pressed upon the piston, had sunk it so as to have compressed the water one hundredth part of its bulk. The same apparatus was placed in a cannon filled with water, and secured very tight, when a pressure equal to 500 fathoms was forced in by means of the hydraulic press, and the same results as in the experiment in the ocean took place."

#### RED SNOW.

The nature of this substance was explained in Mr. Bauer's paper read before the Royal Society on the 11th of May. In the winter he put some of the red globules forming this substance into a phial with compressed snow, and placed the phial in the open air. A thaw having melted the snow, he poured off the water and added fresh snow. In two days the mass of fungi was found raised in little heaps, which gradually rose higher, filling the cells of the ice. Another thaw came on, and the fungi fell to the bottom, but of about twice their original bulk. They appeared capable of vegetating in water, but in this case the globules produced were not red, but green. The author found that excessive cold killed the original fungi; but their seeds still retained vitality, and if immersed in snow produced new fungi, generally of a red colour.—Snow, then, seems to be the proper soil of these fungi.

#### THE MAGNET.

A paper read at the Cambridge Philosophical Society by Mr. Christie, "On the laws according to which masses of iron influence the magnetic needles," states, that in-

stead of a mass of iron disturbing a needle by becoming a magnet, having its north and south poles in the upper and lower part respectively, he supposes that the needle is guided in its horizontal direction by magnetic particles passing through its centre in the direction of its natural dip; and the iron to act principally, if not wholly, on these particles, causing, by their deviation towards it, a corresponding deviation of the horizontal needle. In confirmation of this, he found by experiment, that when the disturbing mass is placed at the same distance from the magnetic axis and the centre of the needle, the deviation of the horizontal needle, when properly estimated from the magnetic axis, is always the same, whether the mass be placed at the north, or the south, or any other point of the compass with respect to the needle.

The Leven sailed recently from Portsmouth, having on board various instruments for philosophical experiments. The most interesting of these relate to certain magnetical discoveries, for which we are indebted to Mr. Barlow, one of the mathematical professors in the royal military academy. The leading facts are these, viz. that in every ball or mass of iron, if a plane be conceived to pass from north to south, inclining, in these latitudes, at an angle of  $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  (or from the complement of the dip), and a compass be pointed any where in this plane, it will not be affected by the iron, but point due north and south, the same as if no iron were in its vicinity. This plane, Mr. B. has every reason to suppose, will change its position with the dip,  
or

or latitude, as so to become parallel to the horizon at the pole, and perpendicular to it at the equator; and it is this fact which captain Bartholomew is charged to determine, as far as it can be done, in the parts he is about to visit, while lieutenant Parry is supposed to be making corresponding observations in Baffin's Bay. Mr. Barlow has also discovered that the magnetic quality of the iron resides wholly in the surface, so that an iron shell weighing only 3lbs. 14oz. will act as powerfully on the needle as a solid ball of the same dimensions weighing upwards of 300lbs,—and by a judicious application and combination of these two facts, he has projected an extremely easy method of counteracting the local attraction of vessels.

#### CURE FOR THE HYDROPHOBIA.

Dr. Lyman Spalding, one of the most eminent physicians of New York, announces, in a small pamphlet, that for above these fifty years the *Scutellaria lateriflora* L. has proved to be an infallible means for the prevention and cure of the hydrophobia, after the bite of mad animals. It is better applied as a dry powder than fresh. According to the testimonies of several American physicians, this plant, not yet received as a remedy in any European *Matéria Médica*, afforded a perfect relief in above a thousand cases, as well in the human species as the brute creation (dogs, swine, and oxen). The first discoverer of the remedy is not known: Drs. Derveer (father and son) first brought it into general use.

#### ANTIDOTE FOR VEGETABLE POISONS.

It results from a number of ex-

periments made by M. Drapiez, that the fruit of the plant *Feuillea cordifolia* is a powerful antidote against vegetable poisons. He poisoned dogs with the *rhus toxicodendron*, hemlock, and *nux vomica*. Such of them as were left to the effects of the poison, all died; but those to which the above fruit was given, recovered completely after a short illness. With two arrows dipped in the juice *manche-nille*, he slightly wounded two cats: to the one he applied a poultice of the same fruit, and it soon recovered: to the other nothing was done, and it fell in a short time into convulsions, and died. In the countries which produce this plant, its virtues have long been highly esteemed, and from these experiments, it would appear, not without good reason.

#### LITHOGRAPHY.

The silver medal of the society for the encouragement of arts, &c. has been voted to Mr. Hullmandell, of Marlborough street, London, for his communication relative to this useful art. Among other remarks, he observes: "The art of lithography admits of many different styles; such as ink drawings, either by lines or dots, etchings or engravings, chalk, and imitations of wood-cuts, and of aquatinta. The only style, however, which has a decided superiority is that of chalk, as I think no style of copper-plate engravings can give so perfect an imitation of original pencil drawings; whereas, from the natural tendency the stone has to imbibe the lithographic ink, it is impossible to obtain very fine lines, or any drawings which might not be executed with more ease by etching on copper. Very fine lines, and good imitations



tions of copper plate engraving, may be produced by engraving upon stone: but as it requires almost as much practice as engraving upon copper, the chief advantage of lithography, viz. enabling an artist to execute his own drawings, is lost; to which must be added, the disadvantage of the great bulk and weight of the stones, which must always hinder a person from laying by engravings already executed, as can be done with copper-plates. Transfers upon stones, however, with regard to writing, are extremely useful; it has also been attempted with copper-plate prints, but they are but poor imitations of the original. The art of transferring writing upon stone is so very easy and simple, that I have thought it useless to offer any specimen of it. These considerations have led me to turn all my thoughts towards chalk-drawings; and it appears lithography has been considered chiefly in that light, both in Paris and Munich.

"The stones proper for lithography must be of a calcareous nature, pure, hard, and of a fine grain. They must imbibe both moisture and grease with equal avidity: on this is founded the whole art of lithography."

"The chalk is a composition of grease, wax, shell-lac, soap, and black. The lithographic ink is composed of the same materials, but rather softer.

"The stone must be rubbed down with fine sand to a perfect level, after which it is ready to receive the drawing: when the latter is executed, a weak solution of nitric acid is thrown over the stone: this operation slightly corrodes its surface, and disposes it to imbibe

moisture with more facility. While the stone is still wet, a cylinder, of about three inches in diameter, and covered with common printers' ink, is rolled over the whole surface of the stone; the wet part, of course, refuses to take the ink, while the chalk, being greasy, takes a portion of it from the roller. The stone is now ready for printing. The press consists of a box, drawn by a wheel under a wooden scraper, pressing on it with great power; after the first impression the stone is wetted afresh, again rolled over with the cylinder, drawn under the scraper, and so on. The same process is employed for ink drawings, except that the solution of aquafortis must be stronger, and the printing-ink stiffer."

#### HYDRAULIC RAM.

M. Godin, of Paris, has invented an hydraulic ram, of a construction so simple, that it may be easily worked by any village labourer. This invention applies to the watering of meadows, to the draining of marshes, and drawing water out of the earth, and raising it to considerable elevations. To those who wish to construct the machine on the spot, M. G. transmits instructions, accompanied with engravings, and also a small model in relievo, if desired.

#### DIVING MACHINE.

Some time ago it was announced in most of the papers on the continent, that Mr. Francis Farkas, a Hungarian, had invented a machine, named a Dolphin, by means of which a person may dive to the bottom of the deepest rivers, lakes, and the sea. The machine enables the diver to walk at his ease on the bottom, to work his hands

hands and feet with freedom, and mount at pleasure, without any assistance, to the surface, or remain stationary in the middle of the water, or in any depth, and continue as long as he may wish, without the least interruption or effort. The object of this useful invention is to give prompt and effectual relief to vessels wracked; to collect from the bottom, with greater facility, pearls, coral, and amber, and to augment our fine collections of shells; also to raise from the cavities of the sea, treasures which perhaps are to us at present unknown. An experiment was made with this machine at Vienna on the 1st of October last, in the military swimming school at the prater. Count Joseph Esterhazy de Galanthy, count Fergas de Ghymes (court secretary), the acting chamberlain Nemes Slagod, several learned Englishmen, and many persons of distinction were present. The servant of the inventor plunged with the Dolphin in twenty-four feet water, and walked upon the bottom over the whole square of the swimming school. To prove that there could be no want of light, the inventor sent down a lantern, and when it was taken up again the light was still burning.—After the man had remained one hour under water, he returned without the least assistance to the surface of the water, not because he wanted air, a thing which never occurs, but because the persons who were witnesses of the experiment declared they were perfectly satisfied, and requested that he might come up.

INSTRUMENT FOR PERSPECTIVE  
DRAWINGS:

Mr. J. Auracher d'Aurach,  
major-general in the Austrian ser-

vice, has invented a very ingenious instrument, which he calls *Quercographe*, by means of which a person is able to draw in perspective with the greatest accuracy, and apply with the various tints according to the rules of *chiaroscuro*. In the first part of a work which he has published on the subject, he gives a description of the instrument, which is of very simple construction; in the second he shows its use, and how it is to be applied to every kind of perspective.

NEW PLOUGH.

A plough has been invented for tilling rough land, called a *rid-plough*. It is prevented from getting choked up before and behind the coulter. The principal alteration is in the beam and coulter; and it is more easily guided and drawn than the common plough.

PYROLIGNOUS ACID.

*Curing provisions.*—"The property of preserving meat and other animal substances from putrefaction by this acid, the product of distillation from wood, has been known above twelve months. A Mr. William Ramsay has since tried a series of experiments with the view towards further investigating the subject, and rendering the acid useful in domestic and naval economy. These fully confirm the utility of the discovery for the curing of provisions. Herrings immersed for three hours in distilled pyrolignous acid of the specific gravity of 1.012, were considerably softened, but remained in perfect preservation for half a-year; the only disagreeable quality attached to them being an empyreumatic smell and taste. Merely dipping the fish in a pickle

of

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of this strength appears to be sufficient for their cure, and they are then free from empyreuma. Had-docks slightly sprinkled with salt, and afterwards dipped in the acid, were finely preserved: if allowed to remain too long in the latter, the muscular fibre became decomposed, and the smell and taste were unpleasant, as in the herring first mentioned. Herrings, with salt and acid slightly combined, were equal to the finest red herrings, and shining and fresh in their colour as when taken from the sea.

“Beef dipped in the acid (sp. gr. 1.012) for one minute, in July, 1819, was, on the 4th of March, 1820, as free from taint as on the day when the experiment was made. Beef dipped in pure vinegar (sp. gr. 1.009) at the same time, was free from taint on the 18th of November, and being broiled, had a pleasant sub-acid taste. It is thus evident that vinegar also possesses, to a certain degree, a similar anti-septic quality with pyrolignous acid.”

## ON THE MALLEABLE IRON PASSAGE-BOAT.

The following is an account of the malleable iron passage boat, now plying on the Forth and Clyde canal, communicated in a letter from John Robinson, esq. F.R.S.E. to Dr. Brewster:—

The hull was built of iron, in order to avoid the often recurring and expensive repairs to which the wooden vessels had been found liable. Considerable opposition to the plan was made by the persons connected with the navigation of the boats, who said it would be found inconvenient and unfit for service; but experience has proved it otherwise, and the Vulcan has been found to be the most agreeable and manageable of the passage vessels in every variety of weather, while, though carrying more passengers than any on the old plan, it is as easily tracked as the smallest of them; and from the lowness of the centre of gravity it admits of a large cabin and awning on deck, where the passengers are better accommodated than in the former way below. The dimensions are—

Extreme length	63 feet.
Beam	13
Depth (including five inches keel)	5
Draft of water of the iron hull when launched	22 inches.
Ditto, when fitted up with cabins, &c.	37
Ditto, with 200 passengers and their luggage	48 on an even level.
Weight of iron employed:	
Keel, stem and stem-posts	1 13 0
Ribbs, rivets, &c.	4 0 0
Plates for the body	5 0 0
Gunwhale plates	1 2 0
Rudder, bilge plates, &c.	0 11 3
	12 11 3.
	at 54 per cwt.

or

or little more than twelve and a half tons, which is rather less than that of a wooden vessel of the same external and smaller internal dimensions. An unforeseen advantage has been experienced in the use of this vessel, the cause of which is not very apparent. When any of the other boats have been laid alongside of the canal bank, to take in or discharge passengers, they continue, on being again put in motion, to rub on the bank, until they acquire head-way enough to bring them under the command of the rudder; but the Vulcan immediately springs off the bank, and takes into the middle of the canal.—Pumps for clearing away leakage or bilge water were put into her, but I believe they have hardly been required to be used. It has been under contemplation to cause the horses to track the boats through the intervention of a spring, in order to equalize their exertions, which vary, in very minute portions of time, from 100lbs. to 1000lbs. while the average strain on the line is between 250lbs. and 300lbs. It has been found impracticable, however, to procure springs combining sufficient power of extension and strength, and I believe we must have recourse to one whose temper will not be found liable to fail—I mean that of air acted on by a piston in a barrel of adequate dimensions. Perhaps some of your readers will have the goodness to suggest a convenient form. The points to be observed are, that the apparatus do not incommode the passengers, and that it be adapted to the use of such boats as are employed in navigating the vessels. (From the Edin. Phil. Journ.)

1820.

A work has been published by Mr. Accum on adulterations of food, which has a strong claim to our notice in this place. We are rather disposed to be of opinion that Mr. Accum has exaggerated the danger in which he represents us to be daily, and even hourly, of being poisoned,—probably in order to give more stimulus to his book, and to gain more gratitude for putting us on our guard: and we could have wished that there had not been so much the appearance of book-making in his work. Still, however, it is a valuable and highly useful publication; and though it must be pretty extensively known, yet as its contents come home to the comfort and health of all, we shall subjoin extracts relating to the adulterations of bread, wine, and beer.

## SOPHISTICATION OF BREAD.

“It is usual to add a certain quantity of alum to the dough; this improves the look of the bread very much, and renders it whiter and firmer. Good, white, and porous bread may certainly be manufactured from good wheaten flour alone; but to produce the degree of whiteness rendered indispensable by the caprice of the consumers in London, it is necessary (unless the best flour is employed) that the dough should be *bleached*; and no substance has hitherto been found to answer this purpose better than alum.

“Without this salt it is impossible to make bread, from the kind of flour usually employed by the London bakers, so white, as that which is commonly sold in the metropolis.”

“The best flour is mostly used by the biscuit bakers and pastry  
E cooks,

cooks, and the inferior sorts in the making of bread. The bakers' flour is very often made of the worst kinds of damaged foreign wheat, and other cereal grains mixed with them in grinding the wheat into flour. In this capital, no fewer than six distinct kinds of wheaten flour are brought into market. They are called fine flour, seconds, middlings, fine middlings, coarse middlings, and twenty-penny flour. Common garden beans and pease are also frequently ground up among the London bread flour."

"From experiments, (continues the author, after describing the process of baking at length) in which I have been employed, with the assistance of skilful bakers, I am authorized to state, that without the addition of alum, it does not appear possible to make white, light, and porous bread, such as is used in the metropolis, unless the flour be of the very best quality.

"Another substance employed by fraudulent bakers is subcarbonate of ammonia. With this salt they realise the important consideration of producing light and porous bread, from spoiled, or what is technically called *sour flour*. This salt, which becomes wholly converted into a gaseous state during the operation of baking, causes the dough to swell up into air bubbles, which carry before them the stiff dough, and thus it renders the dough porous; the salt itself is, at the same time, totally volatilised during the operation of baking. Thus, not a vestige of carbonate of ammonia remains in the bread. This salt is also largely employed by the biscuit and ginger-bread bakers.

"Potatoes are likewise largely, and perhaps constantly, used by fraudulent bakers, as a cheap ingredient, to enhance their profit. The potatoes being boiled, are triturated, passed through a sieve, and incorporated with the dough by kneading. This adulteration does not materially injure the bread. The bakers assert, that the bad quality of the flour renders the addition of potatoes advantageous as well to the baker as to the purchaser, and that without this admixture in the manufacture of bread, it would be impossible to carry on the trade of a baker.—But the grievance is, that the same price is taken for a potatoe loaf, as for a loaf of genuine bread, though it must cost the baker less.

"I have witnessed, that five bushels of flour, three ounces of alum, six pounds of salt, one bushel of potatoes boiled into a stiff paste, and three quarts of yeast, with the requisite quantity of water, produce a white, light, and highly palatable bread."

#### SOPHISTICATION OF WINE.

"It is sufficiently obvious, that few of those commodities which are the objects of commerce are adulterated to a greater extent than wine. All persons moderately conversant with the subject, are aware, that a portion of alum is added to young and meagre red wines, for the purpose of brightening their colour; that Brazil wood, or the husks of elderberries and bilberries are employed to impart a deep rich purple tint to red port of a pale, faint colour; that gypsum is used to render cloudy white wines transparent; that an additional astringency is imparted to  
 imma-

immature red wines by means of oakwood saw-dust, and the husks of filberts; and that a mixture of spoiled foreign and home-made wines is converted into the wretched compound frequently sold in the town by the name of *genuine old port*.

"Various expedients are resorted to for the purpose of communicating particular flavours to insipid wines. Thus a *nutty* flavour is produced by bitter almonds; factitious port wine is flavoured with a tincture drawn from the seeds of raisins; and the ingredients employed to form the *bouquet* of high-flavoured wines, are sweet-brier, orris-root, clary, cherry laurel water, and elder-flowers.

"The flavouring ingredients used by manufacturers may all be purchased of those dealers in wine who are initiated in the mysteries of the trade; and even a manuscript receipt book for preparing them, and the whole mystery of managing all sorts of wines, may be obtained on payment of a considerable fee.

"The sophistication of wine with substances not absolutely noxious to health is carried on to an enormous extent in this metropolis. Many thousand pipes of spoiled cyder are annually brought hither from the country, for the purpose of being converted into factitious port wine. The art of manufacturing spurious wine is a regular trade of great extent in this metropolis.

"The particular and separate department in this factitious wine trade, called *crusting*, consists in lining the interior surface of empty wine bottles, in part, with a red

crust of super-tartrate of potash, by suffering a saturated hot solution of this salt, coloured red with a decoction of Brazil-wood, to crystallize within them; and after this simulation of maturity is perfected, they are filled with the compound called port wine.

"Other artisans are regularly employed in staining the lower extremities of bottle-corks with a fine red colour, to appear, on being drawn, as if they had been long in contact with the wine.

"The preparation of an astringent extract, to produce, from spoiled home-made and foreign wines, a 'genuine old port,' by mere admixture; or to impart to a weak wine a rough austere taste, a fine colour, and a peculiar flavour, forms one branch of the business of particular wine coopers; while the mellowing and restoring of spoiled white wines is the sole occupation of men who are called refiners of wine."

"The most dangerous adulteration of wine is by some preparations of lead, which possess the property of stopping the progress of acescence of wine, and also of rendering white wines, when muddy, transparent. I have good reason to state that lead is certainly employed for this purpose. The effect is very rapid; and there appears to be no other method known of rapidly recovering ropy wines. Wine merchants persuade themselves that the minute quantity of lead employed for that purpose is perfectly harmless, and that no atom of lead remains in the wine. Chemical analysis proves the contrary; and the practice of clarifying spoiled white wines by means of lead must be

pronounced as highly deleterious.

"Lead, in whatever state it be taken into the stomach, occasions terrible diseases; and wine adulterated with the minutest quantity of it becomes a slow poison. The merchant or dealer who practises this dangerous sophistication, adds the crime of murder to that of fraud, and deliberately scatters the seed of disease and death among those consumers who contribute to his emolument."

"When the must is separated from the husk of the red grape before it is fermented, the wine has little or no colour: these are called white wines. If, on the contrary, the husks are allowed to remain in the must while the fermentation is going on, the alcohol dissolves the colouring matter of the husks, and the wine is coloured: such are called red wines. Hence white wines are often prepared from red grapes, the liquor being drawn off before it has acquired the red colour; for the skin of the grape only gives the colour."

"All wines (besides brandy, or alcohol,) contain also a free acid; hence they turn blue tincture of cabbage red. The acid found in the greatest abundance in grape wines, is tartaric acid. Every wine contains likewise a portion of supertartrate of potash, and extractive matter, derived from the juice of the grape. These substances deposit slowly in the vessel in which they are kept. To this is owing the improvement of wine from age. Those wines which effervesce or froth, when poured into a glass, contain also carbonic acid, to

which their briskness is owing. The peculiar flavour and odour of different kinds of wines probably depend upon the presence of a volatile oil, so small in quantity that it cannot be separated."

#### SOPHISTICATION OF BEER.

"Malt liquor and especially porter, the favourite beverage of the inhabitants of London, and of other large towns, is amongst those articles in the manufacture of which the greatest frauds are frequently committed."

"The statute prohibits the brewer from using any ingredients in his brewing, except malt and hops; but it too often happens that those who suppose they are drinking a nutritious beverage, made of these ingredients only, are entirely deceived. The beverage may, in fact, be neither more nor less than a compound of the most deleterious substances; and it is also clear that all ranks of society are alike exposed to the nefarious fraud."

"The fraud of imparting to porter and ale an intoxicating quality by narcotic substances, appears to have flourished during the period of the late French war; for, if we examine the importation lists of drugs, it will be noticed that the quantities of *cocculus indicus* imported in a given time prior to that period, will bear no comparison with the quantity imported in the same space of time during the war, although an additional duty was laid upon this commodity. Such has been the amount brought into this country in five years, that it far exceeds the quantity imported during twelve years anterior to the above epoch. The price of this drug has  
risen

risen within these ten years from two shillings to seven shillings the pound.

"It was at the period to which we have alluded that the preparation of an extract of *cocculus indicus* first appeared, as a new saleable commodity, in the price-currents of brewers' druggists. It was at the same time, also, that a Mr. Jackson, of notorious memory, fell upon the idea of brewing beer from various drugs, without any malt and hops. This chemist did not turn brewer himself; but he struck out the more profitable trade of teaching his mystery to the brewers for a handsome fee. From that time forwards, written directions, and receipt-books for using the chemical preparations to be substituted for malt and hops, were respectively sold; and many adepts soon afterwards appeared every where, to instruct brewers in the nefarious practice first pointed out by Mr. Jackson. From that time, also, the fraternity of brewers' chemists took its rise. They made it their chief business to send travellers all over the country with lists and samples exhibiting the price and quality of the articles manufactured by them for the use of brewers only. Their trade spread far and wide, but it was amongst the country brewers chiefly that they found the most customers; and it is amongst them up to the present day, as I am assured by some of these operators, on whose veracity I can rely, that the greatest quantities of unlawful ingredients are sold."

"Entire butt beer consists of some beer brewed expressly for the purpose of keeping; it likewise contains a portion of returns

from publicans; a portion of beer from the bottoms of vats: the beer that is drawn off from the pipes, which convey the beer from one vat to another and from one part of the premises to another. This beer is collected and put into vats. Mr. Barclay also states that it contains a certain portion of brown stout, which is twenty shillings a barrel dearer than common beer; and some bottling beer, which is ten shillings a barrel dearer; and that all these beers, united, are put into vats, and that it depends upon various circumstances, how long they may remain in those vats before they become perfectly bright. When bright, this beer is sent out to the publicans for their entire beer, and there is sometimes a small quantity of mild beer mixed with it.

"The present entire beer, therefore, is a very heterogeneous mixture, composed of all the waste and spoiled beer of the publicans—the bottoms of butts—the leavings of the pots—the drippings of the machines for drawing the beer—the remains of the beer that lay in the leaden pipes of the brewery, with a portion of brown stout, bottling beer, and mild beer."

"A more easy, expeditious, and economical method has been discovered to convert any sort of beer into entire beer, merely by the admixture of a portion of sulphuric acid. An imitation of the age of eighteen months is thus produced in an instant. This process is technically called 'to bring beer forward, or to make it hard.'"

"The practice is a bad one.  
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The genuine, old, or entire beer, of the honest brewer, is quite a different compound; it has a rich, generous, full-bodied taste, without being acid, and a vinous odour; but it may, perhaps, not be generally known, that this kind of beer always affords a less proportion of alcohol than is produced from mild beer. The practice of bringing beer forward, it is to be understood, is resorted to only by fraudulent brewers."

"If, on the contrary, the brewer has too large a stock of old beer on his hands, recourse is had to an opposite practice of converting stale, half-spoiled, or sour beer, into mild beer, by the simple admixture of an alkali, or an alkaline earth. Oyster-shell powder and subcarbonate of potash, or soda, are usually employed for that purpose. These substances neutralise the excess of acid, and render sour beer somewhat palatable. By this process the beer becomes very liable to spoil."

"These sophistications may be considered, at first, as minor crimes practised by fraudulent brewers, when compared with the methods employed by them for rendering beer noxious to health by substances absolutely injurious.

"To increase the intoxicating quality of beer, the deleterious vegetable substance, called *cocculus indicus*, and the extract of this poisonous berry, technically called black extract, or, by some, hard mullum, are employed. Opium, tobacco, nux vomica, and extract of poppies, have also been used.

"This fraud constitutes by far the most censurable offence committed by unprincipled brewers;

and it is a lamentable reflection to behold so great a number of brewers prosecuted and convicted of this crime; nor is it less deplorable to find the names of druggists, eminent in trade, implicated in the fraud, by selling the unlawful ingredients, to brewers, for fraudulent purposes."

"That a minute portion of an unwholesome ingredient, daily taken in beer, cannot fail to be productive of mischief, admits of no doubt; and there is reason to believe that a small quantity of a narcotic substance (and *cocculus indicus* is a powerful narcotic), daily taken into the stomach, together with an intoxicating liquor, is highly more efficacious than it would be without the liquor. The effect may be gradual; and a strong constitution, especially if it be assisted with constant and hard labour, may counteract the destructive consequences perhaps for many years: but it never fails to show its baneful effects at last. Independent of this, it is a well-established fact, that porter drinkers are very liable to apoplexy and palsy, without taking this narcotic poison."

"To this appalling description, we shall only add, that many other vile ingredients, wormwood, quassia, capsicum, grains of paradise, &c. are used for similar purposes, and defy chemical skill to detect them; and, finally, that even the froth or cauliflower head is produced by a deleterious mixture called "beer-heading," composed of common green vitriol, (sulphate of iron), alum, and salt."

The last work we shall notice under this chapter is the following:

"Poma-

"*Pomarium Britannicum*: an historical and botanical Account of Fruits known in Great Britain: by Henry Phillips."—This is an amusing work, in some places trifling and inaccurate, but on the whole conveying much information, in a popular form, on the subject of British fruits. We subjoin several extracts, which will, we think, dispose the reader to be pleased with the work.

*Apples*.—"The wild crab is the only apple indigenous to this country; and it is on this stock that most of our valuable apples have been grafted and raised by the ingenuity of the gardeners, who have, by sowing the seeds and studying the soil, so improved and multiplied the variety of this most excellent fruit, that it has now become of great national importance, affording an agreeable and wholesome diet, in a thousand shapes, to all classes of society.

"It was not until the 16th year of the reign of Henry the VIIIth that pippins were first introduced into England, by Leonard Maschal, who, in Fuller's words, 'brought them from over sea,' and planted them at Plumstead, in Sussex, a small village on the north side of the South Downs, near the Devil's Dyke. Maschal brought the first carp to England, and thus, at one time, furnished our orchards and our ponds with the rarest variety of each kind.

"The golden pippin is a native of Sussex, and is said to have been first reared at Parham Park, which is also situated on the north side of the South Downs. The Dutch acknowledge it to be an English apple in their catalogue of fruits, where it is called the '*Engelsche goud pepping*.' The French call

it '*pippin d'or*,' which is a translation of the English name.

"Catherine, empress of Russia, was so fond of this apple, that she was regularly supplied with it from England: and, in order that she might have it in the greatest perfection, each apple was separately enveloped in silver paper before it was packed."

"The cultivation of this, our most valuable fruit, has been attended to with so much care of late years, that one of our great gardeners (Mr. Hugh Ronalds, of Brentford,) exhibited at the horticultural society, in August 1818, sixteen varieties of apples, and in September he exhibited fifty-eight other sorts, all grown in his own garden, and considered the finest collection ever exhibited. In the month of October of the same year, he exhibited fifty-three sorts, making in the whole a variety of 127 kinds of this our staple fruit, which, in point of real value, takes place of all others, and affords a variety for all seasons of the year, both for the dessert and for culinary purposes, as well as the drink of which Phillips in Miltonian verse has sung."

*Chesnut*.—"The remains of very old decayed chesnut-trees may be seen in the forest of Dean, Enfield Chase, and in many parts of Kent. At Fortworth, in Gloucestershire is a chesnut-tree fifty-two feet round: it is proved to have stood there since the year 1150, and was then so remarkable, that it was called 'The great chesnut of Fortworth.' It fixes the boundary of a manor. Mr. Marsham states that this tree is 1100 years old."

"Chesnuts stewed with cream make a much admired dish, and

many families prefer them to all other stuffings for turkeys; they make an excellent soup; and I have no doubt but that chesnuts might be advantageously used in cooking, so as to make many agreeable and wholesome dishes. I have had them stewed and brought to table with salt fish, when they have been much admired; but it is exceedingly difficult to introduce any article as food that has not been established by long custom; and it is not more strange than true, that the difficulty increases, if the object be economy.

"The justice of this remark will be acknowledged by every observer.

'Tis true, 'tis pity; pity 'tis, 'tis true.'

"The importation of chesnuts is very considerable both from Spain and Portugal, yet I believe it is rare if ever there is a single meal made from them in this country. The Catalonians have this strange religious practice. On the 1st of November, the eve of All Souls, they run about from house to house to eat chesnuts, believing that for every chesnut they swallow, with proper faith and unction, they shall deliver a soul out of purgatory."

"The great chesnut-tree near Mount Etna is perhaps one of the most extraordinary trees in the Old World. It is called 'The chesnut-tree of a hundred horses,' from the following traditionary tale: Jane of Arragon, when she visited Mount Etna, was attended by her principal nobility, when a heavy shower obliged them to take refuge under this tree, the immense branches of which shel-

tered the whole party. According to the account given of it by Mr. Howel, this chesnut tree is 160 feet in circumference, and, although quite hollow within, the verdure of the branches is not affected; for this species of tree, like the willow and some others, depends upon its bark for subsistence. The cavity of this enormous tree is so extensive, that a house has been built in it, and the inhabitants have an oven therein, where they dry nuts, chesnuts, almonds, &c. of which they make conserves; but as these thoughtless people often get fuel from the tree that shelters them, it is feared that this natural curiosity will be destroyed by those whom it protects."

*The Currant*.—"This agreeable and wholesome fruit is undoubtedly a native of our country: it was formerly found growing in the wild state, in woods and hedges in Yorkshire, Durham, and Westmorland, as well as on the banks of the Tay and other parts of Scotland. As a further proof of its being a northern fruit, we have no account of its having been at all known to the ancient Greeks or Romans, who have been very accurate in describing all the fruits known in their time. It seems not to have grown so far south as France; for the old French name of *groscilles d'outremer* evidently bespeaks it not to have been a native of that country, and even at the present time their language has no appropriate name for it distinct from the gooseberry. The Dutch also acknowledge it not to have been indigenous to Holland, where it was called *lesaskins over see*. Whether the Dutch first procured this fruit from

from Britain, or from any other northern countries, we must acknowledge ourselves indebted to the gardeners of that country for so improving the size, if not the flavour of this fruit.

"The English name of currant seems to have been taken from the similitude of the fruit to that of the small Zante grapes, which we call currants, or corinths, from Corinth, where this fruit formerly grew in great abundance, and which are so much used in this country for cakes, puddings, &c.

"The Italians seem to have no other name for the currants than *wette*, little grapes. At Geneva they are called *raisins de Mars*. The currant does not appear in the list of fruits published by Thomas Tusser in 1557, which I have transcribed to show what fruits were cultivated in the latter part of queen Mary's reign.

"Apples of all sorts, apricots, barberries; boolesse, black and white; cherries, red and black; chesnuts; cornet plumbs; damisens, white and black; filberds, red and white; gooseberries; grapes, white and red; green or grass plumbs; hurtil berries; medlers, or meles; mulberries; peaches, white and red; peerces of all sorts; peer plumbs, black and yellow; quince-trees; raspis; reisons; small nuts; strawberries, red and white; service trees; wardens, white and red; walnuts; wheat plumbs."

"The black currants, which were formerly called squinancy berries, on account of their great use in quinsies, are natives of Sweden and the northern parts of Russia, as well as the northern counties of England, where they have been found in their natural state, grow-

ing in alder swamps, and in wet hedges by the banks of rivers. In some parts of Siberia, the black currants are said to grow to the size of hazel nuts. The inhabitants of that country make a drink of the leaves; in Russia a wine is made of the black currants; and it is also made in some parts of England."

"The currant tree that was brought from the isle of Zante, by our Levant traders, and first planted in England in the year 1593, I conclude was the vine that produces the small grapes which we call currants, and of which the English use more than all the rest of the world together. This fruit grows in great abundance in several places in the Archipelago. We have a factory at Zante, from whence we import them so closely pressed by treading, that they are often obliged to be dug out with an iron instrument, the natives thinking we use them as a dye."

*Figs.*—"At Oxford, in the botanic garden of the regius professor of Hebrew, is a fig-tree, which was brought from the East, and planted by Dr. Pocock, in the year 1648. Of this tree, the following anecdote is related: Dr. Kennicott, the celebrated Hebrew scholar and compiler of the Polyglot Bible, was passionately fond of this fruit; and seeing a very fine fig on this tree which he wished to preserve, wrote on a label 'Dr. Kennicott's fig,' which he tied to the fruit. An Oxonian wag, who had observed the transaction, watched the fruit daily, and, when ripe, gathered it, and exchanged the label for one thus worded: 'A fig for Dr. Kennicott.'

"It is a curious fact, that fresh-killed venison, or any other animal food, being hung up in a fig-tree

tree for a single night, will become as tender and as ready for dressing, as if kept for many days or weeks in the common manner. A gentleman who lately made the experiment, assured me that a haunch of venison which had lately been killed, was hung up in a fig-tree when the leaves were on, at about ten o'clock in the evening, and was removed before sunrise in the morning, when it was found in a perfect state for cooking; and he adds, that in a few hours more it would have been in a state of putrefaction."

*Filberts.*—"It is supposed, that within a few miles round Maidstone, in Kent, there are more filberts growing at the present time, than in all England besides, there being seven hundred acres planted with filbert-trees in the vicinity of that town. The London market is entirely supplied from thence with these nuts, which are excellent in quality, and, if quite ripe, will keep good for several years placed in a dry room. Filberts are not only much more agreeable than the common nuts, but are esteemed wholesome and nourishing when taken in moderation."

*Gooseberry.*—"The gooseberry, which is now so much and so justly esteemed, is a native of Europe; and as it grew in the woods and hedges about Darlington, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and other northern counties, in the wild state, I consider it indigenous to this country, although both Miller and Dr. Smith entertain doubt of its being truly so. It appears not to have been known to the ancients, either in Greece or Rome, as their authors have made no mention of it; but it is noticed by the earliest naturalists who have writ-

ten in this country, notwithstanding it was a fruit much neglected, according to Allioni's account, who says, 'they are eatable, but somewhat astringent.' Gerard says, 'it is called feabury bush, in Cheshire, my native country;' and I find that it had the same name in Langashire and Yorkshire. In Norfolk it was abbreviated into feahes. It appears to have taken the name of gooseberry, from its being used as a sauce for young or green geese."

"I have not attempted to give even the names of all the varieties of this fruit, finding them so numerous, that one nurseryman furnished me with his list, and obliged me with a sight of 300 varieties, the largest of which in weight was equal to three guineas and a half."

"The pale gooseberry was first brought from Flanders in the year that Henry the Eighth received the title of Defender of the Faith. This monarch and his daughter queen Elizabeth seem to have encouraged the art of gardening, as during their reigns most of our best fruits and vegetables were first introduced and cultivated in this kingdom; but even during the reigns of these sovereigns, gooseberry leaves were used as a salad by those who could not afford to send to Holland for a lettuce. The gooseberry is but little esteemed on the continent, for want of being more known; and foreigners seem astonished at the size and flavour of this fruit in England."

*Gourd.*—"The gourd, called Vegetable Marrow, is of a pale yellow colour. Those I have seen did not exceed from seven to nine inches in length. It has only been known a few years in this country; and, I believe, was not sold in

in the shops and markets before the summer of 1819; and although they are of so late an introduction, the accounts are very imperfect: but it seems most probable that the seeds were brought in some East India ships, and likely from Persia, where it is called cicader. It is cultivated in the same manner as cucumbers, and is said by those who have grown them to be very productive. This fruit is used for culinary purposes in every stage of its growth. When very young, it is good fried with butter; when half-grown, it is said to be excellent, either plainly boiled, and served up sliced on toasted bread, as asparagus; or stewed with rice sauce, for which purpose it is likewise sliced. It is often sent to table mashed like turnips: when full-grown, it is used for pies. It has been highly recommended to me by many persons who have grown it, while others speak of it as but little superior to the pomponn."

*Grape Vine.*—"The duke of Portland has upwards of a hundred kinds of grape-vines at his seat at Welbeck; and in the year 1781, his grace made a present to the marquis of Rockingham of a bunch of grapes, that grew in his vinery, which weighed nineteen pounds and a half: it was nineteen inches and a half in the greatest diameter, four feet and a half in circumference, and twenty-one inches and three quarters in length. It was conveyed to Wentworth House, a distance of twenty miles, by four labourers, who carried it suspended on a staff, in pairs, by turns.

"The vine at Hampton-Court Palace, which was planted in the year 1769, has a stem of thirteen

inches in girth, and a principal branch 114 feet in length, which, in one year, produced two thousand and two hundred bunches of grapes, each weighing, on an average, a pound. His late revered majesty enjoyed the fruit of this vine half a century. Fruit was the only luxury in which he indulged himself, and that was cultivated in the royal gardens to the highest perfection, and served at table in great abundance.

"The first duty on wines was one penny per ton, which was in the year 1272, when wine gaugers were first appointed at London and the principal sea-ports. The new gauge duty at London alone amounted to fifteen pounds sixteen shillings and seven-pence, which makes the quantity imported amount to 7,598 pipes. The principal customs for importation, at that period, seem to have been on wines chiefly French and Rhenish, as there is yet scarcely any mention of Spanish, or Portuguese, or Italian wine. (Madox's History of the Exchequer.)

"In the year 1409, the duty on wine was three shillings per ton.

"Grapes seem to have become rare about the year 1560. Strype, in his life of Grindall, bishop of London, (who was one of the earliest encouragers of botany in this kingdom,) writes that his grapes, at Fulham, 'were esteemed of that value, and a fruit queen Elizabeth stood so well affected to, and so early ripe, that the bishop used every year to send her majesty a present of them.'

*Pear.*—"Miller mentions eighty varieties of the pear in his day; and at the present time they are so much increased, that Mr. Lee, of

of Hammersmith, assured me that he possessed 213 kinds of pear-trees. We trust that, while the horticultural society are seeking for new varieties, those of established fame will not be neglected. It is desirable to have our orchards planted with a variety, that we may have some for all seasons and for various purposes; but it is equally to be wished, that the best of each sort should be selected, not only of the dessert kinds, but those for baking and preserving, as well as those for making perry, which is one of the justly admired British beverages."

*Plum.*—"The Orleans plum takes its name from the part of France so called. This is a handsome but an indifferent fruit, and not equal to the common muscle plum in flavour, although it is more cultivated than even the green gage, which is not only the most agreeable but also the most wholesome of all the plums. This latter plum was called the *reine Claude*, from having been introduced into France by queen Claude, wife to Francis the 1st of that country, but it bears various names in different parts of France. It is often called *damas verd*; at Tours it is named *abricot verd*; at Rouen, where it grows abundantly, they call it *la verte bonne*. This plum received the name of green gage from the following accident. The Gage family, in the last century, procured from the monastery of the Chartreuse at Paris a collection of fruit-trees. When these trees arrived at the mansion of Hengrave Hall, the tickets were safely affixed to all of them, excepting only to the *reine Claude*, which was either omitted

to have been put on, or was rubbed off in the package. The gardener, therefore, being ignorant of the name, called it, when it first bore fruit, the green gage. The compliment was justly due to the family for the introduction of this excellent plum, which is more acceptable to the country at large, than the trifling respect can be to the family of Gage. Lord Cromwell brought several sorts of plums from Italy into this country, in the reign of Henry VIII.: among them was the *perdigron*.

"The *bonum magnum* is our largest plum, and greatly esteemed for preserves and culinary purposes. A plum of the same size and shape, but of a yellower hue, has lately been introduced by a Mr. Coe, of Brompton, and is called Coe's golden drop. In flavour it partakes both of the green gage and the apricot. I have several standard trees in my garden at Bayswater, which are very productive: and the fruit has the quality of keeping perfectly sound and good until near Christmas, if it be gathered with the stalk or a part of the branch, and suspended in a dry room."

*Raspberry.*—"The yellow or white raspberry is most admired at desserts: indeed all the white fruits of the berry kind are sweeter than the coloured, but other fruits that are coloured are generally sweeter than the white.

"The red raspberry is considered the finest for flavouring ices, jams, &c. A third kind is cultivated, which produces two crops a year, but I have seldom met with the October raspberry as possessing much flavour.

"Raspberries are much cultivated  
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in the neighbourhood of Isleworth and Brentford; from whence those are sent to London in swing carts, which are used by the distillers for making raspberry brandy, raspberry vinegar, &c. as also those used by confectioners and pastry-cooks; but the raspberries which are intended for the table are brought by women on their heads: their load consists of a round, or basket, containing twelve gallons, of three pints to a gallon; and although the distance is ten miles from Isleworth to Covent Garden market, they regularly perform the journey in two hours: for which they are paid three shillings and six-pence. From Hammersmith these industrious women will take a load three times a day, for which they receive eighteen-pence per load. These female fruit porters come to the vicinity of London for the season, from Wiltshire, Shropshire, and Wales: in their long journeys they seldom walk at a less pace than five miles per hour."

*Strawberry.*—"The varieties of the strawberry have, like those of other fruits, been so increased, that to describe them distinctly would be almost impossible, even with the assistance of coloured drawings. The president of the Horticultural Society, Thomas Andrew Knight, esq. states, that he has at this time not less than 400 varieties of this fruit in his garden. Among those which he has raised, is one from the white Chili strawberry and the pollen of the black strawberry."

*Service Tree.*—"This fruit, which is a native of England, is now as little known, and as rare in the London market, as the

fruits of the most distant parts of the world; and the service-berry-tree is now so thinly scattered over the country, that many farmers do not even know its existence."

"The service-tree is still occasionally to be met with in the hedges and rows in Kent, and in the Wealds of Sussex, of the size of a moderate oak-tree; as also in the north of England and Wales."

"I know many noblemen and gentlemen object to fruit-bearing trees being planted on their estates, on the principle that it encourages depredations to injure their plantations; but this seems but a poor excuse for depriving themselves and the public of the beauty and variety which the blossoms give at one season of the year, and the fruit at another, particularly to those who have park-keepers, or bailiffs, on the premises."

*Walnut.*—"The walnut-tree was formerly cultivated in England for the sake of the wood, which was in great esteem for cabinet goods, before mahogany and other curious woods were imported from America into this kingdom, which was about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the use of mahogany was discovered by the following chance:—Dr. Gibbons, an eminent physician, was building a house in King-street, Covent Garden. His brother, who was a West India captain, brought over some planks of this wood as ballast, which he thought might be of service in his brother's building; but the carpenters finding the wood too hard for their tools, it was laid aside as useless. Soon after,



after, Mrs. Gibbons wanting a candle-box, the doctor called on his cabinet-maker (Wollaston, in Long Acre) to make him one of some wood that lay in his garden. Wollaston also complained that it was too hard : but the doctor insisted on having it done ; and, when finished, it was so much liked, that the doctor ordered a bureau to be made of the same wood, which was accordingly done ; and the

fine colour, polish, &c. were so pleasing, that he invited all his friends to see it. Among them was the duchess of Buckingham : her grace begged some of the same wood of Dr. Gibbons, and employed Wollaston to make her a bureau also. On this the same of mahogany and Mr. Wollaston was much raised ; and furniture made of this wood became general."

## CHAPTER V.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

**I**N no respect is Britain more decidedly distinguished from other countries, or Britain at the commencement of the 19th century more decidedly distinguished from Britain at any former period,—than by the copiousness and variety of its periodical literature. This circumstance alone would give it a claim to our notice; but when we moreover consider the influence it possesses on the politics, the literature, the taste and the opinions of the age,—to pass it over in silence would be unpardonable. And yet our notice of it must necessarily be short and general.

The periodical literature of Britain may be classed thus: newspapers—reviews—magazines—and journals principally confined to some branches of science, or the arts.

1. Newspapers may be said to be the daily food of our countrymen; and to many they are as regularly served up as their breakfast. An English newspaper presents a striking contrast to a foreign one; while the latter is jejune, tame and barren, the former comprises within its range a vast variety of subjects, of lasting importance as well as ephemeral. The establishment necessary to conduct an English daily newspaper, must be on a very great scale, as well as expensive; and the profits, when it succeeds, are equally surprising.

Of the daily morning newspapers, the *Times*, *New Times* and *Chronicle*, chiefly deserve notice. The principle on which the *Times* is conducted seems to be, to watch the direction of public opinion, feeling, or prejudice, and, when ascertained, to guide and stimulate, and thus to take advantage of it. The *Times* therefore is no party paper; yet when it warmly takes up an opinion, it is more violent and dogmatical than the most decided party paper. As soon as the public mind becomes cool and indifferent, it also deserts the cause which it had so strenuously espoused. So far, with regard to the principle on which it is conducted: its great merit consists in its early and accurate intelligence; in its occasionally well written articles; and in valuable contributions on politics or political economy, with which its correspondents not unfrequently favour it.

The *New Times* is rising into notice: it is conducted on high monarchical principles by a gentleman who formerly edited the old *Times*, when it was so efficient in exciting hatred and indignation against the tyranny, the measures and the character of Bonaparte. The editor of the *New Times* pushes his principles to an extreme, not palatable to the admirers of the British revolution, and

and we think not easily reconcilable to the grounds on which alone that measure can be defended. But the fact seems to be, that his dread of innovation, and of any change, even for the better, unless (what it is vain to expect) produced by men in power, is so great and so constantly agitating his mind, that he prefers the stagnant and pestiferous, but tranquil air of despotism, to those storms which, though they spread temporary destruction, yet are useful and even necessary to restore or preserve the sound and vigorous health of the human mind. Independently of these prejudices, the *New Times* is a well conducted paper: its increased reputation and sale may be partly ascribed to this circumstance; but we are also afraid it arises in part from a growing adoption of sentiments respecting the comparative evils of present abuses and innovations, similar to those of its editor.

The *Morning Chronicle* is avowedly and decidedly a party paper. The unfounded assertions which it not unfrequently makes, and the contradictions in circumstances, in reasoning, and even in principles, to which a party support of the whigs, and a party opposition to ministers, necessarily give rise, are its great blot; otherwise it is well conducted; and contains a greater number of literary papers, especially of a witty and humorous cast, than any other newspaper.

The principal evening papers are the *Courier*, the *Star*, and the *Traveller*.

The *Courier* is as decidedly ministerial as the *Chronicle* is anti-ministerial: formerly it used to be better written than any other newspaper; there was more

power of thought as well as of style: but latterly it has been conducted (except occasionally) in a feebleness manner. It is very bigoted in religious subjects.

The *Star* is what may be deemed an impartial paper: but whatever praises may be bestowed on such a paper, newspaper readers do not like it. Even if it were possible to infuse into an impartial paper, that pungency, vivacity and spirit which party creates, yet it would not be popular. The most impartial men have their partialities, and will read newspapers which side with them. The *Star*, however, occasionally bursts forth into a more bold strain, and then it becomes a very interesting paper, in spite of its violence. Most of the articles it contained on the Manchester business, and some of its articles on the queen's case, proved that its generally tameness did not arise from any feebleness or want of talent in the editor.

The *Traveller*, though it has existed several years, did not start into general notice or extensive sale till 1820. It is understood that it then became the property of the particular friends and zealous advocates of the queen; and it certainly espoused her cause with all the zeal, and with much more judgement, good sense, and discretion than the *Times*, the most outrageous and extravagant of her defenders. But we notice the *Traveller* chiefly on account of some excellent articles on political economy, which have appeared in it. We cannot help thinking that if plain and practical essays on political economy were given occasionally in the newspapers, and if they were short, and thus adapted

adapted to the usual readers of newspapers, much benefit would be done. In the present circumstances of the country, nothing is more desirable, and will ultimately be more useful, than a thorough understanding of the fundamental principles and practical application of this science; for by a steady and persevering recurrence to what it teaches, can we alone expect to extricate our trade, and consequently our finances, from their present alarming embarrassment. In the Times there appear occasionally articles on this subject; but they are much too long, and though ingenious, and in many respects solid, too far removed from what alone can be reduced to practice.

The Sunday newspapers have a stronger hold over the mind, feelings and opinions of the great mass of the community, than the daily newspapers. We cannot enter into a character or discussion of them individually; generally speaking they are very violent in their opposition to government, some even to the whole system as it at present exists. But they are more distinguished for violence, dogmatism, or smartness little connected with good taste, than for talent or information.

2. The Reviews. The oldest English review is the Monthly: it has been published nearly a century; and of course, during that time, it has been conducted with various degrees of ability and information. Perhaps it displayed the greatest talent about 30 years since; its sale and reputation were much injured by the introduction of quarterly reviews, though there appear occasionally even now articles in the Monthly Review, 1820.

which for talent and information, and above all for condensation of thought, and sterling purity and compactness of style, are in our opinion superior to any articles either in the Edinburgh or Quarterly Reviews. The Monthly Review, though conducted during its long existence with various degrees of ability, has (with a very short exception) uniformly espoused and defended the same principles in politics and religion. Its politics are those of Mr. Fox: its religious doctrines border on unitarianism; and its church discipline and government, are those of the dissenters. It certainly has had great influence in giving a sound direction to the literature, politics and general opinions of the age; and, we believe, possesses the merit of having directed the studies of our countrymen to German literature, by some elaborate and well written articles on works in that language, which appeared at a time when German literature was almost utterly unknown in this country.

The Critical Review appeared shortly after the Monthly; it was at first under the management of Dr. Smollet; and was directly opposed in its politics and religion to the Monthly. It never rose to much celebrity for talent; and even Dr. Johnson, whose strong prejudices were all decidedly with it, acknowledged, in his celebrated conversation with the king, that it was much inferior to the Monthly. In one respect it formed a striking contrast with the latter; the same person who set on foot the Monthly continued its proprietor and manager for upwards of half a century, indeed till his death; and his son succeeded him, and

and at present holds it; whereas the Critical Review passed through the hands of many proprietors, within these few years, very rapidly; and we believe no longer exists.

In some part of its progress the Critical Review adopted and defended the liberal principles of its rival, and even went beyond it. This induced some literary gentlemen connected with the church of England, and of politics such as are generally held along with high church doctrines, to set on foot a new Review, which they called the British Critic. It espoused the cause of church and state, for which it was established, with considerable learning and information, with more of these indeed than talent, but with a good deal of the illiberal haughtiness and contempt, with which the very zealous adherents of high church politics and religion usually treat their opponents. Its classical articles, which were furnished by one of the most distinguished classical scholars of the age, were of great merit, and almost rivalled, as we have no doubt they were meant to rival, the classical articles of the Monthly Review, which were written by another classical scholar, at least equally distinguished for classical literature, and whose English style was more genuine, and in better taste. Within these few years the British Critic has changed editors more than once; at present it seems disposed to rival the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, in elaborate dissertation, and it occasionally contains some good articles on political economy.

The Eclectic Review belongs to the evangelical party among the

dissenters: this will at once explain the great object it has in view, and its religious principles. We are sorry to say, that though uncommonly liberal with regard to church government, it is often very illiberal and even disingenuous towards those who differ from it in religious doctrines. Its articles not unfrequently are written with very considerable eloquence, which however would be much improved if they were not so discursive and prolix; and if the discursions and illustrations which it produces, did not entangle the readers of the Review, as we rather imagine they do even the writers, in a tiresome and perplexing labyrinth.

The Edinburgh Monthly Review has not been published above three years; its object and plan was to unite the discussion of the quarterly reviews with the analysis and extracts of the monthly reviews: it is conducted with great care, tolerable impartiality, some talent and learning, but written in a ponderous and *lagging* style.

In a former volume we noticed the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews; and of the character there given of each, we do not see any thing to alter. The Edinburgh Review, however, latterly is certainly falling behind its rival in the interest of its articles, in the ability with which they are written, and in taste. There is a heaviness about it, not redeemed by any profound or original discussion, and not relieved, as formerly, by any wit or smartness, or even poignancy of satire. In respect of taste, it has certainly fallen, though in this respect its merits, especially in poetry, were always very questionable. In its  
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early and best days, the prose of Hazlitt and the poetry of Leigh Hunt would have afforded abundant subject for its wit and raillery, instead of being, as now, honoured with its commendation. In its early and best days, subjects of political economy were treated in it, by a master's hand: there is no lack of them at present, but they are no longer by a master's hand. The Quarterly Review is much more varied in its contents: in geographical articles it is far superior; in few of its articles so ponderous. In its articles relating to moral and intellectual subjects, and also in its biographical articles, the hand of a master, of one who commands a rich and vigorous style, is abundantly manifest.

The British Review, another quarterly one, though still in existence, is hardly known to be so: the excessive length of its articles, especially on subjects of so unpromising and unpopular a nature as polemical divinity, seems to have excluded it from popularity. We mention it at present, principally on account of a learned and excellent article which appeared in 1820, on the subject of Aristophanes and Socrates. A set of articles appeared in the Quarterly Review, the professed object of which was not merely to exculpate Aristophanes from the charge of unjustifiable ridicule of Socrates, but to prove that the latter deserved all the severity of wit, and the character fixed upon him by the comic poet; and that the Poet selected him, because, equally with the sophists, injuring the intellectual and moral habits of his countrymen, he was superior to them in talents and influence. The sub-

stance of these articles, which were written by Mr. Mitchell, were afterwards published with a translation of Aristophanes by that gentleman; and in reviewing that translation, the Edinburgh Review, determined not to be behind-hand with the Quarterly, attacked the character of Socrates in a bolder manner, and endeavoured to drag him from the high eminence he has always sustained, to a level with the worst of the sophists. Against these two Reviews, the British Review has boldly stood forth, the champion of Socrates: and in our opinion not only successfully rescued his character from the imputations endeavoured to be cast upon it, but succeeded also in proving that Aristophanes was not influenced by the pure and patriotic motives ascribed to him, nor undeserving of those censures, which, till the present day, all had concurred in fixing upon him. In short, the British Review has restored to each his old character; and in this respect has, in our judgement, done an essential service, both to the cause of truth and justice, and to the cause of literature. For, to all who are conversant with the present prevailing spirit of the clever men of the age, it must be evident that they are actuated by a powerful desire to think and advance something new on most of those subjects which the common sense and common judgement of posterity had decided, especially if their novel opinions can be enforced with ingenuity, and clothed in a style as remote from the downright and unaffected style of the best days of English literature, as their opinions and ideas are from the sterling ideas by which

those days were so strikingly characterized.

3. Magazines. Literary reviews, we believe, are not strictly of English origin, but magazines undoubtedly are; and we rather think are still confined to this country and America. Is it refining too far to suppose that our domestic character may have given rise to a species of publication in which, as it was conducted till very lately, were to be found a number of various short papers, extremely well calculated for fire-side perusal both from their shortness and the manner in which they were written, and from the prevailing nature of their subjects?

The oldest magazine is the *Gentleman's*: in the very early numbers of this there are undoubtedly many excellent papers; but we hardly think it ever exactly came up to the idea of a magazine, or a store-house for all the little and common subjects that scarcely class under any head of literature, and do not aspire to the height of science, though connected with science. Certainly in these days the *Gentleman's Magazine*, except to a very limited class of readers, must be very dull and uninteresting; and therefore has few claims to the title and nature of a proper magazine. Antiquities of the most puerile and trifling kind fill the greater part of its pages; its discussions on intellectual or moral subjects are very poor in thought and style; and these faults are very seldom indeed redeemed by any articles either of the proper magazine class, or exhibiting much learning or talent.

The success of the *Gentleman's Magazine* gave rise to a number

of imitations and rivals, none of which, we believe, at present exist; or, if they exist, enjoy much reputation or sale. The *Monthly Magazine*, which was begun about twenty-five years ago, was the first successfully to rival it in sale, and certainly surpassed it then, and surpasses it now, in merit. But the *Monthly Magazine* was much better conducted when it began than it is at present. It answered then exactly and completely to our notion of a magazine; there was in it a sufficient portion of discussion on points of literature; and these were always of a nature for subject, the manner of treating them, and style, to be interesting and quite intelligible to magazine readers. Interspersed with these literary articles, or with articles of learned research or of science, treated in an equally popular manner, were a number of short articles, requesting or conveying information on interesting or useful topics, such as were not to be found elsewhere, or could be found only after much labour or research. In this respect it was really a domestic magazine; and if any thing necessary or useful to be known or done in domestic life was queried in it, an answer was sure to be obtained. At present this magazine neither deserves the literary character, nor its peculiar character of a magazine, which it possessed formerly; though it still answers more exactly and completely to our idea of a magazine than any other publication of the sort.

Perhaps the more general diffusion of literature (though we are afraid by being more diffused it has become more shallow), and the taste for discussion on subject

jects of taste, morals, politics, and general knowledge, to which the quarterly reviews have given birth, required that the character of magazines should be changed. This would seem to be the case from the popularity which Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine has acquired. It is the first magazine which assumed the new character, being in fact a monthly depository for long essays on literary subjects. Among these there are many distinguished by considerable powers of thought, and written in an eloquent style, which, however, sometimes passes into obscurity and bad taste. There are others, the meaning and object of which are so very subtle that they cannot be grasped, though we doubt not they are deemed original and profound by many; and there are others which evince an intimate acquaintance with foreign literature, and which, uniting to this acquaintance excellent taste and sound judgement, have introduced the richest stores of that literature to the readers of the magazine with great effect, and in a most pleasing manner. If to these three classes of papers we add a few of genuine humour (for most of those which aim at humour are bad), and several which display the workings of the human feelings, sentiments, and passions, as they existed in the old Scotch character, and which, though thus calling for a comparison with the novels of Waverley, &c. are not very far inferior to them in design and execution,—we shall have enumerated all from which Blackwood's Magazine deserves to derive a lasting celebrity. Its merit in these respects is certainly great; and, in our opinion, it is not en-

hanced, but diminished, by those violent political and personal attacks to which, however, we are afraid, such is the fondness of mankind for censure, if sufficiently witty and biting, its rapid reputation has been chiefly owing. After all, however, we think that it would answer better the nature and purposes of a magazine, and even increase in popularity and utility, if a few of its pages were devoted to less aspiring articles; if there were some interstices between its long laboured essays, and if those interstices were filled up with articles such as appeared in the Monthly Magazine in its best days.

The New Monthly Magazine was begun expressly for the purpose of counteracting the old Monthly Magazine in politics. Its plan has been changed more than once; but till the beginning of 1821 (a period of course to which our remarks at present cannot properly apply), its merit, either as a literary work, or as a magazine strictly so called, has been very inferior to that of its rival.

The success of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine gave rise to Baldwin's London Magazine. The closeness with which it imitated not only the plan of the former, but even the subjects of its articles and manner of treating them, was, in many instances, truly ridiculous, and impressed on the public mind the suspicion that its writers possessed no original stores of their own. Its merits and its faults were very similar to Blackwood's, though both inferior; its essays were distinguished by the same aiming at something original and profound on topics which long since have been drained to the



bottom; and by a style suited to such a turn of thought, straining, elaborate, and glittering. Indeed, in our opinion, the writers of the present day seem to think (and perhaps they are right) that the public taste requires a constant powerful stimulus in subject, manner, and style, and that nothing really good will suit it, unless it be mixed up with piquant sauce, supplied by satirical wit, or overstrained thought, or a sparkling and elaborate style.

4. The periodical publications which are exclusively devoted to particular subjects, may be classed under the following heads: science, natural history, medicine, divinity, agriculture, trade and commerce, and the fine arts. It is not our intention to notice all that relates to each of these heads separately, but only to give their general character. The scientific journals have increased in number, and improved in plan, research, and talent, considerably, within these few years: in proof of this we need only appeal to the *Journal of the Royal Institution*, the most popular and miscellaneous of them, to *Dr. Thomson's Annals of Philosophy*, and to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. Natural history, of course, falls within the scope of these works; but it is also the peculiar subject of works published periodically by the *Linnean and Horticultural Societies of London*, and the *Wernerian and Horticultural Societies of Edinburgh*. Perhaps no society ever advanced so rapidly as the *Horticultural Society of London*: its members are very numerous;—

its funds great, and its transactions, generally speaking, have been of great service to that genuine British art, horticulture, in all its branches. The *Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*, as its name implies, is chiefly devoted to mineralogy, though other branches of natural history are within the scope of its researches. In connexion with this may be mentioned the *Geological Society of London*, which has already rendered almost complete the geology of England, and accumulated a vast number of curious and important facts, from which, in conjunction with others yet to be ascertained, we may hope will at length be drawn something deserving the appellation of a philosophical theory of the earth. The medical journals of London and Edinburgh do not fall within the range of our particular notice, except to remark that they are among the fruits and proofs of the advancement of the age in knowledge. The various theological magazines, in which all the numerous doctrines which spring up in this free country are boldly advocated, deserve notice, as manifesting the growing liberality and candour of the age.

We believe there is only one periodical journal exclusively devoted to the fine arts; and certainly its character is not high either for the philosophical explanation and discussion of the principles of those arts, or for sound and tasteful criticism on the productions in them. But the state of the fine arts in Britain will form the subject of our next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

## STATE OF THE FINE ARTS—PAINTING—ENGRAVING—LITHOGRAPHY—SCULPTURE.

**T**HOUGH the contumelious opinion pronounced on this country in so dogmatic a manner by a celebrated foreigner, that it was naturally unfit for the growth of the fine arts, has been proved to be unfounded by the experience of the last fifty years, yet it must still be confessed that Britain, from some cause, whether of climate or not we shall not stop to inquire, is far behind many other countries of Europe in this respect.

In painting she has made great advances ; but till lately these advances were almost entirely confined to one species—portrait-painting. It may be said that public praise, and the more solid and effectual encouragement of pecuniary remuneration, have been chiefly directed to this species : for a considerable time it was so ; but latterly other species have been encouraged both by private patronage and by the institutions of the exhibitions at the Royal Academy and the British Gallery.

Many, however, have doubted whether the Royal Academy has been of essential service to the fine arts. Perhaps, in the manner in which it has been conducted, the benefit to them may not have been so great as, under the guidance of a different plan, it might have been : but the British Gallery, so far as it exhibits to public view the best paintings of the first masters, must undoubtedly serve

to correct and raise the public taste and judgement ; and where that is the case, painting must improve.

The great faults of the first class of paintings produced in this country are poverty of conception, bad taste in the conception, and an inability, where the conception is grand and in good taste, to execute in an adequate and just manner, so as to place before the spectator in full effect all that the poetical mind of the painter had created and imaged to itself : for, after all, if poetry be not present in a painting, its merit cannot be of the first class. And yet the painter does not possess so many means of bringing the creatures of his imagination into existence as the poet ; the former must confine himself to the mere expression of the countenance and to momentary action ; whereas the poet, though not able in words to depict it so well as the painter can do by his pencil, can call to his assistance the more powerful delineations of feeling, sentiment, and passion as indicated by words, or by continued and connected action.

Wilkie's paintings appear to us to be truer to nature, in better taste, and better executed, than any other paintings of British modern artists ; but the nature he follows and copies is not by any means the highest nature : none of the grandest or most affecting

F 4      passiona

passions of the human breast are exhibited in his paintings. If, however, a painter were to do for them what he has done for the manners of humble life, and in some respects for its feelings, our low opinion of British painting would be removed.

We know that many would appeal to the paintings of West, Barry, &c. against our remarks: but the poetry of none of their paintings answers to our idea. The paintings of Fuseli indicate an imagination indeed of a very bold class, but certainly not subordinate to nature or in good taste, and therefore not poetical.

With respect to the other classes of paintings,—landscapes, portrait, and pieces of humour, or such as depict on the canvas what comedy and farce do by the pen,—this country undoubtedly excels: but while in poetry, properly so called, we can appeal to the names of Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Wordsworth, &c. and boldly challenge either ancient or modern times to rival them, we cannot mention one poetical painting at all to be compared with the best paintings of ancient Italy.

In sculpture we are making greater advances than in painting. In a former volume we noticed the productions of Mr. Chantry as being truly British in their conception and execution; and if it be great merit, which it undoubtedly is, to have banished allegory from sculpture and to have confined it to the simple delineation of nature, Britain may challenge that merit in having given birth to Chantry; for, till he appeared, the finest pieces of sculpture were degraded, lost a deal of their merit and effect, and were in fact ren-

dered unnatural, and therefore bad, by the absurd introduction of allegory.

We mention engraving merely to notice the great progress which, within these few years, has been made in lithography. The head of Belzoni, prefixed to his *Travels*, exhibits a softness and mellowness which could scarcely be excelled by the best executed copper-plate.

Having premised these general remarks, we shall now proceed to notice the exhibitions at the Royal Academy and the British Gallery for 1820, and also any picture of merit which was exhibited by itself during that year:—our notices, however, must be very short and general.

1. Royal Academy. Before giving a character of the pictures in the exhibition for 1820, it will be proper to advert to the death of the venerable president, and the choice of his successor. When Mr. West first came into this country, soon after the commencement of the late king's reign, painting was at a very low ebb in Britain: he lived to see it flourish and encouraged even beyond his expectations; and it is but doing justice to him to say that to his exertions as well as talents it was much indebted—another proof that goodwill, zeal, and perseverance, even when not united with the highest abilities or advancement in any science or profession, may benefit them more than the rarest abilities destitute of these qualifications. The successor of Mr. West is sir Thomas Lawrence, who certainly is an admirable portrait painter, and who seems to possess, though he has not chosen to exert, powers of a higher kind, if we may judge from his painting of Satan.

We

We cannot help thinking that he is called upon now, as president of the academy, to turn his attention to the highest subjects, and that he should no longer confine himself almost exclusively to portrait painting.

In our account of the Royal Academy exhibition we shall attend solely to paintings of the higher classes. There were, as usual, in it a very large proportion of portraits by Lawrence, Owen, Philips, Beechey, Shee, &c. &c. some of which possessed great merit; but, as we have already remarked, this kind of painting is too much encouraged, and draws off talents that might improve other and higher branches.

In the higher branches there was a painting of Fuseli, the Widow of Siegfried the Swift, which we notice because it united the excellences with the extravagances of his pencil in a striking manner and degree. If this artist could regulate and controul his extravagant imagination by good taste and sound judgement, how much higher would he have risen in his art!

Christ raising from Death the Daughter of Jairus, by H. Thompson, is on the whole a fine picture. It is evident from the subject, that there was great room for the display of some of the most interesting feelings of the human breast, in painting the expression of the countenances of the father and mother, who are watching the issue of the miracle. To these, rather than to Christ or the daughter, the eye of the spectator is first directed, and on them his interest is most deeply fixed; and it is but doing justice to the painter to say that he has conceived and execut-

ed this part of his painting extremely well.

There were nine paintings by T. Stothard, most of them taken from the Decameron and Don Quixote:—the character of the age, as it appears in the dress, occupation, and even in the physiognomy (for the physiognomy of those of old times was different from what it is at present, so far as mere manners acted on it) is admirably represented in all these, as indeed in all the former paintings of this artist.

The Reading of the Will, by Wille, is an admirable specimen of his best powers, exerted with great care and skill, in the delineation of a subject quite adapted to them.

Rome from the Vatican, by Turner, may be classed as a picture partly of imagination and partly of landscape: it is very striking, or rather brilliant, in design and execution, but surprises more at first sight than it pleases and satisfies on cool and close inspection.

Strongly contrasted with this was a Dead Calm on the Medway, with small craft dropping down, by Calcott. In this painting art seemed even to surpass nature; for the idea of profound and utter calmness excited by it, was more vivid than any real calm ever produced. Indeed it is evident that the repose of nature can be displayed in painting much better than nature in violent or even moderate agitation. The colouring of this painting, as well as the whole design and execution, is admirable.

We were sorry to observe that Mr. Chantry had injured the effect which his admirable statue of a sleeping child must otherwise have produced, by admitting alle-

gories

gories or emblems, which not only distract the attention, but are incongruous, and, as is generally the case, not very intelligible. A sleeping child by this artist required nothing to explain what it meant, or to set it off: his statues are so true to nature, they appeal so directly and powerfully to the heart, that they need no foreign ornament, but are, when unadorned, adorned the most.

Besides several pictures by Mr. West, mostly in his best manner, Gandy's Temple of Jupiter Pluvius, Jones's View of Abbeville, Stewardson's Aladdin, the whimsical Pelting of the supposed invisible Italian poet, &c. there were three fine Wilkies, a Highland Still at Work, an Old Soldier, and a Bacchanalian Scene, in quite a new manner, combining the styles of Poussin and Rubens; a grandly conceived Macbeth and Witches, by Martin; Dogs of St. Bernard rescuing a frozen Traveller, Ed. Landseer; the Battle of Waterloo, painted for the Institution, by Jones; the Day before the Wedding, Mr. W. Sharpe, and in his happiest mood; a charming lady portrait, with a curious black cap, and other heads, by Jackson; fine portraits, &c. by Shree; a Venetian Curiosity Shop, and a Drowning Female, Mrs. Ansley; delightful views, Edinburgh, and Greenwich, by G. Vincent; Edinburgh and others, by Hoffland; a grave, by Starke; landscapes, by Samuel Wilson, and Fielding; a moonlight, by Leslie; various and clever pieces by Chalou, Burnett, Cooper, Davison, Craig, Crome, Child, Stephanoff, Strutt, G. Watson, Deese, &c. &c. &c.

British Institution Gallery of Portraits. The paintings in this in

general derived more interest from the subjects than the execution. There were 183 subjects, some by painters older than Holbein, many by this artist, which were the most curious and interesting, others by Vandyke, possessing great intrinsic excellence, the rest by Rubens, More, Lucchero, Dobson, Lely, Kneller, Hogarth, Reynolds, &c. It is interesting and instructive to observe the great falling off in the portraits of Lely, Kneller, &c. as compared with those of Vandyke. With Reynolds this species of painting revived: but the tricks this artist played with his colours was very evident in this exhibition—as many of them are quickly passing into premature decay. On the whole, the greater number of paintings at this exhibition may justly be characterised as bearing little or no resemblance to the best paintings of those artists to whom they were attributed, and as deriving their interest rather from their subjects than their intrinsic merit.

The Spring Gardens exhibition contained some good paintings particularly "The Tight Shoe," in Richter's best manner, the story humorously told, and the painting superb; some exquisite drawings by G. F. Robson; a grand poetical composition of Jupiter nursed by the Nymphs in Crete, J. Cristall, the grouping and general character belonging to the foremost class of design; Eton and Windsor, two sweet little pieces by J. Varley; a clever landscape or two by J. Wilson; several glowing copies of nature by C. Fielding; the Trial of Algernon Sydney by Stephanoff; the Veteran: a curiously painted subject, by W. H. Watts; Una in the forest

rest, by W. Bewick ; uncommonly well executed views of French towns, by Prout ; admirable pictures of dogs, by E. Landseer, and something of the same kind by J. Christmas ; together with other pleasing contributions by Barrett, A. Robertson, Linton, Lewis, Miss Gouldsmith, J. Graham, Boaden, Linnell, Nash, Vincent, Barker, Hayter, &c. &c.

The only single pictures which we shall notice are those of Christ's triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, by Haydon, and the Wreck of the Medusa, by M. Jerricault. The former had raised great expectations before it was exhibited, which we imagine have not been realized. Mr. Haydon rose rapidly into fame, and if he has not proceeded steadily he is in some measure himself the cause : he is constantly attacking old and deep-rooted opinions on subjects of art, not in the most dispassionate manner or perhaps with becoming diffidence. The picture to which we are at present alluding appeared to us to fail principally in the conception of Christ, whose countenance and figure by no means give the idea of that union of benevolence, heavenly-mindedness, and dignity, which our Saviour must have excited. We also think it was injudicious, and in bad

taste, to admit portraits into this painting : the countenances of Newton and Voltaire are so generally known, that they are immediately recognised ; and this must destroy the illusion of the painting. In all other respects it is an admirable picture.

M. Jerricault's picture has perhaps fewer of the peculiar faults of the French school of painting, than any of that school which have been exhibited in this country : and its merits are very considerable. It is of a large size, and represents the raft from the Medusa on the 19th day after it was cut adrift by the selfish inhumanity of the other part of the crew. At that time, out of the 150 who took refuge on it, only 15 survived. The moment chosen by the painter is just when some of the survivors are making a signal to the vessel by which they were saved. The intense interest and anxiety manifested at this prospect of release, the mixture of hope and fear, and the play of those passions in the different countenances, are admirably portrayed. Its colouring and some part of the execution, which are evidently for effect, and therefore not true to nature, are the only circumstances which point out this painting as belonging to the French school.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE DRAMA.

**I**N a former volume we noticed the low state of dramatic writing, and endeavoured to assign the probable causes of it. We are sorry to say that the last year has not rescued this country from the imputation of poverty and want of success in these species of composition. And to these we are compelled to add, that the drama is suffering in another respect, in an extreme paucity of good actors.

In our remarks on the subject of the drama we shall notice 1st, the appearance of Kean in new characters: 2d, the appearance of new actors who undertook parts of the first consequence; and lastly, such new pieces of merit as were acted in 1820.

Mr. Kean appeared in the characters of Coriolanus and King Lear, and also in the characters in which he is generally supposed most to excel, previously to sailing for America. The merits of this actor have in our opinion been very much exaggerated: he possesses wonderful command of the muscles of his face, great flexibility of voice, and an abruptness of manner, all of which are in some parts of great service to him, and very effective. But he knows not when he ought to use them and when he ought to abstain from the use of them; and when he

does use them, it is with so much mannerism, that when the novelty is worn away, his merit appears to be as much below what it actually is, as on the first impression it appeared to be above it. In the parts where these qualifications were not appropriate and serviceable, his acting is very inferior: his Coriolanus gives us no idea of what the Roman was, nor of what Kemble so admirably represented him. Steadiness and lofty grandeur of mind, which cannot stoop to be angry, and from which no violent and sudden changes of features or voice can originate, found no suitable habitation in Mr. Kean's mind. It might have been supposed that in King Lear he would have been more successful: perhaps his failure was not so palpable, but it was a failure. He misconceived the character; he thought Lear, because mad, was insane: he did not seem to be aware that Lear is represented by Shakespeare as broken-hearted, and from this cause alone pouring forth the bitterness of his spirit, not in mere rant or unnecessary speeches, but in the lofty declamation of morbid morality. The pathetic passages were not given in that simple and chaste manner which distinguished Mr. Kemble's acting of the character. In some parts

parts of some scenes, however, Kean's peculiarities were appropriate, and there he was great: but the effect was momentary, and confirms what we set out with asserting, that the main source of this actor's talents and popularity must be sought for in the circumstances to which we have already alluded.

2. The only new actors that aspired to high parts during the year 1820 were Mr. Cooper and Mr. Vandenhoff: they had both acquired considerable provincial celebrity; and both had directed their exertions, and were by nature and study best suited, to tragedy. The former we think likely to prove an acquisition to the stage: his countenance and person are good: his conception in general correct, his voice such as makes an impression in parts of solemnity rather than where pathos is required, and he evidently is extremely anxious to do himself justice. Of Mr. Vandenhoff we cannot speak so favourably: his voice and countenance must be compensated by superior qualifications to what he possesses, before the disadvantages he labours under from them can be removed. He is evidently however a man of considerable powers of mind, and has in his conception of most of the characters he performed truer ideas than he is able to express.

On the whole therefore, though we do not rate Mr. Kean's acting nearly as it is generally estimated, we consider his departure for America as a great loss to the stage. In nearly the whole of some parts, and in particular passages of almost all he performed, there were exhibitions of art, so nearly allied in all respects to the workings of na-

ture, that the audience were carried into the midst of the scene, and forgot themselves, the stage, and the actor, completely; and after all, where such an effect is produced, the acting must be admirable. We are not insensible to the merits of Mr. Macready and Mr. Wallack: in some of their characters they are excellent; the new actors will not rival them, but neither of them will satisfy the public for the temporary absence of Mr. Kean.

3. The year 1820 witnessed two new tragedies, which, from the success they at first acquired, seemed to promise to take permanent possession of the stage and of the public favour: but their reign, like that of all their predecessors for nearly half a century, was very short. It appears to us, that the great failing in all the new attempts to produce a tragedy, consists in the delineation of character: there may be poetry in the thoughts and language, there may even be a delineation of the various passions, under the influence of which the characters act: but if to these there be not added a delineation of character, accurately and strongly expressed in every thing that is done and said, the play will not acquire or deserve lasting fame. The audience cannot feel an interest or sympathy in beings who act and speak in a manner different from the beings of human nature; they may admire the language, be interested in the plot, or even acknowledge that mere passion is accurately depicted; but none of these, nor all these combined, will atone for an inability to display character. If we analyse the sources of Shakespear's popularity, we shall find it principally arises from the circumstance that all his dramatic



dramatic personages are drawn to the life; they are actual human beings, feeling, thinking, acting, speaking, under the circumstances in which they are placed as human beings would do.

The two tragedies produced in 1820, were *Virginus* and *Wallace*: the names of each will immediately suggest their respective stories, and therefore it is needless to enter on them. The former play is undoubtedly superior to the latter: its great fault is feebleness, rather than actual want of nature, in the display of character and passion. The conception of most of the characters is good; but it is not brought out with sufficient energy and effect. The plot is not well managed: the language is carefully kept free from every tinge of bombast, and seems to have proceeded from a desire to write tragedy in a more familiar style than that in which it is usually clothed. There are some passages in it, which may be characterized, as poetical, though by no means of the highest order of poetry. The author is an Irish gentleman of the name of Knowles, — a distant relation of Mr. Sheridan.

The principal materials of the

tragedy of *Wallace* are taken from Miss Porter's novel *The Scottish chiefs*; and even the language, in some places, is borrowed from the same source. These circumstances (for we do not rank this novel by any means in the first class) do not speak very favourably for the tragedy: it is written by a very young man; and certainly it does credit to a very young man, who could fix on the *Wallace* of Miss Porter's novel as the original from which he should draw one of the first heroes of which any age or country can boast. The merit of this play appears to us to lie in the management of the catastrophe: the characters are those which either a young man little skilled in the world or human nature, or Miss Porter's novel have supplied, and consequently they are not true either to the age or to history, so far as history enables us to judge of them.

The British drama, therefore, still lies under the reproach of not being able to produce a tragedy, not such as will rival those of Shakespeare or Otway, but even such as may fairly be placed by the side of the *Gamester* or *Douglas*; — and the reproach may be extended to comedy.

# ORIGINAL POETRY.

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## THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF:

AFTER THE MORE NOBLE ENGLISH OF THE FAMOUS POET CHAUCER;  
SOMEWHAT OBSCURED BY TIME.

BY EDWARD HOVEL THURLOW, LORD THURLOW.

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### THE ARGUMENT.

A lady out of an arbour in a grove sees a great company of knights and ladies in a dance upon the green grass; which being ended, they all kneel down, and do honour to the daisy; some to the flower, and some to the leaf: afterwards, the lady learns, by one of these ladies, the meaning hereof; which is this: they which honour the flower, a thing fading with every blast, are such as look after beauty and worldly pleasure; but they, that honour the leaf, which abides with the root, notwithstanding the frost and winter storms, are they which follow virtue and enduring qualities, without regard of worldly respects.

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**L**ISTEN, ye lovely ladies, while I tell  
What to a lady, like yourselves, befell;  
The vision that she saw, within a bower,  
O' the lady of the leaf, and the lady of the flower:  
A lovely dream, if dream't it were; to charm  
The natural ear; and the pure soul to arm  
With adamant of virtue: ladies, hear;  
'Tis she herself that speaks unto your ear.

When Phœbus had his golden chair on high  
Whirl'd up the starry high-road of the sky,  
Aloft, and in the Bull was entered certainly; }  
When, soft and sweet, the timely showers of rain  
Descended, and new cloth'd each mountain, and each plain  
With

With lovely green ; and all the steaming ground  
 Gave a fresh odour, and with flowers was crown'd,  
 White, gold, and purple, that in Spring abound ;  
 The laughing offspring of the pregnant showers,  
 And ev'ry mead, and ev'ry field was sprinkled o'er with flowers ;  
 (The little children, that their lives renew ;  
 Their little lives ; and feed on honied dew ;  
 And spring up in the rain, whose seeds had slept  
 The winter dead and cold, and earth's dark mansion kept ;)  
 In Spring, when all is soft, and all is fair,  
 And ev'ry heart is light and debonair ;

I, touch'd with the sweet season, as I lay  
 A certain night in bed, expectant of the day,  
 For why ? I could not sleep, yet knew not why ;  
 I had no sickness, nor no misery,  
 But joy'd in balmy Spring, and her felicity ;  
 Resolv'd to rise ; 'twas after twelve three hours ;  
 And visit the ripe meads, and gaze upon the flowers :  
 So I put on my gear, and my array,  
 About the springing of the gladsome day,  
 And to a pleasant grove I 'gan to pass,  
 Long ere the bright-hair'd Sun uprisen was.

Great oaks were there, as straight as any line ;  
 Each from the other set eight foot or nine,  
 At proper space ; and all the grass, that grew  
 Beneath them, was new sprung, and fresh of hue ;  
 And their broad branches laden with leaves new,  
 That had again sprung out in Phœbus' sheen,  
 Some very red, and some a glad light green.

A pleasant sight, I thought ; a noble sight :  
 And then the chanting birds fulfill'd me with delight ;  
 And would have charm'd the heart of any earthly wight :  
 And I, that could in no way all the year  
 The vocal queen of woods, the nightingale yet hear,  
 Full bus'ly hearken'd both with heart and ear,  
 If I could aught perceive her sweet voice anywhere :

And, at the last, I found a narrow path ;  
 It seem'd no man of late it used hath ;  
 For it was overgrown with grass and weed,  
 And hardly I could walk in it indeed ;  
 Thought I, this path some whither sure must lead ;  
 And so the track I follow'd, 'till it brought  
 Me to a pleasant arbour, beautifully wrought.

The arbour benched was ; and with turf new  
 The green-grass floor was laid, which lovely grew  
 So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hue,

Like

Like to green wool it was ; the hedge beside,  
 That compass'd and shut in the arbour on ev'ry side,  
 With sycamore was set, and eglantine's fine pride. }

Plain as a board, within, it was to see,  
 So knit and interwin'd harmoniously,  
 For safe defence, and for delightful pleasure ;  
 Grew ev'ry branch, and even leaf by measure ;  
 And of an equal height, a verdant wall :  
 That show'd the maker's art was prodigal ;  
 Who thought to eclipse whatever yet was made :  
 And surely such a wall I ne'er survey'd.

Shap'd like a pretty parlour was the bower,  
 The roof and all ; and like a castle tower  
 The hedge was thick ; whoe'er without should pry,  
 Stand he all day, he nothing there can spy ;  
 Nor know if there were one within, or not :  
 But who shall lie perdue within that grot,  
 Hid, and encompass'd in that floral wall,  
 Massy and verdant, shall discover all  
 That passes in the field ; on every side  
 Cloth'd and adorn'd with the bright season's pride, }  
 That through the world, however long and wide, }  
 So rich a field could never be espied,  
 On any coast, abroad or yet at home ;  
 So lovely in the look, so plentiful in sum.

And when I saw these pleasant sights, I thought  
 The very air with so sweet air was fraught,  
 Of the blithe eglantine, that such an air  
 Could drive away the blackness of despair :  
 And then I cast mine eye aside, and view'd  
 The fairest medlar-tree, that ever stood  
 Since Eden : full of blossoms was the tree ;  
 Therein a goldfinch leaping prettily  
 From bough to bough ; and, as he list, he eat,  
 Here, there, of dainty buds and flowers sweet.

Close to the arbour was the medlar-tree ;  
 Wherein the little bird 'gan sing delightfully  
 After a pretty pause, and when he had  
 Eat flower and blossom with a bill full glad :  
 So passing sweet he sung ; by many fold  
 It was a sweeter song than ever poet told :

The chant being o'er, the nightingale then sung ;  
 So merry a note ne'er through the green wood rung ;

So suddenly, and loud, and sweet, and bright,  
 Like a mere fool, I drank in the delight,  
 And stood amaz'd, and with the carol rapt ;  
 That for long time my senses were not apt  
 To know wherein I stood ; so piercing clear,  
 I thought indeed she sung close to my ear.

Wherefore I waited busily thereabout,  
 And look'd on ev'ry side to find the chantress out ;  
 And, at the last, I Philomel could see,  
 Who sate upon a fresh green laurel tree :  
 A laurel tree, near neighbour to the bower,  
 That on the fragrant air had passing power,  
 And with the eglantine perfum'd more sweet the morning hour. }

Aye, every sweet the senses to entice ;  
 I surely thought I was in Paradise :  
 And further had no more desire to pass :  
 I lay me down at length upon the balmy grass ;  
 And listen'd to the queenly note of Spring,  
 More dear to me than meat, or drink, or any thing.

And then the arbour was so fresh and cold,  
 And airs so healthy did it's seat infold,  
 It's pleasure can be hardly thought, and never told : }  
 And, as I lay, the nightingale to hear,  
 A thousand voices burst upon my ear ;  
 The most delicious, and the sweetest voices,  
 As when a quire of angels well rejoices,  
 In sweet accord, and harmony on high ;  
 So did that heavenly song approach me nigh. }

And at the last out of a grove near by,  
 A lovely grove, and pleasant to the eye,  
 A world of ladies, singing lustily, }  
 Came, like a dream, like morning, or spring flowers :  
 To paint their wondrous beauty far exceeds my powers,  
 Or to describe their dress : but yet I shall  
 Tell you a part, although I tell not all.

In surcoats of white velvet they were clad,  
 And fitted well : and every surcoat had  
 On every seam, and placed separately,  
 Great emeralds, whose light amaz'd the eye,  
 And garnish'd the fair dress : and they did weave  
 Many a rich stone upon the purfl'd sleeve,  
 The collar, and the train ; that every lady fair  
 Great pearls, and round, and orient nobly bare,

Diamonds

Next after these appear in armour bright,  
 (And this was of the whole the fairest sight,)  
 Nine comely knights, all armed save their heads,  
 And every clasp and nail a glory sheds  
 Throughout their harness, being of ruddy gold :  
 The trappings of their steeds, both strong and bold,  
 That hung unto the ground, and wide, and large,  
 Were cloth of gold, and ermines were the marge :  
 The prancing steeds gave lively proofs of courage in the charge. }

And every boss of bridle, and horse gear  
 Was worth a thousand pound, as should appear :  
 And on the heads of the nine knights were seen  
 Crowns, woven perfectly, of laurel green,  
 The best that in the world had ever been ;  
 And every knight had after him on horse  
 Three henchmen, to await his warlike course. }

Every first henchman on a short staff bare  
 The helmet of his lord ; so rich and fair,  
 It blaz'd like Phœbus, and amaz'd the air :  
 The worst of them was worth, if any thing,  
 The ransom of an emperor, or king :  
 The second at his back bare a shield bright :  
 The third a mighty spear he bare upright ;  
 A mighty spear, ground very sharp and keen ;  
 Such as Goliath's weapon may have been. }

And each had on his head a chaplet new  
 Of the green leaves, that in the forest grew :  
 And wore a velvet cloak of argent hue :  
 And had his horse array'd, and trapped right  
 The same as was his lord's, with fine delight :  
 And then on many a courser came a rout  
 Of armed knights, and spread the field about ;  
 It seemed all the knights of all the world were out :  
 And they all ware, according to degree,  
 New chaplets, made or of the laurel tree,  
 Or of the oak, or of some other tree :  
 And some too in their hands bright branches bare ;  
 Of laurel some, and some of hawthorn are,  
 And some of oak, and some of woodbine fair,  
 And many more than I can now declare. }

So on their horses fresh rode in the crowd,  
 Stirring like sprightly fire and neighing proud,  
 With bloody musick of their trumpets loud :  
 There saw I many a knight in strange array,  
 And hue magnificent, upon that day,  
 From every shore, where Phœbus' glances play : }

And

And at the last, as straight and evenly  
 As such a number could, the knightly company  
 Then took their place in middle of the mead ;  
 And every knight then turn'd his horse's head  
 To his compeer ; and lightly laid a spear  
 Into the rest, and straightway, there and here }  
 They 'gan on every part to just and to career ; }  
 Some brake his spear ; some threw down horse and man ;  
 The steeds about the field without a rider ran :  
 Their method, order, mast'ry of the fight,  
 I' assure you, to behold was cause of great delight.

They justed for an hour, or more : but they,  
 Crown'd in green laurel, bore away the day :  
 Their strokes so fatal, and their aim so sure,  
 None in the field the battle could endure :  
 And all the justing clean was at an end :  
 And from their horses the nine knights descend ;  
 And so did all the remnant of the play ;  
 And, two and two, together went their way  
 (It was a worthy sight to see the train)  
 Toward the ladies on the verdant plain :  
 Danc'd they and sung, the ladies ; as I said :  
 But dance and song withheld, as nobly bred,  
 In gentle sort : and, with a gracious air,  
 They went to meet the knights, approaching there.

And every lady, like a lady, took  
 A brave knight by the hand, with gentle look,  
 And feminine demeanour ; and him led  
 To a fair laurel, that it's branches spread }  
 Hard by, and rear'd to heaven it's verdant head : }  
 In my opinion never was a tree,  
 That half so well deserv'd a woodman's eulogy : }  
 For underneath it's flowery canopy  
 A hundred persons might have found delight,  
 Shaded from burning heat of Phœbus bright ;  
 Nor any grievance felt of rain, nor hail,  
 Nor any other hurt from heaven to assail :  
 And then an air so wholesome, and so sweet  
 A savour was exuded by the heat ;  
 The sick, the melancholy straight grew well,  
 By that good odour, and that virtuous smell.

Low they inclined, and with great reverence  
 To the fair tree, and fragrant to the sense :  
 And after they had paid it honour due,  
 They all began to sing ; and dance anew ; }  
 Some sung of love, some plain'd of the untrue ; }

Environing

Environing the tree, that stood upright :  
 And ever went in pairs, a lady and a knight.  
 And, at the last, I cast mine eye aside ;  
 And saw come roaming out of the field wide  
 A lusty company, and all at large :  
 And every knight a lady had in charge,  
 Link'd hand in hand : in kirtles were the fair,  
 Purpled with many a jewel, rich and rare ;  
 And every gay knight a green mantle ware ;  
 And every mantle many jewels bare,  
 E'en as the kirtles, very rich and rare :  
 And ev'ry she a chaplet on her head,  
 Which on the shining hair right beauty shed,  
 Compos'd of goodly flowers, white and red :  
 The knights too, that in hand the ladies led,  
 Ware in their suit a chaplet every one :  
 And before them went minstrels many a one ;  
 Harp, pipe, and lute, and psaltery, all in green ;  
 And bare upon their heads (a pleasant sight, I ween,)  
 Chaplets of crafty art, and diverse flowers,  
 All in a suit, the spoil of meads and bowers ;  
 And nodding on their heads, and drinking the soft air :  
 So dancing the fresh troop into the mead they fare :  
 In middle of the mead a tuft they found,  
 All overspread with flowers, in compass round ;  
 Whereto they every one inclin'd full low,  
 And did great reverence to that object show :  
 And, at the last, with a delightful voice,  
 A lady 'gan to sing, and sweetly to rejoice :  
 Her song went lightly on swift-flow'ng feet ;  
 She praised the daisy ; and in her notes sweet  
*Si douce, she warbled, est la Marguerite.*

In lovely awe, with all their vocal might,  
 The company replied ; and sang so bright ;  
 I never heard so blissful a delight :  
 But yet I know not how it happen'd, straight,  
 As about noon, the Sun in fiery state  
 Shot so great splendour, and a heat so great ;  
 The pretty flowers and tender garlands lost  
 All their fresh colours, and their beauty's cost.

Shrunk up, and burnt, the ladies were with heat ;  
 And knew not where to find a cool retreat :  
 The knights too, faint, for lack of shade nigh dead,  
 Were at a loss to hide the parched head :  
 And, after that, within a little, lo ! -  
 The wind began so sturdily to blow ;



That down go all the flowers every one ;  
 So that in all the mead remain'd not one :  
 The variegated garden wholly was undone. }

Save those more happy flowers, that grew among  
 The hedges, and thick groves ; and knew not the storm strong,  
 Protected by green leaves : and, after that,  
 There came a storm of hail, that fell down flat ;  
 And rain in company : that (on my head)  
 The ladies and the knights had not one thread  
 Dry ; of them all that stood upon the mead :  
 With tempest dripping wet was every jolly weed.

And when the tempest was clean pass'd away,  
 And Jupiter look'd out, and shed the wholesome day ; }  
 They, who had nothing felt of all the great affray,  
 I mean the knights, and ladies, clad in white,  
 Who stood under the shade of laurel with delight ;  
 Who knew not any harm from that which had  
 So plagu'd the gaudy troop, that in the green were clad ;  
 Went straightway, being touch'd with pity and ruth,  
 (As pity still is born in minds of truth,)  
 To comfort them, who such ill fortune had ;  
 So fain were they to aid the helpless and the sad.

Then saw I first how one of them in green,  
 And therefore I suppos'd she was a queen,  
 Had a well-fitting crown, and passing fair ;  
 And all of them in green awaited on her there :  
 The ladies then in white, approaching nigh,  
 And all the knights in white, in company, }  
 Began to comfort them, and speak of cheer and remedy.

The queen in white, that was of beauty great,  
 And had a matchless air, and a surpassing state, }  
 Like chaste Aurora at the eastern gate,  
 Took by the hand the queen that was in green,  
 And said, " My sister, I with pity have seen,  
 And have great pity for your late annoy,  
 And stormy trouble after smooth-faced joy ;  
 The stormy trouble and infelicity,  
 Wherein ye have been, and your company,  
 And been so long, alas ! and, if you please  
 To go with me, I shall effect your ease :  
 And solace you with pleasure, sans delay,  
 In every lovely mean I can, or may : }  
 My sister, then regard, and come away !"  
 And 'gan the verdant queen her thanks to pay :

For she had been, be sure, in great affright ;  
 And was with storm and heat in evil plight ;  
 She thank'd the white queen, humbly as she might :  
 And every lady, that was clad in white,  
 Took one in green in hand, and every knight  
 Argent, that saw the same, took by the hand  
 A knight of the green coat, and from the meadow land  
 Far'd to a hedge ; and there they did not spare  
 To hew down the great boughs, and trees to square ;  
 Wherewith they made them stately fires, and great,  
 To dry their gaudy clothes, and wringing wet,  
 And, after, of the herbs, that grew beside,  
 For blisters of the burning Sun, they applied  
 Very good ointments, wholesome, aye, and new,  
 As healthful as the air, as balmy as the dew ;  
 And went about the sick, and gave them medicine due :  
 And after went about, and gather'd green  
 And pleasant salads ; (truly 'twas a scene,  
 Lovely to see ; ) and then they made them eat ;  
 To cool, and to refresh their great unkindly heat.

The lady of the leaf then 'gan to move  
 (I call them from their worship, and their love,)

Her of the flower, that she would sup with her :  
 For twinkled now night's milky harbinger,  
 Of slumberous beds, and dreams the messenger ;  
 And bring, too, all her people in her train.

The lady of the flower replied again  
 To her most friendly asking in a lovely strain.  
 And had as many thanks, as flowers in spring :  
 And said she would obey, in every thing,  
 All her commandment, and with all her heart.

The lady of the leaf then bade depart  
 One of her train, to bring a palfry straight ;  
 Clothed in golden harness, weed of state ;  
 The horse-milliners his gear in nothing did abate :  
 And, after, for them all she bade to bring  
 Horses of lovely shape ; and every needful thing :  
 And, hasty as a dream, or swift as blows  
 Fleet-winged Zephyr, lover of the rose,  
 E'en by the harbour, where I sate, they pass'd,  
 All the whole congregation, in fine haste,  
 So merrily singing, like the morning light,  
 It would have solac'd any living wight :  
 But then I saw a passing wondrous sight ;  
 For then the nightingale, that all the day  
 Had in the laurel sate, and done, what in her lay,  
 To sing th' entire service to the courteous May,  
 All suddenly began to take her flight,

And

And to the lady of the leaf forthright  
 She flew ; and soft upon her hand she sate :  
 A thing that in me bred a marvel great.

The gold-finch too, that from the medlar tree  
 The heat to the cold bushes made to flee,  
 Fled to the lady of the flower, and sate,  
 As chose him, on her hand in pretty state ;  
 And pleasantly his wings began to fold :  
 And both the birds again their musick told,  
 And took great pains, and travell'd in their lay ;  
 As they had done the entire of the day.  
 And so these ladies rode a nimble pace,  
 And all the rout of knights in awe and grace :  
 I, that this wonder saw, was e'en on fire  
 To satisfy with knowledge my desire,  
 And know the truth and meaning of the thing :  
 I fain would dip my chalice in the spring,  
 I' the fountain o' the argument, and know  
 Who, what they were, that had enacted so :  
 And when the ladies and the knights were gone,  
 Much like a summer's dream, and now I sate alone,  
 I left the arbour, and I met straightway  
 A lady very fair, as fair as day :  
 And she came riding by herself alone ;  
 And clad in white ; and modesty was shown  
 In all her wise deportment, and her face :  
 Her I saluted with all welcome grace,  
 And every gentle vow, in humble cheer :  
 And she replied, " Great thanks, my daughter dear ! "

" Madam," quoth I, " if that I durst inquire  
 Of you, I fain would know, of what that quire  
 And company are made ; in horsy show  
 That by the arbour pass'd away e'en now ? "  
 And she again replied in friendly tone,  
 " My daughter, all that now are hereby gone  
 In garments white, are servants every one  
 Unto the Leaf, and I myself am one." }

" Saw ye not her, that wore the crown, and is  
 Enrob'd in white ? " " Madam," said I then, " yes : "  
 " That leader of the argent world," said she,  
 Diana is, the queen of chastity :  
 And, being a maid, she carries in her hand  
 A branch of this, which men well understand }  
 By the chaste name of agnus castus, and  
 The ladies in her suit and company,  
 That kept the shadow of the verdant tree,

Whose

Whose herby chaplets ye have witness'd fine  
 Of agnus castus, laurel, and woodbine,  
 Looking like queens, with crowns upon their head,  
 Are such, as always have kept maidenhead :  
 And all the knights, that laurel chaplets wear,  
 Are such, as strong and hardy were in war :  
 Victorious names, which never may be dead :  
 Their biting swords, and their keen lances shed  
 Such terror in all hearts, and every land ;  
 In all their time no one might them withstand."

" They, that wear chaplets of the fresh woodbine,  
 Are such, as have been true to love divine,  
 In word, thought, deed ; and never been untrue ;  
 But steadfast always ; walking equal through  
 Pleasure, or sorrow, lively hope, or fear :  
 Albeit to pieces they their hearts should tear,  
 Yet would they never change : but steadfast be,  
 Till they o'erpass the marge and threshold of mortality."

" Ah ! now, fair Madam, tell me yet, I pray ;  
 Instruct my by your wisdom, sans delay,  
 Since it has lik'd your beauty and your grace  
 The truth of these fair ladies to uncase ;  
 Telling me all their tale ; likewise to tell  
 What are these knights, that in rich armour dwell,  
 And have the flower's device, and robe in green ?  
 Why some pay reverence to the laurel green,  
 And some unto the flowery plot, as I have seen ?" }  
 " With right good will," said she, " my daughter fair,  
 Since your desire is good and debonair :  
 The crowned nine are the example rare  
 Of all the honour 'longs to chivalry ;  
 And the Nine Worthly are they call'd for dignity :  
 Which ye may see they rode before the rest,  
 For memory of many a noble act and gest,  
 Whose worthy acts have woven on their head  
 The crown of laurel, that to glory' is wed :  
 As ye may find it in your old books said, }  
 Always the laurel he for honour bore,  
 Who in sharp battle was a conqueror.

" And they, that bare in hand the precious boughs  
 Of laurel, as a type of warlike vows,  
 And shall endure, the while the world is stable,  
 Were the most noble Knights of the Round Table ;  
 Spirits of clear enacting : and to these  
 Add the right holy Peers, who scorn'd the silken ease :  
 Glory is only health ; the lack of it disease ;

}  
 Laurel

Laurel they bear, token of victory ;  
And witness of their actions mightily.

" Also there old Knights of the Garter are,  
Who in their time did great renown in war ;  
Honour they pay to the fair laurel tree,  
That have by it their due celebrity, }  
Their martial glory, and their victory ;  
Which unto them more perfect wealth bestows,  
Than any man imagines, thinks, or knows.

" For one leaf given of that noble tree  
To any man, that hath done worthily ; }  
If it be done so, as it ought to be ;  
Is greater honour, than aught else on earth :  
Witness it, Rome ; that fountain was, and birth  
Of spurring knighthood, and deeds marvellous :  
I find record of it in Livy thus.

" And, as for her, that crowned is in green,  
Flora she is, of sparkling flowers the queen : }  
And all, that here on her are waiting seen,  
Are of such folk, that lov'd mere idleness,  
And had delight in no just business ;  
Only to hunt, and hawk, and play in meads ;  
And many other such like idle deeds.

" And, for the great delight, and pleasure they  
Have to the Flower, obeisance such they pay, }  
And in such holy sort, as ye have seen to-day."  
" Ah ! now, fair madam, if I dare to ask  
What is the cause, (it is my latest task,)"  
Said I, " what is the cause, and why the leaf  
Should rather be to knights th' ensign of honour chief, }  
Than shall the lovely flower ? I pray, unbind this sheaf." }

" To say the truth, my daughter, it is thus :  
Knights ever should be strong and valorous ;  
Seek honour ; nor let sloth their senses drown :  
For perseverance wins th' immortal crown :  
From well to better in all manner of thing ;  
For straight and strong sends spear throughout the ring :  
In sign of which the lasting leaf they bear,  
The tantamount reward of all their service fair ; }  
Whose lusty green shall never know impair.

" The

Diamonds of sparkling light, and rubies red, }  
 And many other stones, too many to be said : }  
 And every lady bore too on her head  
 A band of shining gold, wherein I not forget  
 A world of stately stones, divinely set :  
 And every lady had a chaplet too  
 Of branches on her head, and fresh, and green to view,  
 So marvelously wrought, so lovely wove,  
 'Twas beautiful to see such chaplets from the grove ;  
 Of laurel some, and some of wood-bine were,  
 And some their crowns of agnus castus ware, }  
 Fresh from the parent bower, perfuming all the air. }

But many of them danc'd and many sung  
 With sober cheer, that all the meadows rung ;  
 But always in a circle went the whole ;  
 One lady in the midst of them was sole,  
 Without companion : all pursued the pace }  
 She set : for heaven was pictur'd in her face ; }  
 Her perfect shape the model of all grace ;  
 Like angels was the beauty of every one ;  
 But every one by her surpassingly outdone.

So shines amidst the lesser stars the moon.  
 More splendid was her robe ; upon her hair  
 A kingly crown of gold the lady bare ;  
 A branch of agnus castus carried in her hand ; }  
 And all her looks were lovely in command ; }  
 I judg'd her well to be the lady of the band.

A lovely roundel she began to frame ;  
 And *Sus le foyle de vert moy* was its name,  
*Sine & mon joly cœur est endormy* \* : }  
 The lovely roundel sung she lovelily, }  
 And lovely answer'd all the company,  
 With voices sweet entun'd, and very small :  
 A melody so sweet ne'er held me yet in thrall.

And thus with dance and song they all came on  
 Into the middle of the mead each one,  
 Before the shrouded arbour, where I sat :  
 And secretly I bless'd my happy fate ;  
 For well I could discern them, one by one ;  
 Who stood the fairest the green grass upon,  
 Who could most nimbly dance, most sweetly sing,  
 And had a woman's air the best in every thing.

\* The French words here are given exactly as they may be found in Chaucer.

They danc'd not long, when near and suddenly  
 I heard the thundering trumpets' silver cry,  
 That seem'd to part the heavens and the sky ;  
 And after I beheld and presently,  
 From the same grove, whence came the ladies out,  
 Of men at arms forthcoming such a rout,  
 As all men upon earth had rode thereout,  
 On fiery horses, and they stir'd so fast,  
 Trembled the hollow earth, as to its womb, aghast :  
 But, ah ! to speak the riches and the stones,  
 The men, the horses ; Prester John not owns  
 In all his congregation, nor can buy  
 So great a wealth with all his treasury.

Of their array who would know more, why list !  
 I shall rehearse some part of what I wist.  
 First came out of the grove, all in cloaks white,  
 A company, that wore for their delight  
 Fresh chaplets of the Cerial oak, new sprung,  
 And trumpets had they all, and on the trumpets hung  
 Banners of cloth of Tars, and very broad,  
 And fine, and richly beat, that swang abroad  
 Massy, and great ; and every trumpeter  
 The armour of his lord about his neck did bear,  
 Set with great pearls, the collars broad, (for cost  
 They spar'd none,) for their scutcheons were embost  
 With many a precious stone from many a laughing coast.

The harness of their steeds was trapp'd in white :  
 And after them there rode upon my sight  
 One company of kings at arms, no more ;  
 In cloaks of white cloth with gold fretted o'er :  
 Chaplets of green upon their heads so high ;  
 The crowns, I could upon their scutcheons spy,  
 Were set with pearl, and ruby, and sapphire's azure eye,  
 Aye, and great massy diamonds, many a one,  
 That each particular stone did blaze forth like a sun :  
 All their horse-harness, and their other gear  
 The same as did the trumpeters appear ;  
 All in a suit, and all alike they were :  
 Seem'd they had nought to learn ; but mannerly  
 Upheld their antique rank, and dignity :  
 And after them came a great company  
 Of heralds and of pursuivants, array'd  
 In cloth of velvet white ; who knew their trade,  
 And sacred art ; with chaplets on their heads :  
 The scutcheons, and the harness of their steeds  
 The same in suit as those before who went :  
 These finish'd the heraldick argument.

" The laurel all the year is fresh and green :  
 The jolly leaf, below'd of Jove, is always glossy seen :  
 Nor hail, nor snow, nor wind, nor frost, however keen,  
 Can rob her of this property and grace :  
 She always looks the year delighted in the face.  
 But, for the flower ; within a little space,  
 It's simple nature shall be lost and die :  
 It cannot bear the least calamity.

" And every storm will blow it soon away :  
 It scarcely lasts an hour ; is aged in a day :  
 This is the cause, (the very truth to say,)  
 The flower may never bind the noble head,  
 That is to glory, as a wife is, wed."  
 " Madam," said I, " I thank you with my heart,  
 Most humbly, for the truth you here impart.

" For now I know what I desir'd to know."  
 " I am right glad," said she, " if it be so,  
 To give you pleasure : pray you, tell me now ;  
 To whom do you this year your service owe,  
 The leaf ? or flower ? to which make you your vow ?"

" Madam," said I, " though I least worthy am,  
 Unto the leaf I bind me without blame :"  
 " That is," said she, " right well done sure : I pray  
 God to advance, and honour you all way :  
 And keep you from the fiend, that walks the world all day ;  
 From all his memory, and his cruelty ;  
 And likewise keep from him all Virtue's family :

" For here I may no longer now abide :  
 But with Diana I make haste to ride,  
 Diana, and her troop, that yet you see :  
 For now your eye is cloth'd with perspicuity :  
 Daughter, farewell !" I bade, " farewell !" again ;  
 And kiss'd her garment's hem : she scudded o'er the plain  
 After Diana, and her maiden train ;  
 Like a fleet-footed deer, or morning light :  
 And I drew homeward, for it touch'd on night,

And put what I had seen in writing fair :  
 Shone fix'd the Polar light, and broadly blaz'd the Bear :  
 And then night wag'd, and Hecate fled away :  
 I sought my dreamy couch, before the day :  
 Having first thank'd the heavens, that show'd me such  
 a play.

THE END.



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